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Geo J. Fleming

HISTORY
OF
Pittsburgh and Environs

From Prehistoric Days to the Beginning
of the American Revolution

VOLUME I

BY
GEORGE THORNTON FLEMING

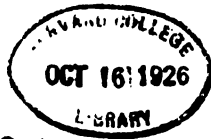
"History—which is indeed little more than the register of the crimes,
follies and misfortunes of mankind."—*Gibbon*



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Erasmus Wilson

FOREWORD.



IN ORDER that accounts of notable events, the life stories of men and women, the manners of the times, may be transmitted to coming generations, it is necessary that these be recorded from time to time, and that these records may meet the demands of future ages it is most essential that they be exact and true. Hence the necessity for choosing capable and dependable recorders, for it is not everyone who can write well that can write history, no more than that everyone who can write entertainingly can write poetry. Indeed, historians, like poets, are born, not made to order.

Pittsburgh has been quite fortunate in having such history writers as Brackenridge, Craig, Veech, Darlington, Errett, Lambing, Parke, Dahlinger and Fleming, each and everyone a careful, conscientious chronicler of the times in which he lived, or lives, as well as being industrious collectors of data relating to the beginnings of local history, its growth and present condition.

The latest extended history of Pittsburgh was published in 1898, which was just at the beginning of the wave of prosperity which, in the course of a score of years, has placed it among the greater cities on the continent, and well to the front among cities of the world, as cities go, and far in the lead as a manufacturing and financial center. This has made a revision and extension of its history necessary.

Fortunately we have with us a historian, to the manner born, in George T. Fleming, who is still actively and persistently engaged in local historical research, as shown in the columns of the "Sunday Gazette-Times," as well as in his wonderful collection of pictures and other data relating to the growth and development of the city.

The selection of Mr. Fleming to prepare this latest history of Pittsburgh, and the region round about, was most fortunate for the city as well as for the publishers. He is not only a sturdy grubber after facts but has the ability to dress them up in pleasing style and set them in graceful order.

It is the desire, as well as the purpose of the editor and publishers of this history, that it shall be valuable not only as a narrative of historic events, but as a compendium of facts relating to men and matters, events and happenings pertaining to the triumphant growth of Pittsburgh, its institutions, and its fame. Necessarily it will be somewhat encyclopedic, but space limits compel this. And yet it is, probably, the more fitting form, as it will facilitate the finding of whatsoever data that may be desired. Of one thing we feel assured, that the work will be thoroughly dependable, and fully up to date.

ERASMUS WILSON.

Pittsburgh, December 1, 1920.

INTRODUCTION.



THE necessity for another history of Pittsburgh for the purpose of bringing it up to date is obvious when it is remembered that the last extensive work was published in 1889. Great events have happened in the more than a third of a century that has elapsed, not only National in character but State and local also, and Pittsburgh's share in these National and State events demand recording. The city has grown largely, both in area and population. These facts will be narrated by several writers in the subsequent volumes of this series, entitled "Pittsburgh and Environs," and the narration will be a story of progress and success. However, in the allotment of the various periods of Pittsburgh history to be given consideration in the work as a whole, the earliest history of the region alluded to in old histories as that "About the Forks of the Ohio;" the "Region of the Upper Ohio," and "the Ohio Country," has been assigned to the writer hereof, and finds place in the general work upon completion as Volume I, whereupon the inquiry arises: "Has the author of Volume I in matter, character and manner of presentation given those most interested in the general work such a volume as they will appreciate?" Before attempting an answer it may be well to note some objections that may be presumed.

First—"The subject matter ranges too widely, goes too far back, and many things irrelevant and immaterial to the history of Pittsburgh and the region round about, have been included in the text." This objection was foreseen, hence explanations have been made as occasion required in the text. The desire of the author has been to collect the whole story of the period to be written of, heretofore recorded in fragments in more than a score of books, many rare and long out of print and only a few accessible, even as reference works, in our public libraries. It is for the readers of this volume to decide whether or not the author has succeeded in his attempt. He is conscious of having done his best towards that end, retarded and delayed by many disturbing conditions, physical and otherwise.

Again, it may be said that too much space has been apportioned to the history of the Indians who once inhabited this region. "As a race they have withered from the land," declared Charles Sprague in an oration in 1825. But they yet exist; a changed race. Their part in the wars of the Eighteenth Century that in the end gave this continent to the Anglo-Saxon, has been best told by Francis Parkman, and all American historians have devoted pages to the "North American Indians" and their deeds. The history of the Indian nations who ranged the Ohio

country is large; it has never been gathered into a single volume. It is a most important history, adjudged from all standpoints. In "the history of the forest," Pittsburgh and our region afford material for many volumes. All happenings worth mention have received it in this volume, and have been commented on and explained. Though this renders the book encyclopedic in a degree, it will tend to lessen the labors of all delvers for particulars and furnish those who may want it, a more complete story of the ante-Colonial and Colonial eras than can be found in any other single volume. In this respect the author will be pleased to learn that all searchers esteem the book for the information it contains, and that which can be obtained from the many works designated in the footnotes. In some instances additional references could have been made.

It may also be objected that the author has been too diffuse in the use of footnotes. This objection may be overruled by the well-known fact that students of history always want to be informed of the sources. Pittsburgh has become a great educational center, with thousands of students at the University of Pittsburgh, Duquesne University, and the Carnegie Institute of Technology. The librarians of the reference rooms of the Carnegie Libraries here will attest the constant and practical use of the historical treasures that are housed therein. In fact, of recent years, the teaching of history in the public schools and in our higher institutions of learning has been given a most important place in the curricula of all of them. The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania with its activities and its quarterly "Magazine" have induced greater public interest in the history of our region. It is highly essential that all students of history should be informed concerning the authenticity of the statements made by any historical writer. It has been, and is yet, the custom of most writers to indicate this in footnote citations. Such citations are certainly appreciated by those who desire to pursue topics beyond the space allotted in the particular volume in hand.

It may be impressed upon the reader of this volume that the author in the triple capacity of writer, compiler and editor has decided ideas concerning the writing of history, and has kept in mind the accepted definition of the word: "A systematic record of past events, especially those in which man has had a part;" in short, a narrative of human events. The usual rule of narration is that the events be told in the order in which they happened, with their causes and effects. History is not alone annals, because in its delineations it is permissible for the history writer to append his own observations and deductions. Nevertheless, due credence must be accorded annals. In observation and comment, writers of history, whether copyers, paraphrasers or original, should be mindful of the laws of evidence and weigh carefully all the testimony presented, or gathered. In support of this contention there

may be cited two old-time historians who maintained these same ideas more than a century ago. Thus Jared L. Sparks: "A supposed fact is not strengthened by the repetition of one historian from another, whatever each writer may have on the score of talents and honest intentions. All history is built on evidence and if this is fallacious, or partial, or dubious, the deductions must be equally uncertain and deceptive."

Dr. Sparks found in support of this obvious position an apt illustration in the French accounts of Washington's military operations in South-western Pennsylvania. But we can antedate Sparks' era of history writing. Nearly two hundred years ago, old Dr. Cadwallader Colden wrote in the preface to the first part of his "History of The Five Nations of Indians," etc.:

"He that writes the History of Things which are not generally known ought to avoid as much as possible to make the Evidence of Truth depend entirely on his own Veracity and Judgement; and for this reason I have related several Transactions in the Words of the Registers, when this is once done, he that shall write afterward need not act with so much Caution.

"I have sometimes thought that Histories wrote with all the Delicacy of a fine Romance are like French Dishes, more agreeable to the Palate than the stomach and less wholesome than more Common and Coarser Diet.

"A Historian's Views must be curious and extensive and the History of different people and different Ages requires different Rules. I hope therefore, the Reader will from these Considerations receive this first Attempt of the Kind with more than usual Allowances."

The observations of the Harvard trio, Channing, Hart and Turner, in their work, "American Historical Guide," are adjudged pertinent. They say:

"The history of the United States is inferior to that of no other country in the romance of discovery, border warfare, and frontier life, or in the record of material results of a nation's efforts. The Indians are certainly as interesting in customs, warfare and tribal government as the ancient Germans. The three centuries of strife between the native races and the white invaders—what Parkman calls the history of the forest, is one of the world's treasure houses of romantic episodes, comparable with the history of chivalry."

The author has been careful to state nothing on his own authority. Official records and all the various authorities consulted have been given credit in footnotes or in the text where cited. The author's historical articles in the "Pittsburgh Gazette-Times" have been largely drawn upon, it will be noted.

The author acknowledges his obligations to Mr. John H. Leete, Librarian of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, for the facilities he afforded for work in the Library, and also to his assistants in the Reference Department, who have been eager to aid and constant in aiding the work in

every manner. Mr. Edward E. Eggers, Librarian of the Carnegie Free Library of Allegheny (now usually referred to as the North Side Library), has been most helpful in many ways, and his assistants in the Reference Department kind and obliging in every way. Dr. William J. Holland, Director of the Carnegie Museum, deserves mention for his interest and suggestions.

The great value of the researches of my friend, Mr. Charles A. Hanna, of New York, has been exemplified by the number of references to his exhaustive work, "The Wilderness Trail," a unique and engrossing history of the vast trans-Allegheny region and all the events of that region wherein the Indian traders figured. Dr. Archer Butler Hulbert, of Marietta, Ohio, is another living author who has been drawn on frequently, whose labors evoke a degree of admiration scarcely less than Mr. Hanna's. Miss Mary O'Hara Darlington, of Pittsburgh, is another friend who has the most sincere thanks of the author for data regarding Henry Bouquet and his times, drawn from her father and mother's works. Attorney Charles W. Dahlinger, of Pittsburgh, editor of the "Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine," a close friend, who was called on for advice as a most competent authority on Pittsburgh history, which was freely and cheerfully given. His exceedingly entertaining work, "Pittsburgh, a Sketch of its Early Social Life," has been most valuable in many respects, and also his contributions to the "Magazine," above mentioned.

The late Erasmus Wilson, a fellow-worker for more than a decade, evinced his interest in this history by contributing the short introductory note. Now that he has passed to his reward, these few lines of his will surely appeal to the subscribers and all readers of the history as a graceful act of appreciation and testimony of his best wishes for the success of the work.

To the many friends who have subscribed for the history by reason of friendship and long association, my thanks are especially due, and none the less to all subscribers, if for no other reason than that they are loyal to old Pittsburgh, a city of opportunity.

GEORGE THORNTON FLEMING.

Pittsburgh, February 25, 1922.



PUBLISHERS' NOTE



IN this work is presented a comprehensive narrative of "Pittsburgh and Environs," from primeval days to the present time. It is the first history of this region since that of 1898. Vol. I, entitled "From Prehistoric Days to the Beginning of the American Revolution," is by Mr. George Thornton Fleming, an investigator, annalist and writer of unusual power. Its difference from the usual historical narratives lies not only in its great particularity as to events, but in literary execution—authentic history written with brilliancy and impressive originality. Investigators will turn to these pages in very many days to come.

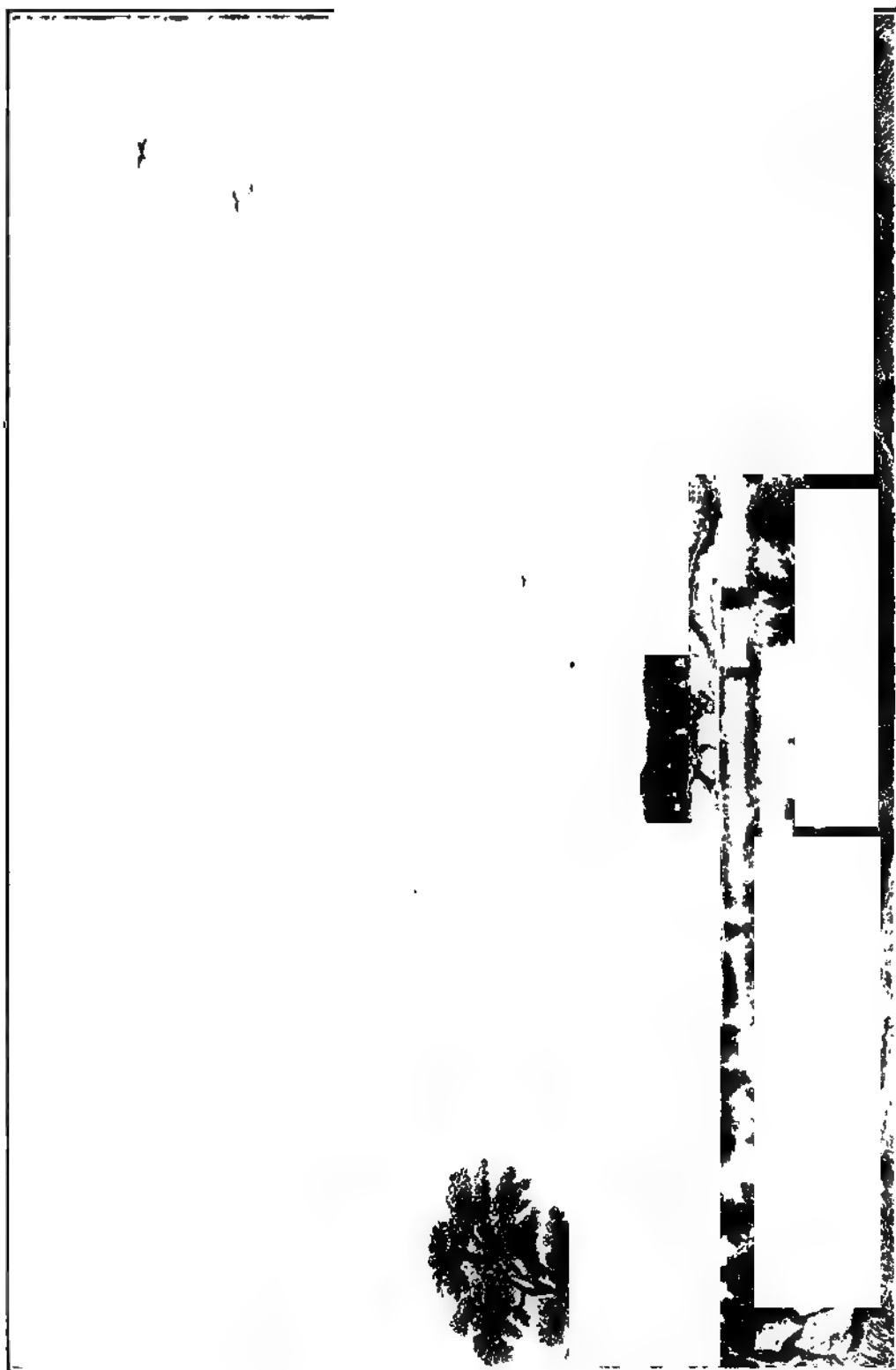
Volumns II and III, beginning with the formation of the community and tracing its development to the present time, are the work of well equipped local contributors, and members of the editorial staff. Principal among the former is Mr. Charles Sumner Howell, for many years connected with the city press, who has contributed many of the most important chapters; among other contributors are: Mr. George H. Lamb, A. M., librarian Carnegie Free Library, of Braddock; and Mr. William F. Stevens, librarian Carnegie Library, of Homestead. Chief of the publishers' staff in the field is Mr. Frank R. Holmes, a writer of wide experience.

The biographical volumes, which form a fitting adjunct to the work, contain the life history of the Makers of Pittsburgh and Environs from the first to those who are yet active in the various walks of community life. These narratives have been prepared in the field, and in every instance have been submitted to the persons in interest for verification.

In the various fields of history and biography the publishers feel assured that the entire work will have an enduring value as a compendium of information, and without which very much important history would go unrecorded.

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PITTSBURGH IN 1790
From a Steel Engraving by J. C. McRae

CHAPTER I.

Before the White Man Came.

Before the white man came, the region herein termed "Pittsburgh and Its Environs" was included in the wilderness lying contiguous to the Ohio river and its tributaries, but a small part of that vast extent of unoccupied and unexplored land south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi river. We may say practically unoccupied, in comparison with the state of occupancy during any time within the last century. We are to use the word "wilderness" in its primary meaning—a wild, the word pure Anglo-Saxon in origin, and defined as a tract uncultivated and uninhabited by human beings, whether a forest or a barren plain. After the definition above, Webster in his earlier editions distinctly states that in the United States the word "wilderness" is applied only to a forest. The presumption is tenable that when the vast prairies illuminated his comprehension, the great lexicographer concluded there might be a prairie wilderness also, and therefore dropped the statement that the word could be applied only to a forest. We can in no wise consider the secondary meaning of the word, that of a desert, to be applicable at any time to any part of the Upper Ohio Valley region. The site of Pittsburgh lay long undiscovered and undisturbed in the vast solitude of the forest primeval, and far beyond the British frontier, which was that part of the rugged Appalachian chain we know as the Alleghenies, and that chain was a barrier to settlement, as will be shown.

Who of white blood first set his feet upon the historic soil about the Forks of the Ohio is a question to which no records can supply an answer. That he was a white man, for the purpose of gain, is altogether probable. His people needed, must have, furs. The habitat of the fur-bearing animals that he knew lay in the forest wilderness. The Indian inhabitants were few in number, and lived mainly by the chase. With the first settlement of Canada by the French, there began commercial transactions with the Aborigines. The Dutch traders from the Albany region followed closely after the French, and then the English traders, "brave, inglorious men, long since passed to deep and merited oblivion," pioneers, nevertheless, leading the advance of the settlers in the conquering march of the Course of Empire towards the setting sun. We are to learn of these fur traders of our colonial days, particularly of the Pennsylvania traders who toiled the wilderness trail over the Alleghenies, and whose petty commerce involved two great nations in a long war, and prepared the way for American independence and territorial expansion for the United States of America, a nation born of that independence.

The first white men came through the wilderness, through the vast solitudes of the forest primeval, where

The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,
Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight.
Stand like Druids of old, with voices sad and prophetic;
Stand like harpers hoar, with beards that rest on their bosoms.

Yes, and the hardwoods, too, and all the well known deciduous trees of our American flora, with their vines and creepers and tanglements, and with the deadwood, the debris of numberless storms and hurricanes of past ages. Nevertheless it was not a trackless forest, for there existed certain well defined trails or paths, traversed for centuries by the roving feet of the red men in their hunting trips, on their migrations, by their warriors when on the war path, until the narrow trails changed to well defined paths becoming, with the advent of the whites, historic highways. Instances are the Venango trail, the Kittanning path, Nemacolin's path, later Braddock's road, the Muskingum and Sandusky trails from the confluence of the two rivers forming the Forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh, and the Catawba or Great Warriors path from the south via Cumberland Gap to the Ohio river at the mouth of the Sciota.

The wilderness was not trackless, for the wild beasts of the forest made well marked paths. Buffalo trails were especially prominent, for these animals ranged the region of the Upper Ohio Valley when the white men came. Often these trails broadened into real roads, made such by the tread of vast hordes of these heavy beasts, in countless years, in going to and fro from the salt licks and their feeding grounds. The first explorers in the western wilderness found the Indian trails and the buffalo roads, and always spoke of them as distinct thoroughfares. The Indian trail was usually a narrow path or runway, for the Indians traveled always in single file. These runways were always from two to three feet wide only, and were not worn so deeply into the ground as the buffalo traces, though the Indians' path was often a foot or two below the surrounding ground, worn thus by the hoofs of their ponies.

Trees and bushes in places encroached upon the paths so that it was not possible to see far ahead. Often these slender trails were blocked by impenetrable growths, and a single windstorm in the virgin forests would fill the paths with fallen branches, and often trunks of trees. The overhanging bushes, in the heavy dew of the morning or after a rain, completely drenched the travelers with the water retained in their branches.

There were other animals than the buffalo that laid off a road; the deer, too, made their runways by instinct, and found the easiest paths to the passes of the mountains, to the shallowest fords, the richest feeding grounds, and the indispensable salt licks. The Indian, dependent upon game, followed the paths or traces made and frequented by the beasts

going to their food, water and salt, and to other habitats in the changing seasons. It was only natural that these trails became vocational with the Indians. The trails were not always silent, nor were they bloodless, for the Indians' enemies sought them, and the evolution of the trail into the warpath was easy, and natural also.

The trails were of different kinds. Archer Butler Hulbert divides them into hunting, war, portage, river, and trade trails. One or more of each variety led to the Forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh. There were no blazed trails in the wilderness forest. Blazing trees was peculiarly a white man's custom, as well as his invention. It was beneath an Indian's dignity to mark out his way. It was an affront also to suggest it, as discrediting the keen woodcraft for which the red man is remarkable. It required labor to hack trees, and patience, which was not an Indian attribute. Then, too, a warrior never worked, and in any event such work was useless. He could justly sneer at the clumsy white man who depended on the white blaze to find his way through or out of the wilderness of woods.

When the first white traders came into the western woodland, they found the well marked forest trails, and followed them until they became the avenues of trade. The traders established trading posts in the wilderness, built warehouses of hewn logs, forts for the protection of their goods, and then new routes became necessary—"fur routes," or "traders' paths," and these came also to be traveled by the Indians and their peltry-laden ponies, and backward with the trader's goods—the peltries bought weapons, blankets, trinkets, powder and lead, and bad liquor.

There is ample evidence that the going through the wilderness was good. There are journals of the first missionaries who recorded things as they saw them, strange things and most notable. The testimony of the Rev. David McClure is material on this point. He said: "The roads through this Indian country are no more than a single horse path among the trees. For a wilderness, the traveling was pleasant, and there was no underbrush, and the trees do not grow very close together."

McClure was journeying west from Pittsburgh in the fall of 1772. Describing a stretch of the trail along the Ohio below the mouth of the Big Beaver river, he said: "The woods were clear from the underbrush, and the oaks and black walnut and other timber do not grow very compact, and there is scarcely anything to incommode a traveler in riding almost in any direction. The Indians have a habit of burning over the ground, that they may have the advantage of seeing game at a distance among the trees." Again he said: "The soil is luxuriant; the growth principally white and black oak. The sweetest plums grow in great abundance in this country, and were in great perfection. Grapes grow spontaneously here, and wind around the trees."¹

¹"Diary of the Rev. David McClure," 1772; pp. 49-50

Dr. Schoepf, the German savant, tells of the forest as he explored it in the vicinity of Pittsburgh in 1783: "In different wanderings on the other side of the Allegheny from Pittsburgh, we had the opportunity of observing the fineness and luxuriant fruitfulness of the soil in its primeval and undisturbed condition. The indigenous plants had a rich and rank appearance, and grew to a greater height and strength than they do elsewhere. The woods for the most part are entirely free from undergrowth, which is very convenient for both the hunter and traveler."² Schoepf is telling of the land now the North Side of Pittsburgh. He saw the diversified forest of wildwood, river and small streams, but the time was twenty-five years after General John Forbes came to the Forks of the Ohio, and there were semblages of civilization, and a rude town already well known as Pittsburgh.

That one could ride fast through the woods, needs no proof to one who has read of the miraculous escape of John Slover, guide to Colonel Crawford in the ill-fated expedition against the Indians of the Sandusky region in 1782. Slover was captured with Crawford, and, tied to a stake and the fire lighted, was saved by the fury of a sudden thunderstorm which extinguished the fire. This was a bad omen to the Indians, and they put off the torture until the next day. Slover managed to work loose from his bonds in the night, and escaped. On the margin of the Shawanese village he came to some horses tethered, and, seizing a strong, active one, rode it straight away for seventy miles until the poor beast dropped from exhaustion. This feat shows that Slover could not have met with any serious obstructions. However, he had lived among the Indians, and may have picked his way. His narrative is that he kept his steed at all the speed it was capable of.³

More testimony of the state of the wilderness seems necessary, for the changing of the vast forest wilderness into the abode of civilized men is the main theme of this history story, the enumeration of the wonderful changes that have taken place within a century and a half in the region about Pittsburgh. These changes, with their concomitant events in the western country, came to those who witnessed them in startling remembrances wherein the romance of reality about them swept away the dreams of the forests of old. To quote that noted pioneer, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Doddridge, such "find it difficult to realize the features of the wilderness which was the abode of their infant days."

Dr. Doddridge was a child of the forest. Though born in an older settled portion of Pennsylvania, in Bedford county, in 1769, he was removed in 1773 with his parents to the western part of Washington

²"Reise durch Einege," etc.; "A Journey through some of the Middle and Southern States of North America," John David Schoepf, M. D., 1783; p. 415.

³"Narratives of Dr. Knight and John Slover," Cincinnati; "Early History of Western Pennsylvania and the West; I. D. Rupp, Pittsburgh, 1846, p. 216. "Incidents of Border Life;" pp. 145-147.

county, Pennsylvania, then under Virginia jurisdiction. Slight wonder he moralizes and becomes philosophical in his noted work⁴ which was published in Wellsburg (now West Virginia), in 1824, when he was sixty-five years old. Though this book is intensely interesting even to this generation, and is in itself an authentic history and there could and may be much taken from it to enlighten and corroborate, it is desirable at this point to quote only his impressions of the forest, the wilderness, he lived to see "blossom as the rose." No better testimony can be procured, nor is any more pertinent or instructive. He says:

To a person who has witnessed all the changes which have taken place in the western country since its first settlement—a person surrounded everywhere by the busy hum of men and the splendor, arts, refinements and comforts of civilized life, his former state and that of his country have vanished from his memory; or, if sometimes he bestows a reflection upon its original aspect, the mind seems to be carried back to a period of time more remote than it really is. The immense changes which have taken place in the physical and moral state of the country have been gradual, and therefore scarcely perceived from year to year, but the view from one extreme to the other is like the prospect of the opposite shore, over a vast expanse of water, whose hills, valleys, mountains and forests present a confused and romantic scenery which losses itself in the distant horizon.

Dr. Doddridge is looking backwards. Ruminating upon the many and astounding changes, he esteems himself a hundred years old, instead of sixty. He could say of events: "Some of which I was, and all of which I saw." He recalls the forest as he knew it: "A wilderness of vast extent, presenting the virgin face of nature, unchanged by human habitation or art, is certainly one of the most sublime terrestrial objects which the Creator ever presented to the view of man, but those portions of the earth which bear this character derive their features of sublimity from very different aspects."

Dr. Doddridge compares the deserts of Africa, the steppes of Russia, and the Polar solitudes, with the forest wilderness and the Valley of the Mississippi. After some remarks on the geography and natural history of the country lying between the Mississippi and the Appalachian chain, he proceeds with his description of the wilderness:

One prominent feature of a wilderness is its solitude. Those who plunged into the bosom of the forest left behind them not only the busy hum of men, but domestic life generally. The departing rays of the setting sun did not receive the requiem of the feathered songsters of the grove, nor was the blushing aurora ushered in by the shrill clarion of the domestic fowls. The solitude of the night was interrupted only by the howl of the wolf, the melancholy moan of the ill-boding owl, or the shriek of the frightful panther. Even the faithful dog, the only steadfast companion of man among the brute creation, partook of the silence of the wilderness. This discipline of his master forbade him to bark or move but in obedience to command, and his native sagacity soon taught him the propriety of obedience to his severe master. The day was, if possible, more solitary than the night. The noise of the wild turkey, the croaking of the

⁴"Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783 inclusive, together with a Review of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country," by Joseph Doddridge, Edition 1912, pp. 19-20.

raven, "the woodpecker tapping the hollow beech tree," did not much enliven the dreary scene.

The various tribes of singing birds are not inhabitants of the desert; they are not carnivorous, and therefore must be fed by the labors of man. At any rate, they did not exist in this country at its first settlement.⁵

We are to give full credence to the statements of Dr. Doddridge in the conviction that he is giving us the knowledge of his own senses, that of a child of the forest clearing who saw the loved songsters come and the wild beasts go. He has much more to tell of the wilderness as he knew it. Perhaps it is well to follow him further for a proper understanding of the country about Pittsburgh before the white man came, and to dwell in imagination upon the scenes he describes. Fully comprehending these descriptions, the transition of the region to the requirements of civilized life that occurred within his lifetime, will seem all the more wonderful with the story added of the passing of the red men who devastated and ravaged the settlements—a shocking story of cruelty and savage warfare. Dr. Doddridge plays upon the imagination. He wants his words to live, to burn deep into the soul of his reader. We read his words in awe. Imagination responds to his call:

Let the imagination of the reader pursue the track of adventure into this solitary wilderness. Bending his course toward the setting sun, over undulating hills, under the shades of the large forest trees, and wading through the rank weeds and grass which then covered the ground. Now viewing from the top of a hill the winding course of the creek whose stream he wishes to explore, doubtful of its course and of his own, he ascertains the cardinal points of north and south by the thickness of the moss on the north side of the ancient trees. Now descending into a valley and presaging his approach to a river by seeing a large ash, basswood and sugar trees, beautifully festooned with wild grapevines. Watchful as Argus, his restless eye catches everything around him. In an unknown region, and surrounded with dangers, he is the sentinel of his own safety and relies on himself alone for protection. The toilsome march of the day ended, he seeks for safety some narrow sequestered hollow, and by the side of a large log builds a fire, and after eating his coarse and scanty meal, wraps himself up in his blankets and lays him down on his bed of leaves, with his feet to his little fire, for repose, hoping for favorable dreams ominous of future good luck, while his faithful dog and gun repose by his side.⁶

Dr. Doddridge is telling an experience—that of the explorer and the pioneer. Though the quoting of his words anticipates the coming of the white man and the era of permanent settlements in the region, it is necessary to a proper understanding of its geography and condition when the fearless explorers, typified in Christopher Gist and Daniel Boone, first saw the land; so too, the no less intrepid envoy, young George Washington; the martyred pioneer, surveyor and soldier, William Crawford; and a long line of daring traders from east of the Susquehanna, the Pennsylvania traders, among whom George Croghan was king, who boldly plunged through the wilderness and, embarking at the Forks of the Ohio, penetrated the Indian country, establishing

⁵"Notes;" Doddridge, p. 22.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 22.

their trading stations among all the tribes east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. There were other envoys also—Conrad Weiser and Christian Frederick Post, whose plain tales of daring and suffering ending in success, appeal most powerfully to the reader's sympathy; then the Moravian missionaries: John Heckewelder, Bishop Loskiel, and their coreligionists, who brought the light of the gospel to the Indians, and had the successful efforts of years swept away in a day by the vengeance of the frontiersman—a vengeance that ended in butchery. All these voyagers, like the *coureurs de bois* of the French, saw the wilderness as Dr. Doddridge pictures it to us. The story of each looms up in the mention. But to recur again to Dr. Doddridge's "Notes;" he continues:

But let not the reader suppose that the pilgrim of the wilderness could feast his imagination with the romantic beauties of nature without any drawback from conflicting passions. His situation did not afford him much time for contemplation. He was an exile from the warm clothing and plentiful mansions of society. His homely woodman's dress soon became old and ragged, the cravings of hunger compelled him to sustain from day to day, fatigues of the chase. Often he had to eat his venison, bear meat, wild turkey, without bread or salt. Nor was this all; at every step the strong passions of hope and fear were in full exercise. His situation was not without its dangers. He did not know at what tread his foot might be stung by a serpent; at what moment he might meet with the formidable bear; or, if in the evening, he knew not on what limb over his head the murderous panther might be perched in a squatting attitude to drop down upon and tear him to pieces in a moment. When watching a deer lick from his blind at night, the panther was often his rival in the same business, and if, by his growl or otherwise the man discovered his rival's presense, the lord of the world always retired as speedily and secretly as possible, leaving him the undisturbed possession of the chance of game.

The solitude of the wilderness gave rise to forebodings. Dr. Doddridge had experienced these, and relates his feelings and the experience of others as he heard them from the lips of the pioneers. Resuming his story, one may read:

The wilderness was a region of superstition. The adventurous hunter sought for ominous presages of his future, good or bad luck in everything about him. Much of his success depended on the state of the weather; snow and rain were favorable, because in the former he could track his game, and the latter prevented them from hearing the rustling of the leaves beneath his feet. The appearance of the sky, morning and evening, gave him the signs of the times in regard to the weather. So far, he was a philosopher. Perhaps he was aided in his prognostics on this subject by some old rheumatic pain which he called his weather clock. Say what you please about this, doctors, but the first settlers were seldom mistaken in this indication of the weather. The croaking of a raven, the howling of a dog, the screech of an owl, were as prophetic of future misfortunes among the first adventurers into this country, as they were among the ancient pagans; but above all, their dreams were regarded as ominous of good or evil.

Dr. Doddridge advises his readers not to be surprised at the superstition which existed among the first adventurers of the western wilderness. He opined that it was universally associated with ignorance in all those who occupy perilous situations of life, and instances the sailor, and the use of charms, incantations and amulets which constituted

a part of the superstition of all ages and nations. He cites the perilous situation of the borderers and the passion of fear excited by danger on this class of adventurers.

The forests were lasting. More than half a century after Doddridge wrote, there were vast woodland regions in Western Pennsylvania. There were others in Dr. Doddridge's years (he died in 1836) who told of the solitude of the wooded wilderness. Henry Marie Brackenridge one, exiled from his home in Pittsburgh at the tender age of seven to St. Genevieve on the Mississippi, in the then Spanish territory of Louisiana—Brackenridge will be quoted later on in this history, and his life story from his own writings given. He made the journey from Pittsburgh in a flatboat in charge of John B. C. Lucas, a native of France, subsequently a politician, associate judge, member of Congress from the Pittsburgh district, and later judge of the United States courts in Missouri territory, but when the boy Brackenridge was with him, was engaged in fur-trading in Upper Louisiana. The boy had slight recollections of the outward voyage. Ten days out from Pittsburgh, they landed at "Hobson's Choice," long since a part of Cincinnati, and, when Brackenridge was there, the seat of Wayne's encampment. The year is readily fixed, 1793. Brackenridge said:⁷ "I have no distinct recollection of the appearance of the Ohio river in the course of our descent, except that instead of being enlivened by towns and farms along its banks, it was a woody wilderness shut in to the water's edge. At that time, the fair city which now vies with the most ancient seats of civilization and the arts on this continent, *was not*. Excepting the openings and clearings made for the camp, the ground was covered by lofty trees and entangled vines."

In a few days, Lucas set off again, proceeding silently and as near as possible to the Kentucky shore, from apprehensions of the Indians. "How deep a solitude at that day reigned on the beautiful banks of the Ohio," exclaimed Brackenridge. It was a perilous voyage, but they went through in safety. Brackenridge did not remember the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville. It was spring, and the waters were high; the boat passed over the falls as over any other part of the river. He was impressed with the solitude, even at his tender age. He said: "From this place to the mouth of the river, about five hundred miles, the banks presented an unbroken wilderness, the solitude was not disturbed by a single human voice out of our boat."

Young Brackenridge remained in St. Genevieve three years, practically one of the French family in whose charge he had been placed by Lucas, who then proceeded on his trading expedition into Upper Louisiana. When Lucas returned, the boy had acquired a fluency in the French language, which was his father's object in exiling him the

⁷"Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," H. M. Brackenridge, a native of the West, traveler, author, jurist; edition of 1868; p. 17.

thousand miles from his Pittsburgh home. On the return, the party stopped at the mouth of the Kaskaskia, where the boy was left for several days with the notorious Thomas Power, a renegade Englishman and naturalized Spaniard, and a base political intriguer. Then ten years old, the boy had more pronounced recollections of his voyage.

Brackenridge's brief account of his stay there is most interesting. His description of the scenery savors of Chateaubriand. Brackenridge said: "It was about the middle of summer, the air was delightfully mild and clear, while nature was clad in her most luxuriant robes. We gathered the wild pea-vine and made ourselves soft beds under the shade of the trees which stretched their giant vine-clad arms over the stream. Flocks of screaming paroquets frequently lighted over our heads, and the humming birds, attracted by the neighboring honeysuckles, came whizzing and flitting around us, and then flashed away again."

A recent writer, John Finley,⁸ quotes from Chateaubriand's vivid imagery of the forests of America as that author rhapsodizes in his "Atala." Mr. Finley shows that it is a mistake to suppose the American forests and plains were trackless before white men came. One who has read "Atala" must be divested of his author's illusions. Describing a valley, Chateaubriand said:

Trees of every form, of every color and every perfume, throng and grow together, up into the air in flights, and weary the eye to follow. Wild vines intertwining each other at the feet of their trees, escalate their trunks and creep along the extremity of their branches, stretching from the maple to the tulip tree, from the tulip tree to the hollyhock, and thus forming grottos, arches and porticos. Often in their wanderings from tree to tree, these creepers cross the arm of a river over which they throw a bridge of flowers.

A multitude of animals spread about life and enchantment. From the extremities may be seen bears, intoxicated with the grape, staggering upon the branches of the elm trees. Caribous bathe in the lake; black squirrels play among the thick foliage; mocking birds and Virginia pigeons, not bigger than sparrows, fly down upon the turf reddened with strawberries; green parrots with yellow heads, purple woodpeckers and cardinals red, clamber up to the very tops of the cypress trees; humming birds sparkle upon the jessamine of the Floridas; and bird-catching serpents hiss while suspended to the domes of the woods, where they swim about like creepers themselves.

After one has paused to take a deep breath at this point in the perusal, he can come back to earth and take note that the author of "Atala" has wandered from the eastern bank of the Mississippi to the Everglades. We drop gently, therefore, from "the domes of the woods" to the solid earth, and read on, for we are coming now to something like the northern woods, and we are to pay particular attention to the difference in the forests through which René and Atala advanced, etc., and the forests of Dr. Doddridge's years, and those through which Thomas Ashe rode and tells of. Chateaubriand proceeds: "All here

⁸"The French in the Heart of America," Scribner's Mag., 1912; in book form 1915, pp. 175, *et seq.* See also "Atala," Harry's translation, pp. 2, 3, 19.

is sound and motion when a breeze happens to animate these solitudes, to swing these floating bodies, to confound these masses of white, blue, green, and pink; to mix the colors and to combine all the murmurs. There issue such sounds from the depths of the forests, and such things pass before the eyes, that I should in vain endeavor to describe them to those who have never visited these primitive fields of nature."

Let us here put our imaginations to work, and observe Atala and René "advancing with difficulty under a vault of smilax, amidst vines, indigo plants, bean trees, and creeping ivy that entangled their feet like nets, while serpents hissed in every direction, and wolves, bears, caribous and young tigers, come to hide themselves in these retreats, made them resound with their roarings." A fine sort of a trackless howling wilderness through which M. Chateaubriand leads his readers—a wilderness in which Mr. Finley intimates was there only in the author's thought; his body was presumably at home.

H. M. Brackenridge saw a different wilderness of forest when he again passed up the Ohio around the French town of Gallipolis, where he remained a year with the celebrated Dr. Saugrain. Henry Howe in his "Historical Collections of Ohio" has given us a view of this forest-surrounded hamlet of log huts.⁹

No such a forest so closely surrounded Pittsburgh in Brackenridge's boyhood, for the pioneers had then been swinging their axes for forty years. The elder Brackenridge, riding the trail from Philadelphia in 1781, saw it also, and Major Ebenezer Denny, first mayor of the city of Pittsburgh, in 1816, often riding the same road when a boy of thirteen and a bearer of dispatches to the commandant at Fort Pitt in 1774, and seventeen years later riding the road again from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia in six days, with the official report of St. Clair's defeat. All the soldiers of Great Britain that served the King at Fort Pitt came the wilderness trail through the forest; the caravans also of the Pennsylvania traders, and Craig, O'Hara, the Wilkinsons, and a long line of the pioneers of Pittsburgh. Later came the conestogas of the emigrants, and the pack-trains of the freighters, and finally the stage coach, the canal, and the railroad.

A different forest from the elysium at Kaskaskia, H. M. Brackenridge saw on the Ohio on his return to Pittsburgh. He attests that the banks were uninhabited, and no boats going down; he and his fellow-voyagers, short of provisions, were in danger of starvation. Their hunters had often poor success. A huge bear came out from the forest-lined shore and attacked their boat in mid-stream, threatening them with destruction. Killed after a hard battle, the bear meat provided a feast not more providential and the manna in the wilderness of old. A herd of buffalo next appeared to offer a

⁹Edition of 1848; p. 180.

victim, and not long after, when encamping for the night in a beautiful grove of sugar trees, the voyagers were made aware of a flock of wild turkeys roosting above their heads. More feasting followed. Years later, Judge Brackenridge, writing of these incidents of his boyhood, described the trees of the forests he had known—the beautiful sugar maple, the towering pecane of the Mississippi in magnificent groves also; and the gigantic and remarkable sycamore; the sugar and sycamore most common about the town of Pittsburgh. With what we may believe a sigh, Brackenridge penned these lines in 1830: "The wonderful productions of nature are however fast disappearing before the ax of the settler, and in time these plantations of groves and trees which may be ranked among the proudest of her works, will be known to tradition, like the race of the giants."

The tradition is here. Brackenridge saw the groves go, for he lived to be eighty-six, dying in Pittsburgh in 1872. No history of Pittsburgh can be written without frequent reference to the Brackenridges, for both wrote much history of this place, and the younger much of the townspeople, of some of whom no one else has left mention.

Washington, in his Journals of 1753 and 1770, the latter of his trip from Pittsburgh to the Kanawha, has much description of the lands through which he traveled from day to day, but he looked on it with the eyes of the surveyor and the farmer, for he was both. Anon he trained a military eye upon certain suggestive situations as most suitable for fortification. Thus his well known and oft-quoted observations in 1753 on his first seeing the confluence of the rivers at what was subsequently the site of Pittsburgh, and also in the same vein at his first view of McKee's Rocks. Washington saw much bad land, for he records, December 7, 1753:

At twelve o'clock we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the 11th by excessive rains, snows, and bad traveling through the many mires and swamps. These we were obliged to pass to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

We passed over much good land since we left Venango, and through several very extensive and rich meadows, one of which, I believe, was nearly four miles in length and considerably wide in some places.

Washington was traveling from Venango (now Franklin, in Venango county), to the French Fort Le Bœuf, at what is now the town of Waterford, in Erie county, Pennsylvania, in an airline a distance of forty miles only.

It is to be noted that there were natural clearings in the forest. The one spoken of by Washington, similar to those in Central Pennsylvania, from which the name "Clearfield" has been given to the Pennsylvania county and town, these "clear fields" a noted section on the Kittanning path.

Conrad Weiser in his journals has little to say of topography, neither

has George Croghan in his. Christopher Gist, a surveyor, is always specific in stating his bearings and courses and the number of miles traveled. Like Washington, Gist had his eye on the land for the possibilities of settlement. Thus, in going from Shannopin's Town (which was on the Allegheny river at what is now the foot of Thirty-third street, Pittsburgh), to Logstown, on the Ohio, subsequently the site of Wayne's encampment, he called Legionville. Gist wrote:

Nov. 24th, 1750.—Set out from Shannopin's Town and swam our horses across the River Ohio (Allegheny) 74 w. 4, etc., and went down the river. All the land from Shannopin's Town is good along the River, but the bottoms are broad. At a Distance from the River good Land for Farming covered with small white and red Oaks and tolerably level; fine runs for mills, &c.¹⁰

Post came the northern trail to Logstown, starting at Philadelphia and traveling by way of Shamokin, now Sunbury. He came the long, hard trail to Venango and thence across the counties of Venango, Mercer, Lawrence and Beaver, to Logstown, which was above Old Economy, now Ambridge. He returned the same road. At times he describes the country, especially if it was bad. Thus, September 9, 1758: "We took a little footpath hardly to be seen. We lost it and went through thick bushes till we came to a mire which we did not see till we were in it, and Tom Hickman fell in and almost broke a leg. We had hard work to get the horse out again. The Lord helped me that I got safe from my horse. We passed many such places; it rained all day and we got a double portion of it, because we received all that hung on the bushes. We were as wet as if we were swimming all the day. At night we laid ourselves down in a swampy place to sleep, where we had nothing but the heavens for our covering."

"Tom Hickman" was one of Post's Indian guides. Post's mission to the Indians on the Ohio will be told in Chapter XXI.

On September 13th, Post again had bad traveling. He wrote in his journal this day: "We went through a bad swamp where there were some very thick thorns so that they tore our clothes and flesh, both hands and face, to a bad degree."

The wilderness woodland of Western Pennsylvania was good and bad in spots, it is to be observed. Clear fields, burned over wastes, mire, vast stretches of swampland such as the Pymatuning swamp in Mercer and Crawford counties, and such arable land as mentioned by Washington and Gist, though heavily wooded. These pioneer surveyors were used to the wilderness, its tumults and its solemn stillness. The solitude of the deep woods did not impress them. They were used to it from childhood. It did impress many who journeyed to Pittsburgh in the early days of the town, the stories of these tourists to come later in this history. As late as 1841, when Dickens was here, the forests were

¹⁰"Gist's Journals, etc.," William M. Darlington, Pittsburgh, 1893; p. 34.

such in extent as to draw from him the description he has given us in his "American Notes." Many of these tourists went home and wrote books recording their adventures, experiences, impressions, and the history, natural and secular, of the regions traversed, and some have been charged with transgressing the vale of truth. No better records of the early history of the "Western Country," as it was for many years called, have been handed down to us than these records of these touring journal-writers. What they said of the woods through which they staged, or rode, or came by horse-drawn vehicle, is pertinent to the story of the region before the white man came to stay, or had not yet occupied all of the section about the Forks of the Ohio—or, we may say, the Upper Ohio Valley, or even "Pittsburgh and Its Environs," or, in the language of the Census Bureau, "Pittsburgh's Metropolitan District"—a designation most used in marts of trade.

Some of the tales of these tourists are most interesting, especially those who in the language of the Modern West can be regarded as "tenderfeet."

Thomas Ashe, whose story of the woods will come later in this chapter, was an Irish tourist and a man of curious mind. He was in Pittsburgh in 1806, and remained there until spring, visiting many places in the region. He journeyed from Pittsburgh to Erie via the Franklin road. He saw everything. In the language of his English publisher in the preface to Ashe's Book:¹¹ "Mr. Ashe here gives an account every way satisfactory, With all the necessary requirements he went on an exploratory journey with the sole view of examining this interesting country, and his researches, delivered in the familiar style of letters, in which he carries the reader along with him, cannot fail to interest and inform the politician, the statesman, the philosopher, and the antiquarian. He explains the delusions that have been held up by fanciful or partial writers as to the country by which so many individuals have been misled, and he furnishes to the naturalist a variety of interesting information," etc.

This is true. Ashe was especially full in details, and was greatly interested in the fauna and flora of the country he traversed. He paid particular notice to the roads, especially to those leading to the Onondaga salt region of New York State, and necessarily mentions the paths made by the native animals in their resorting to the salt licks. He noted that: "The best roads to the Onondaga from all parts, are the buffalo tracks, so-called from having been observed to be made by the buffaloes in their annual visitations to the lakes for their pasture grounds, and though this is a distance of above two hundred miles, the best surveyor could not have chosen a more direct course, or a firmer or better ground.

¹¹"Travels in America Performed in the Year 1806, etc.;" by Thomas Ashe, Esq., London printed; Newburyport Edition, 1808, most common.

I have often followed these tracks with safety and admiration. I perceived them chosen as if by the nicest judgment, and when, at times, I was perplexed to find them revert on themselves in parallel lines, I soon found it occasioned by swamps, ponds or precipices, which the animals knew how to avoid, but, that object being effected, the road again swept into its due course and bore towards its destination as if under the direction of a compass."

It is to be noted how closely Ashe's language, written one hundred years previously, approaches Dr. Hulbert's description of the buffalo traces.¹²

Ashe met and interviewed old settlers who knew the buffalo, and no other proof is necessary to adduce at this point than that evidenced in the naming of the city of Buffalo, to show how the American bison once ranged the country of Western Pennsylvania when the first white man came to it. So large were the herds encountered by the French in their first explorations in Northwestern Pennsylvania, that they called French creek in Crawford and Erie counties, the "Riviere aux Bœufs." Ashe states:

One old man, one of the first settlers in this country, built his log house on the immediate borders of a salt spring. He informed me that for the first several seasons the buffaloes paid him their visits with the utmost regularity; they traveled in single file, always following each other in equal distances, forming droves on their arrival of about three hundred each. The first and second years, so unacquainted were these poor brutes with the use of this man's house or with his nature, that in a few hours they rubbed the house completely down, taking delight in turning the logs off with their horns, while he had some difficulty to escape from being trampled under their feet, or crushed to death in his own room. At that period he supposed there could not have been less than ten thousand in the neighborhood of the spring. They sought for no manner of food, but only bathed and drank three or four times a day, and rolled in the earth, or reposed with their flanks distended in the adjacent shade, and on the fifth and sixth days separated into distinct droves, bathed, drank, and departed in single file according to the exact order of their arrival. They all rolled successively in the same hole, and each thus carried away a coat of mud to preserve the moisture on their skin, and which, when hardened and baked by the sun, would resist the stings of millions of insects that otherwise would have persecuted these peaceful travelers to madness or even death.¹³

Ashe may have been told this, or he may have extracted the story from some work on natural history current in his day. He tells the habits of the bison truthfully, and accounts for the roads as other writers have done. He mentions the wallow and the wallowing. Buffalo wallows in the region about Pittsburgh will strike the reader as ancient history in its insertion here, nevertheless we have the name, buffalo, geographically applied more than once within thirty miles of the city—Buffalo creek, emptying into the Allegheny river at Freeport, in Armstrong county, and North and South Buffalo townships in that

¹²"Historic Highways," Vol. II, Archer Butler Hulbert; Chap I., "Indian Thoroughfares."

¹³"Travels, etc.;" Ashe, *supra.*, p. 48.

locality; also Buffalo township and Buffalo creek in Washington county. These applications of the borderer's name for the bison recognize the fact that the localities so-named were once part of that animal's habitat. It may be noticed that Ashe's statistics are given only in round numbers.

It was while *en route* to Pittsburgh, after leaving Bedford, that Ashe met with the adventures that caused him to describe the woodland solitudes that encompassed him. Night came on him in crossing the Alleghenies, he said, on account of having traveled along so attentive to objects around him and wasted so much time in visionary speculations. He found himself on the summit of the ridge where the road was narrow, and bounded by frightful precipices. If he attempted to advance, a sudden and rapid death seemed unavoidable to him; if he remained where he was, wolves, panthers and tiger cats were at hand to devour him. He chose the latter risk as having less of fatal certainty in it. "I thought I could effect something by resistance," he said, "or that fortune might favor me by giving a more suitable supper and a different hunting ground to the ferocious animals."

So he remained in the woods, and had abundance of time for reflection. Strange thoughts filled his excited brain. He recorded them all in his stilted style. He said:

The progress of night was considerably advanced, and the powerful exhilarations of the preceding sun for want of wind to disperse, or waft them to other parts, were returning to their parent wood. They at first hovered in the form of transparent clouds over small creeks and rivulets in the intervals of the mountains, and then assumed a wider range, spreading over the entire valley and giving to it the appearance of a calm, continued sea. This beautiful transfiguration took place several hundred feet below me, while the summit of the hill had no mist and the dew was not sensible. The moon shone but capriciously, for though some places were adorned with her brightest beams and exhibited various fantastic forms and covers, others were unaffected by her light, and awfully mountained an unvaried gloom, a darkness visible conveying terror and dismay.¹⁴

Ashe was having a night of it. The vividness of his surroundings had plunged him in deep awe. He tells of his impressions:

Such impressions were gaining fast on my imagination, till an object of inexpressible sublimity gave a different direction to my thoughts and seized the entire possession of my mind. The heavenly vault appeared to be all on fire, not exhibiting the stream of character of the aurora borealis, but an immensity vivid and clear, through which the stars detached from the firmament traversed in eccentric directions, followed by trains of light of diversified magnitude and brightness. Many meteors rose majestically out of the horizon, and having gradually attained an elevation of thirty degrees, suddenly burst and descended to the earth in a shower of brilliant sparks or glittering gems. This splendid phenomenon was succeeded by a multitude of shooting stars, and balls and columns of fire, which, after assuming a variety of forms, vertical, spiral and circular, vanished in slight flashes of lightning and left the sky in its usual appearance and serenity. "Nature stood checked" during this exhibition; all was a "death-like silence and a dread repose." Would it had continued for a time! I had insensibly dropped on my knees, and felt that I was offering to the great Creator of the works which I witnessed, the purest tribute of admiration and praise. My heart was full; I could not repress by gratitude, and tears gushed from my eyes.

¹⁴"Travels," etc.; Ashe, p. 16, *et seq.*

One familiar with the proceedings of the councils with the Indians, wishes he had a string of wampum handy with which to "wipe the tears from his eyes and clear his heart," etc. We may or may not believe that Ashe was sincere, for a few weeks later he was a discredited man in Pittsburgh, with the reputation of an adventurer and so untruthful in some of his statements and dishonest in his dealings that his words are taken with some degree of allowance. To continue the story of his night in the woods, we are told:

These pious, pleasing sensations were soon forced to yield to others rising out of objects and circumstances around me. The profound silence maintained during the luminous representations was followed by the din of the demons of the woods. Clouds of owls rose out of the valleys and flitted screaming about my head. The wolves, too, held some prey in chase, probably deer; their howlings were reverberated from mountain to mountain, or carried through the windings of the vales, returned to the ear an unexpected wonder. Nor was the panther idle; though he is never to be heard till in the act of springing on his victim, when he utters a horrid cry. The wolf in hunting howls all the time, certainly with the view of striking terror, for being less fleet than many of the animals on which he subsists, they would escape him did he not thus check their speed by confounding their faculties. This is particularly the case with the deer.

Ashe tells next how the wild beasts take their prey, as revealed to him in the midnight in the forest, especially the methods of the tiger-cat, the Pennsylvania catamount most probably referred to. Then he resumes the story of his experiences, stating:

The intervals between the cries and roarings were filled by the noise of millions of little beings. Every tree, shrub, plant and vegetable harbored some thousands of inhabitants, endowed with the faculty of expressing their passions, wants and appetites, in different tones and varied modulations. The most remarkable was the voice of the whip-poor-will, plaintive and sad; "whip-poor-will" was his constant exclamation, nor did he quit his place, but seemed to brave the chastisement which he repeatedly lamented. The moon by this time had sunk into the horizon, which was the signal for multitudes of lightning flies to rise amidst the trees and spread a new species of radiance around. In many places, where they fell and rose in numbers, they fell like a shower of sparks, and in others, where thinly scattered, they emitted an intermittent pleasing ray.

Ashe is frequently guilty of hyperbole. He terms Mt. Washington, on the south side of Pittsburgh, a mountain, and with "thousands of inhabitants on every shrub," etc. Ashe certainly was in a densely populated region and, we may fairly assume, was not lonesome. He gives us a graphic and interesting account of the forest wilderness at night, and his experiences in it were the same as the woodland rangers, white or red, except that these men, accustomed to the noises of the woods, curled up, as Dr. Doddridge has related, and slept undisturbed by the din around them—new, strange and terrifying to a lone traveler. The noises Ashe mentions were familiar to the first settlers, and continued until the woodland was cleared, and the wildest and largest of the carnivora were driven to the recesses of the mountains. With the dawn, the turmoil of the night ceased, and Ashe was transported from a disturbing commotion to dead silence, and in consequence became pensive

again. He relates: "At length the day began to dawn; both the noisy and the glittering world withdrew and left to nature a silent, solemn repose of one-half hour. This I employed in reflections on the immensity and number of her works and the presumption of man in pretending to count and describe them. Who dares compose a history of nature, should first pass a night where I did. He would be taught the vanity of his views and the audacity of his intentions."

Ashe begins a new chapter here, after a half page of reflections, after the paragraph just quoted. His chapters are all in the form of letters beginning "Dear Sir," and signed "T. A." at the conclusion of the first one; the rest are merely dated, the one now to be noticed, dated as the preceding: "Pittsburgh October 1806." He describes a beautiful valley as he saw it at dawn on resuming his journey on horseback, and his description of this has been greatly admired. He has also some description of American forests which is corroborative of what has been stated *ante* in this chapter. He begins his chapter thus:

As day approached from the east, I recommenced my journey. The sun soon after colored "in gay attire" some of the summits of the mountains, but his luminous body was not visible for considerable time, and when it did appear in all its majesty, its rays were for several hours too oblique to penetrate the depths of the valley and disperse the ocean which the preceding day had formed. It was interesting to observe with what reluctance the mists dissipated; till touched by the magic beam they were one uniform sheet. They then assumed a variety of forms, clouds representing grotesque and lively figures, crowning some of the highest trees. Some descended to the bosom of the stream and followed the windings of the waters; others hovered over fountains and springs; while the larger portion rose boldly to the mountain tops, in defiance of the sun, to gain the higher atmosphere and again descend to the earth in dew or showers.

The birds with the first dawn left the recesses of the valley and taking their elevated seats joined in one universal choir. At least nothing had more the resemblance of a general thanksgiving, or oblation of praise to the Author of life and light, and though it might have been but a burst of exultation for the return to morn, I preferred thinking it a grateful expression of worship.¹⁵

Ashe had reached a habitation, and stopped for refreshments. We may believe his account of the bird concert a phantasy, for nothing is truer than the fact that our song birds came with the first settlers, as Dr. Doddridge well knew and has recorded. Mr. Cuming, a contemporary traveler, noted the absence of song birds: "Thursday, twenty-first August, I walked out with the first dawn of a fine morning, nothing being wanting to render it delightful except the carol of the winged inhabitants of the woods, which throughout this country is very rare." Cuming was in an old settled country, too, just west of Washington, Pennsylvania.¹⁶

Ashe, after breakfasting, borrowed a rifle from his host the settler, and plunged into the forest. He remarks: "The American forests have

¹⁵"Travels," etc.; Ashe, pp. 20-21.

¹⁶"Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country, etc.," F. Cuming, Pittsburgh, 1810; p. 215.

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generally one interesting quality, that of being entirely free from under, or brush, wood. This is owing to the extraordinary height and spreading tops of the trees, which thus prevent the sun from penetrating to the ground and nourishing inferior articles of vegetation. In consequence of the above circumstance, one can walk in them with much pleasure and see an enemy from a considerable distance."

Ashe is only partly right here. After shooting "a very large bear" which tumbled off the limb of a "very large" tree conveniently close by, his story of this adventure uncorroborated, he tells of his further wanderings in the forest, saying: "I continued on my way until I came to a wood of younger growth interspersed with spots entirely clear of timber and marked by traces of former cultivation. I examined the place with care. It was an Indian camp such as is often seen from the borders of the Atlantic to the great western waters, and even to the Pacific Ocean."

Ashe's bear was probably one of the Chateaubriand species, "intoxicated with the wild grape, staggering off the limb." Ashe remained over night with the settler, and the next morning rode on towards Pittsburgh. To continue his story, reading further, it states that:

Autumn had already begun to shed a varied tint over the numerous subjects of her rich domain. I amused myself in endeavoring to count and classify the colors which she employs to diversify nature and distinguish her reign from that of other seasons, but I made little progress, for the scene was too grand, extensive and sublime to come under the confined control of human calculation. I was on a vast eminence commanding a view of a valley in which stood millions of trees and from which many millions more gradually rose in the form of an immense amphitheatre. It appeared as if every tree, though many were of the same class, had shades, hue and character peculiar to itself, derived from individual altitude, growth and soil; and presentation to heavenly bodies and the emanations issuing from them. It was one of those scenes on which the mind would dwell with infinite rapture, but which can never be described with justice and truth except by one inspired by Him "whose breath perfumes them, and whose pencil paints."¹⁷ But,

"Who can paint
Like Nature? Can imagination boast
Amidst her creation, hues like these?"
THOMSON.

After crossing the Laurel Ridge and proceeding through the Ligonier Valley, Ashe's narrative continues in a few paragraphs until he announces his arrival in Pittsburgh. He said: "Nothing worthy of mention struck my notice until I arrived within three miles of Pittsburgh, when I descended into the beautiful vale which leads into that town. It was impossible to behold anything more interesting than this; it extended three miles on a perfect level, cultivated in the highest degree, bounded by rising ground on the left and a transparent river on the right, and leading to a well inhabited town where I meant to repose after a journey of 320 miles, 150 of them over stupendous mountains and barren rocks."

Ashe is likely wrong in his statements of distance. From one place

¹⁷"Travels," p. 23.

only could he see a river on his right, and this was the Allegheny, for he was traveling the old Forbes road from Bedford, which took the high ground coming into Pittsburgh from Turtle Creek, and when within six miles of the town of Pittsburgh could look down upon and enter the East Liberty Valley—almost all of the level portion of Pittsburgh's East End, as that section is most commonly called.

We must admit Tourist Ashe has given us a fairly good account of the forest wilderness of Western Pennsylvania, as he observed it and its lights and shadows. There were variations from the woods he traveled through—changes caused by man designedly. Callahan has some account of these changes. He says:

During the Indian's occupancy he left his mark in the form of burned woods. He burned much less in regions farther west, but there is no question that he was vigorously applying the torch up to the time he took his departure. The clearings made by the Indians for agricultural purposes were comparatively large, but they were small in comparison with openings made by fires set accidentally, wantonly, or to the end that more wild game might abound, with improved opportunities for hunting. Though white men are rated high as destroyers of forests, they are not in the same class with the Indian. He used little wood, destroyed vastly more to make room for his fields, but his real work of forest destroying was done by fire. He was wasteful and destructive as savages usually are, and the word economy had no place in his vocabulary. The Indian is by nature an incendiary, and forest burning was his besetting sin. The few poles and trees which he took for use, and the thousands he destroyed to make his cornfields, were a small drain on the forests in comparison with the millions which his woods fire consumed. It is not known how long before the white men came to Virginia, but the custom was general at the time of the first settlement, and was apparently of long standing and evidently growing worse.

The same was also true of the country of Western Pennsylvania. Callahan thinks the custom of destruction was learned from the western Indians. He noted that swampland too damp to burn had escaped repeated visitations by fire. Few if any other kinds of land escaped. Throughout hundreds of square miles the undergrowth had been injured or destroyed; in places the mature trees alone remained, so thin in localities that the woods resembled parks rather than forests, and these facts have been abundantly set forth in contemporaneous writings. When the first whites came, the forests in Virginia had apparently reached the last stage before their fall. No small wood was coming on to take the place of the old trees, and the death of the mature timber presaged that many regions would be treeless. Callahan quotes Philip A. Bruce, author of the "Economic History of Virginia."¹⁸ Freedom from undergrowth was one of the most notable features of the original woods of the State west of the mountains; these conditions were not so bad as in the eastern section. This may have been due to the

¹⁸"Genealogical and Personal History of the Upper Monongahela Valley, W. Va., with an Account of the Resources and Industries of the Upper Monongahela Valley and Tributary Region," by J. M. Callahan, with various historical articles by staff writers under the Editorial Supervision of Bernard L. Butcher, Lewis His. Pub. Co., 1912; Vol. I, p. 208, *et seq.*

fact that the mountain section was almost unknown for eighty years after the Indians departed. In that time, burnt woods will recuperate in a damp climate and on a rich soil. In that section the first whites were generally impressed with the burned or open tracts, and there were instances where the savages were interrupted in the act of burning. The Indians reasoned that the end justified the means. Their food supply was directly increased by fires which facilitated hunting operations and, indirectly, by opening the way for the growth of grass, nuts, fruits and berries, thereby inviting game to congregate in certain localities. The cunning red man observed, too, that fruitbearing trees multiply more rapidly and yield more abundantly when grown on the edges of burned tracts than in the forest. The fall of millions of feet of fine timber was nothing to the Indians if briars and grass followed, for this brought together beasts and birds which furnished the Indians more food than they could have procured in the standing timber before the timber was destroyed.

There were burned tracts in many places in the western country. Had Ashe been a pioneer, he would have noted the open spaces in the woods to have been once burned over, if such had been the case. What was true of burned-over woodland in the transmontane region of Western Pennsylvania does not appear to have been observed in the Upper Ohio Valley, for many travelers have noted the closely wooded shores of the Ohio other than those quoted in this chapter. As late as 1847 this forest growth was remarkable. It was observed by Dickens in descending the Ohio from Pittsburgh. He said:

A fine broad river always, but in some parts much wider than others, and then there is usually a green island covered with trees, dividing it into two streams. Occasionally we stopped for a few minutes, maybe to take in wood, maybe for passengers at some small town or village, (I ought to say city, for every place is a city here); but the banks are for the most part deep solitude, overgrown with trees which hereabout are already in leaf and very green. For miles and miles and miles, these solitudes are unbroken by any sign of human life or a trace of human footsteps, nor is anything seen to hover about them but the bluejay, whose color is so bright and yet so delicate that it looks like a flying flower. At lengthened intervals a log cabin with its little space of cleared land about it, nestles under a rising ground and sends its thread of blue smoke curling up into the sky. It stands in the corner of the poor field of wheat, which is full of great unsightly stumps like earthy butcher's blocks. Sometimes the ground is only just now cleared, the felled trees lying upon the soil, and the log house only this morning begun.

And still there is *the same eternal foreground*. The river has washed away its banks and stately trees have fallen down into the stream. Some have been there so long that they are mere dry, grisly skeletons. Some have just toppled over and, having earth yet about their roots, are bathing their green heads in the river and putting forth new shoots and branches. Some are almost sliding down, as you look at them, and some were drowned so long ago that their bleached arms start out from the middle of the current, and seem to try to grasp the boat and drag it under water.¹⁹

"What might be expected," asks Mr. Archibald Prentice, the Manchester editor, in comment, "after this description, but an unbroken

¹⁹"American Notes;" Chap. XI.

solitude and an eternal monotony relieved only by an occasional deformity?" Prentice criticizes his distinguished countryman, saying: "Reading his description again, I am tempted to transcribe it as a curious specimen of the author's utter indifference to the beautiful scenery under which he remained sitting in 'the little stern gallery' of the ladies' cabin, rather than mounting on the paddle box or on the upper deck to see that which it is to be presumed he went to see."²⁰

Mr. Prentice was in Pittsburgh in June, 1848. He followed Dickens' route six years later than Dickens, and he has given us a charming description of the "Belle Riviere of the French." His final shot at Dickens was suggested when he arose one morning and found the boat tied to the bank in a fog so dense he could not see ten yards on either side—not much of a fog to a Pittsburgher. Prentice ventures the assertion "that in such a mist, Charles Dickens might have come down the river, only he does not say so."

Nevertheless, Dickens has described the forest wilderness on its river boundaries quite accurately. The settlers' clearings were only breaks in its monotony. His description, fifty years later than H. M. Brackenridge's, differs from Brackenridge's only in this respect.

It was a wonderful wilderness—that of the Western Country before the white man came. In it were traces of a people who lived in the long, long-ago. These traces suggest a story, for they were to be seen about Pittsburgh until quite recently, and their exploration was a matter of moment. Then, too, when the white came to stay, the red man left for good, and this fact, too, suggests a chapter on his departure, and why he went and what happened as he took up "the trail of the setting sun," as the orators used to put it.

²⁰"A Tour of the United States," Archibald Prentice, London; also Halifax Ed., 1858, pp. 51-52.



CHAPTER II.

Historic Mounds and Prehistoric Mound Builders.

The first wilderness was not altogether uninhabited by human beings before the white man came. This we know, for the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Indians, runs concurrently with the history of our country from the first discoveries on the continent of North America. There were people in the region about Pittsburgh for ages, perhaps, before the invention of letters, perhaps before the age of history writing, certainly anterior to the discovery of America. To quote Dr. Doddridge here is pertinent, for his thoughts as he has set them forth in his "Notes" have given the inspiration to write this chapter, which might have been suggested by the mention of the historic mounds in and near Pittsburgh. Little has been said of these mounds in Pittsburgh history; their existence has been noted briefly, as will be seen. Everts' artists thought well enough of the McKee's Rocks Mound to draw a picture of it, a representation now most valuable, as the mound has been destroyed.¹ The history of its destruction is Pittsburgh history, as will appear and which will follow in this chapter, and as part of the history of the mound builders, if the word "history" may be permitted in this connection.

The researches of archæologists in other sections of the United States as tending to show the builders of all mounds in the United States were the same people, and that the local mounds were similar in structure, workmanship, design and contents, to other mounds, are judged to be relevant, and the descriptions of many mounds by tourists, travelers, authors and scientists, will naturally be included. While a new and strange chapter in the "History of Pittsburgh and Its Environs," it is none the less interesting, and justification for its insertion can be found in the long and frequent items in the newspapers when the McKee's Rocks explorations were under way. Additional justification can be found in Dr. Doddridge's "Notes." Doubtless the thoughts he penned there were the thoughts of his neighbors also, for as one proceeds in the reading of this chapter it will be evident that the mounds were objects of great curiosity to the early settlers, and that eminent men explored them and wrote the results in book form. While these may not be in consonance with the deductions of more modern archæologists, they are none the less interesting. Among the early writers on the work of the mound builders was the Pittsburgh "Author, Traveler and Jurist," Henry Marie Brackenridge, who, born in Pittsburgh in 1787, knew of the historic mounds in this region, and as a boy played

¹See "History of Allegheny County, Pa.;" (Everts & Co.) 1876, p. 126, for view of Mound.

about one, at least. Early tourists such as Ashe and Cuming, who tarried in Pittsburgh while on their travels in North America, have left us most readable stories of the impressions these mounds made upon them, and some history of them as they obtained it in the localities under their observation.

Dr. Doddridge's reflections resulting from the state of the wilderness as he and other pioneers knew it, have been given in Chapter I. We cannot doubt their truth and his sincerity. He recites this and its influence and tendencies. He tells us:

Many circumstances concurred to awaken in the mind of the early adventurer into this country the most serious and even melancholy reflections. He saw everywhere around him indubitable evidences of the former existence of a large population of barbarians which had long ago perished from the earth. Their arrowheads furnished him with gunflints; stone hatchets, pipes and fragments of earthenware were found in every place. The remains of their rude fortifications were met with in many places; some of them of considerable extent and magnitude. Seated on the summit of some sepulchral mound containing the ashes of tens of thousands of the dead, he said to himself:

"This is the grave, and this no doubt, the temple of worship of a long succession of generations long since mouldered into dust; these surrounding valleys were once animated by their labors, hunting and wars, their songs and dances; but oblivion has drawn her impenetrable veil over their whole history; no lettered page, no sculptured monument, informs who they were, from whence they came, the period of their existence, or by what dreadful catastrophe the iron hand of death has given so complete an overthrow and made the whole of this country an immense Golgotha."

Dr. Doddridge writes truly. He had in mind such elaborate works of this adjudged prehistoric race as remain evident today at Moundsville, West Virginia, and at Marietta, Circleville, Fort Ancient, and many other places in Ohio; though, as he states, ancient mounds were once numerous in the whole region about Pittsburgh. He mentions these relics and the mounds as aspects of the Western Country at the coming of the first adventurers into the bosom of its forests. What they saw and found pertained, he thought, to the story of the settlements, and incidentally to the poor and hazardous lot of the settlers.

These evidences of a population in his time considered to have been numerous and to have existed and perished long anterior to the period of history, led Dr. Doddridge to insert in his "Notes" the chapter headed "The Remains of an Extinct People," in which he describes such of the antiquities of the region as came under his notice, with much mention and history of similar mounds in all parts of the earth. He had himself procured ten copper beads of sixty which were taken from an ancient grave on Grave Creek Flat, in Marshall county, West Virginia, near Moundsville, the county seat, once called Elizabeth. This was not far from his home in Wellsburg, Brooke county. Naturally, from his expressions above quoted, he was greatly interested in these sepulchral mounds and the smaller graves of that region, and familiar with the researches of Dr. Caleb Atwater, the historian of Ohio, and those of Thomas Jefferson, both of whom he mentions. Some of Doddridge's speculations upon the extinct people are instructive, and what he tells of the mounds as he knew them is real history now.

Dr. Doddridge regarded the sepulchral mounds as by far the greatest figure among our country's antiquities. In point of magnitude, he said, some of them are truly sublime and imposing monuments of human labor for the burial of the dead. This is particularly true of the Grave Creek Mound, and will apply also to that which once stood on the top of McKee's Rocks. Most logically, Doddridge would first describe the Grave Creek Mound. His figures are nearly accurate. Extravagant dimensions have been published of this great mound. Thus, in Sears' "Description of the State of Virginia:"²

ELIZABETH—This town is twelve miles below Wheeling, on a plain once the habitation of a large population whose remains are visible in numerous ancient *tumuli* scattered over its surface. The largest is 116 feet high, and surrounded by a ditch 400 yards in circuit.

Dr. Doddridge's descriptions and remarks fit in nicely with that of other writers, as will be noted. He says in his chapter on "The Remains of an Extinct People:" "The large grave on Grave Creek Flat is the only large one in this section of the country. The diameter of its base is said to be 100 yards, its altitude is at least 75 feet; some give it as 90 feet. The diameter at the top is 15 yards. The sides and tops of the mound are covered with trees of all sizes and ages, intermingled with fallen and decaying timber like the surrounding woods. Supposing this august pyramid to contain human bones in equal proportions with the lesser mounds which have been opened from time to time, what myriads of human beings must repose in its vast dimensions!"

Dr. Doddridge was writing prior to 1824, long before any investigation of the mound revealed its actual construction within. At this point Dr. Doddridge appended the footnote pertaining to Jefferson's exploration. The McKee's Rocks Mound was one of the smaller kind, compared with this great hill, and was not over twenty (perhaps eighteen) feet in height. Dr. Doddridge proceeds: "The present owner of this mound, the author has been informed, has expressed his determination to preserve it in its original state during his life. He will not suffer the axe to violate its timber, nor the mattocks its earth. May the successors to the title of the estate forever feel the same pious regard for this august mansion of the dead, and preserve the venerable monument of antiquity from that destruction which has already annihilated or defaced a large number of lesser depositories of the dead."

Dr. Doddridge does not agree with many writers of his time who regarded these sepulchral mounds peculiar to America. He said if such were the fact, they would be objects of greater curiosity, as belonging exclusively to this quarter of the globe they would tend to prove that the Aborigines of America were different from all other

²"A Pictorial Description of the United States, etc.;" Robert Sears; New York, 1856; p. 337.

nations of the earth, at least in their manner of disposing of their dead. He goes into the history of mounds in all sections of the globe, stating that all of the sepulchral class that had been opened in Asia and America contained, about the center of the bottom, a coffin or vault of stone which contained but one skeleton. This was regarded as the sarcophagus of the patriarch, or first monarch of the tribe or nation to which the sepulchre belonged. Thenceforward all his people were deposited in the grave of the founder of the nation. In process of time the daily increasing mound became the national history. Its age was the age of the nation, and its magnitude gave the census of the relative numbers and military force with regard to other nations about them. "What a sublime spectacle," exclaims Dr. Doddridge, "to the people to whom it belonged, must one of those large sepulchres have been! The remains of the first chief of the nation, with his people and their successors through many generations, reposing together in the same tomb."

How analagous the Doctor's observations are to the story of the opening of the McKee's Rocks Mound, and the explanatory lectures of Drs. Magee and Putnam, to be noted later, must strike one here as worthy of remark. Dr. Doddridge next calls attention to the fact well known in his day, that some of the North American Indians had been in the habit, since the coming of the first Europeans, of collecting the bones of their dead from every quarter for the purpose of depositing them with those of their people at their chief towns. The Doctor thinks this must have been the general practice during the time of the erection of the large ancient graves exemplified in the Grave Creek Mound, for the bones found in those which had been opened had been thrown promiscuously together in large collections, as if emptied out of baskets or bags. This is true of many since opened. Jefferson's researches reveal this, and Tomlinson's also, and it was proven true of the McKee's Rocks Mound.

Dr. Doddridge considered strong evidence of the great age of these rude remains of antiquity was to be found in the fact that nowhere there existed even a traditionary account of their origin. He asks: "After what lapse of time does tradition degenerate into fable? At what period of time does fable itself wear out and consign all antiquity to a total and acknowledged oblivion?" All this, he said, had happened with regard to the antiquities of the ancient nations such as Greece, where written history originated. It may be well to recur to some of Dr. Doddridge's reflections, hence for a time we may leave him and proceed to the story of the antiquities of Pittsburgh and environs.

The mound at McKee's Rocks was opened in July, 1896, and thoroughly explored. Many bones were found, and a number of skeletons taken out, including several of extraordinary size, which are preserved in the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh. Details of the exhumations from this mound are presented further on in this chapter.

A similar mound once adorned the summit of Grant's Hill in Pittsburgh, on the square bounded by Grant and Ross streets, Fifth avenue and Diamond street, this plot now the site of the court house of Allegheny county. By successive gradations this hill has been cut down about forty feet. The celebrated Hugh Henry Brackenridge mentions the Grant Hill Mound in his description of Pittsburgh as the rude town about Fort Pitt existed when Brackenridge came to this place in the summer of 1781. When John Scull and his first partner, Joseph Hall, came five years later, Brackenridge proceeded to boom the town in the "Pittsburgh Gazette," the paper still in existence, which Scull and Hall then founded.

Brackenridge the elder, in distinction from his equally distinguished son, Henry Marie Brackenridge, also an author and jurist, wrote a series of articles which were printed in the "Pittsburgh Gazette" beginning with the first number of the paper, July 29, 1786, and continued through six numbers. These articles were headed "Observations on the Country at the Head of the Ohio River, with Digressions on Various Subjects." He mentioned the mound on Grant's Hill briefly: "On the summit of the hill is a mound of earth supposed to be a catacomb. There can be no doubt of this, as upon opening some of the like tumuli or hills of earth, bones are found. The places where stones are plenty, these mounds are raised of stones, and skeletons are found in them." From Brackenridge's few words, the inference is readily drawn that he gave no credence to the theory of a prehistoric race. To him and his townsmen the mounds were ancient burial places of the savages, nothing more.

There were other mounds about Pittsburgh—a small one in what is now Burgwin Park, a playground and a grove of fine old oaks, five acres in extent, at Second and Hazlewood avenues, Pittsburgh; but the most celebrated and largest was on the summit of McKee's Rocks, the "Written Rocks" mentioned by Celoron in his Journal of 1749. These historic "Rocks" are on the Ohio river, at the mouth of Chartiers creek, three miles below the confluence of the two rivers at Pittsburgh, the "Forks of the Ohio" in colonial history, the acute angle there locally called "the Point." One can correctly say "the Rocks" are three miles below the Point Bridge, for Pittsburgh on the south side extends to Chartiers creek. The mound at McKee's Rocks was most likely a smooth, grass-covered tumulus originally. In the sketch of Everts' already mentioned, large trees are shown, estimated by botanists at that date to have been over one hundred years old. These trees were cut away when the mound was opened in 1896. To the knowledge of the writer hereof, there was a small grove on the mound in 1888, when last visited by him.³

³"History Allegheny County, Pa.;" p. 126.

Naturally the opening of the mound excited great curiosity in the then village of McKee's Rocks, and called for daily and some extended items of news in the Pittsburgh newspapers. The explorations were conducted by Professor F. H. Gerrodette, who had for his chief assistant Thomas Harper, of Pittsburgh. The work was done under the direction of a sub-committee of the Committee on the Museum of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Fine Arts and Museum Collection Fund. This sub-committee consisted of Dr. William J. Holland, since 1898 the director of the Museum, and Mr. Charles C. Mellor, now deceased.

Professor Gerrodette came to Pittsburgh in June, 1896, as director of the Carnegie Museum, which had been opened in November, 1895, on the recommendation of that noted American anthropologist, Dr. Frederick Ward Putnam, long curator at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Harvard University, and in 1896 curator of anthropology in the American Museum of New York City. Before the exhumations at McKee's Rocks were completed, Professor Putnam came on and assisted in the work. Gerrodette, however, resigned September 19, 1896, before the work was concluded.

Gerrodette in his training had awakened in him a taste for ethnological research, and soon after entering on his duties as director urged the committee on the Museum to permit him to undertake the thorough examination of the McKee's Rocks Mound. Permission was obtained from the owners of the land, the McKee heirs, to make the necessary excavations. Gerrodette was to prepare a monograph upon the subject, which he did not do. For two months Gerrodette gave all his time to work of exploration of the mound, which proved a task of considerable magnitude, involving great and peculiar care. The results of these explorations were epitomized in the annual report of the director of the Museum, Dr. Holland, for the year ending March 31, 1898, which reads: "F. H. Gerrodette and Thomas Harper, Pittsburgh, Pa. Objects excavated at McKee's Rocks Mound. Consisting of thirty-one skeletons, arrow points, shells, beads, bones of various animals, etc. Together with earth surrounding the burial-places, stones used for encasing the dead, and sections of large trees growing above the remains. In all, about 331 objects, besides a series of photographs made during the excavations. Collected September 30, 1896."

Gerrodette in his explorations accumulated a fine collection of flints and other Indian implements from the McKee's Rocks bottoms. Harper, too, was considerable of an antiquarian in Indian relics. His collection of hundreds of such from various countries is one of the largest in the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh.

The work of excavating at McKee's Rocks began July 18, 1896, and from the record above it appears that the relics obtained were safely and permanently placed September 30th. The actual cost of the excava-

tions and exploring, as given in the financial statement in the Museum report (*supra*) under the line "Special Research, etc.," was \$712.60.

In the work of exhumation, the first results were obtained August 1st, when two skeletons and two skull bones were brought to light, the first skeleton five feet under ground, fifteen feet from the summit and the center of the mound, and sixteen feet from the southern circumference. The thighbones were first discovered, the head lying towards the center. The skulls were in good condition; the teeth in both jaws well preserved. The wisdom teeth indicated the skull of an adult. A few small bones of the skeleton were missing—a humerus and some vertebræ evidently having decayed, but the pelvic and thighbones were complete. There were many arrowheads around the skeleton. The second skeleton was fifteen feet distant from the first, and much like it. The next day another was taken out—that of a man six feet four inches in height. August 4th, the fourth skeleton was exhumed, and two days later three more, one of these in a sitting posture, and near the head was a peculiar piece of pottery, suggestive of a pot of food placed with the remains. With the other skeletons were the bones of a baby and other bones badly jumbled together.

August 7th was the great day of the work. The exhibits this day were most interesting. They included the remains of two ancient fireplaces, in the ashes of which were found fragmentary pieces of bones, some of which appeared to be portions of a skull. The inference drawn was that these fragments were portions of a body that had been burned. They were small and soft, and in a crumbling condition; from a superficial examination it could not be determined whether they were animal or human. Thereupon the newswriters began to conjecture. One said, "If human, it will go to prove that the mound was used by the ancient mound builders for sacrificial purposes, and on this fireplace were *probably* offered human sacrifices—prisoners, or others who were captured in battle." It will not be necessary to discuss the question whether "others captured in battle" were prisoners or not.

A large quantity of stones, shells, and ashes of charcoal, were found in each of the fireplaces, one of which was in a scattered condition and covered a space of two feet wide by four long. The bones were badly discolored by fire. The first fireplace was on a line twenty feet from the center of the mound, and the same distance south of the center. The second was fourteen feet south of the center, on a line ten feet from it, and three feet from the baseline of mound. The fireplace in which the bones were discovered was the larger. When touched by the hand, the bones crumbled to pieces. The usual quantity of arrow and spear heads, flints, etc., were unearthened, but no skeletons. Some of the bones were saved by delicate handling.

The operations of August 12th were also of great interest. The

bones of a female skeleton were dug up, and some of a small child which had evidently been buried in the lap of the female, who was promptly conjectured to have been the child's mother, from the position when found. The body of the woman had evidently been buried with great care, and was sitting in an upright position. Around her had been placed some large flat stones, forming a cist which completely surrounded the skeleton. From the cist only a skull protruded above the limbs below. When the stones were removed, the bones of the child were revealed, a portion of the skull enclosed. Some tiny teeth and a few bones were all that were left of the child. A pottery vessel had been placed alongside of the head of the woman. This vessel was in a fairly good state of preservation, but a piece had been broken off. The vessel was of black clay, baked with shells, and was almost entirely smooth. The skeleton found thus in such a cist and buried with evidences of great care, appeared to indicate that in life she had been a person of distinction. Whereupon by the increasing host of conjecturers she was, with surprising unanimity, dubbed the "Queen of the Mound Builders." They made no reference to her missing crown. The skeleton indicated a woman of good size. Underneath the woman and child, the ninth skeleton was discovered, that of a male. The body of the woman apparently had rested in the lap of the man at the time of burial. The bones of the male skeleton were much decayed. They revealed that they were the framework of a large man.

The finding of the skeleton in a sitting posture alone would indicate great antiquity, for that form of burial was an ancient usage, and not confined to the Western Hemisphere. Dr. J. Wells Foster quotes Herodotus on this point (Book IV, Chap. 190), where "the Father of History," in speaking of the wandering tribes of Northern Africa, says: "They bury their dead *according to the fashion of the Greeks*. * * * They bury them sitting, and are right careful when the sick man is at the point of giving up the ghost, to make him sit down and not let him die lying down."⁴

In many mounds exhumed in Wisconsin, Iowa and Illinois, some of them by Dr. Foster himself, corpses were found sitting, as was this one taken from McKee's Rocks. Dr. Foster also cites the ancient Britons, who buried their dead thus, with the hands raised to the neck and the elbows brought to the knees. The headlines were probably justified in displaying the line "Mounds of Sacrifice" over the insertion of the news story from the mound, August 7, 1896. There is ample authority for the statement that cremation and inhumation have been practiced for ages, though not always at the same time. The charcoal layers, while a frequent accompaniment, were not always found by the mound explorers. The ceremonies of interment, Squier and Davis

⁴"Prehistoric Races of the United States of America," J. Wells Foster, LL. D.; Chicago, 1887; p. 196.

remark, as far as could be deduced from the examinations of the mounds and other burial places, seem to indicate that they were conducted with great regularity and system, and that burial was a solemn and deliberate rite, regulated by fixed customs of perhaps religious or supernatural origin.⁵ These archæologists found layers of charcoal in the excavation of a sepulchral mound twenty-seven feet high, near their home town, Chillicothe, Ohio. Dr. Foster observes, "what strange rites were practiced around the altars in the sacrificial mounds, must be forever, that is to some degree, veiled from our comprehension." He thinks that the mound builders, like the Persian sun-worshippers, had their magi, without whose presence the sacrifice could not go on, and that the elaborately carved pipes, precious stones brought from a distance, and garments woven with patient toil, were freely condemned to undergo the ordeal of fire. Worse than all, the *reliquiæ* of charred bones leave behind the terrible conviction that on these occasions human victims were offered up as an acceptable sacrifice to the elements the sacrificers worshipped. With such suggestive reminders of grewsome barbaric rites, no sighs need be uttered for the passing of the mound on McKee's Rocks.

From day to day, skeletons were taken from the mound. On August 21st, the twentieth and best preserved skeleton was taken out; all the large bones, the vertebræ, ribs and leg bones and the arm bones and those of the hands, were in excellent condition, but the skull had been crushed in by a heavy stone. The femures measured twenty-one inches. The jaws also were in good condition, with not a tooth missing. The stone had crushed the head and chest far down upon the chest. In life, this man measured seven feet in height. The skeleton, as it lay, with the lower bones of the feet gone above the ankle, measured six feet three inches; allowing four inches for the neck and six for the feet, would show the man to have been over seven feet; the thigh bones alone revealed a man of extraordinary size. Again were the headliners happy. This was "the King of the Tribe." The body was found close to three skeletons exhumed a few days before, and was on a center line from them, about three feet distant and fifteen inches deeper.

Skeleton No. 21 was taken out August 25th, and No. 22 the next day. With No. 21 were some implements and many specimens of ancient handicraft pronounced by the archæologists to be the finest specimens that had been discovered to that date. Among them was a flat amulet five inches long and three and a half wide. The ornaments and some stone implements were found between the thigh bones. No. 22 was found only three feet and six inches below the surface, in the center of the mound. They composed a heterogeneous heap, and so badly broken that only a few of the skull bones could be identified.

⁵"Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," Squier and Davis; pp. 196-197.

This body had been buried in a stone cist. The skeleton was in the roots of the tree, and indicated a man of extraordinary size. He can truthfully be said to have been "rooted to the spot," and the reporters did not neglect to say so.

No. 23 was headless—"A Beheaded Warrior," the headlines called him—rather, what was left of him. This skeleton lay under a giant oak three feet six inches in diameter, or about eleven feet in circumference, which showed one hundred sixty-eight rings, thus indicating its age. The skeleton parts were intermingled with the roots of the tree. This was a most interesting find. The bones indicated a man of extraordinary size.

The news of the opening of the mound and the "finds" therein brought several noted scientists to Pittsburgh. There were also some local archaeologists. Thomas Malone of Pittsburgh testified through the newspapers that he had assisted in opening several of the Ohio mounds, and some in Indiana and Tennessee, and from his knowledge of them he was thoroughly convinced that the bones taken from the McKee's Rocks Mound were more than five hundred years old. Mere opinion, this, but it is supported by other and noted scientists.

Charles F. Trill, formerly of the Smithsonian Institution, visited the mound August 28th. Trill attested that the work of exhumation had been well and methodically done. The reporters interviewed him. He told them among other things: "The ancient mound builders built several distinct kinds of mounds: One pyramidal with a flat top; the second, the fortifications made from earth; the third, the burial, those of a conical shape. These latter were usually found with the apex worn away by the elements, or by attrition from the feet of men, and the tops thus gradually became rounded." Further, Trill's account reads:

The prehistoric mounds were of course erected by the mound builders proper, that unknown race that has left so many traces of that character on this continent. These mounds were evidently held in high reverence by the Aborigines—what we know as the Indians, and they too interred their dead in the mounds. The secondary burials were always near the surface, and they were generally found in a sitting position. If the mound at McKee's Rocks had been built by the mound builders proper, the grave of the chief, or dignitary, they covered, was about three feet below the original surface of the ground or the base line of the mound. In these graves calcined bones are frequently found, undeniably indicating cremation. This sort of grave was directly beneath the apex of the mound, and if found, indicates that the mound was built by the unknown race that once inhabited this continent in portions. In their mounds this pottery is found, always black and nearly so, and of good workmanship. The implements found are highly polished, and made from attractive species of stone. The pipes usually have the figure of an animal carved on them, and are short, while the Indians' pipes are longer.

Professor Trill explained further—for the reading public of Western Pennsylvania and adjacent territory was hungry for news from the mound, and explanation of its mysteries. He said: "The fact that skeletons are found near the surface, always indicates secondary burials,

and, if in sitting posture, to my mind there is no doubt that they are the remains of the Aborigines, possibly the warriors slain in battle and taken to the mound for final interment. An interesting fact is that of locality. The mounds were always built on the second terrace or level from a river. This is true of the mound at McKee's Rocks. If a white man's knife were found in it, it would serve only to show that the later Indians who were buried there had come in contact with civilization."

Trill at this point in his explanatory discourse told of the researches of Squier and Davis, and informed the reporters that their book shed much information on the subject of our American mounds. It surely does.⁶

Dr. Trill mentioned a fourth species of mound, animal mounds, and he said he had found these only in the Northwest. They were not burial mounds, but were built in the shape of some animal—some rough outline, most often that of the bear, perhaps without ears, but the general contour plainly indicating what was intended to be represented. There were mounds whose shape was fully as plain as a human figure.

Dr. Frederick Ward Putnam came to Pittsburgh, September 1, 1896, in response to an invitation from the local committee of the Carnegie Museum in charge of the exploration of the McKee's Rocks Mound—Dr. W. J. Holland and Mr. Charles C. Mellor. Dr. Putnam was at the time secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Science, as well as curator of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge. He was the guest of the committee. He repaired immediately to McKee's Rocks and inspected the work. That afternoon a skeleton was taken out, with the usual attendant relics, among these a gorget about four inches square. Dr. Putnam regarded this find of much value, and ventured the opinion that it placed the age of the mound as one thousand years, certainly not less than seven hundred, he said. He, too, talked to the reporters. He said:

There is not the slightest doubt that the McKee's Rocks Mound is an Indian burial place similar to hundreds of others in the Ohio Valley. Its size and arrangement proves that it is of great age. The work of exhumation has been done in the most satisfactory manner. I myself found the remains of a skeleton just to the left of the main cut and near the center, which settles the matter of age in my mind. The skeleton was at the base of the mound, upon iron-impregnated ground, and had been there for hundreds of years, beneath tons of clay which would preserve the bones almost indefinitely; yet when taken out, there was nothing left but small particles of bone dust or cells imbedded in the clay, and remnants of spear heads, and the gorget. This particular skeleton was undoubtedly the first interment in that place, doubtless a person of importance in life. Others may be upon the same level, and I think are.

Later, more bodies were buried on top of the first, and another layer of dirt. This alteration of corpses and layers of earth was followed until the mound reached its height previous to this exploration. Now I cannot say positively as to intensive burials. There is certain proof that an entrance had been made at the top of the mound and continued down for two or three feet, but if anyone has been buried there, it is not yet

⁶"Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley."

known. This is the only intrusion, and may have been merely an attempt to explore the mound, and soon abandoned. I saw a skull when it was brought to the surface, which was alleged to have been that of a Mohawk, but I do not think it ever belonged to any of the Iroquois tribes. This mound was constructed a burial mound, and is not of the fortification type. The skeleton I found was below the cut made by Bennett in 1887, and had not been disturbed.⁷

The same day (September 2nd), Prof. W. J. Magee, of the Smithsonian Institution, arrived in Pittsburgh. He came especially to see the work at the mound. Dr. Magee was head of the Bureau of Ethnology at the Institution. With Dr. Holland and Mr. Mellor, Magee visited the mound and viewed the work and listened to the report on the progress and the results of the work so far.

There had become widespread a story that the McKee's Rocks explorations were a great hoax; that an old burying ground had been desecrated, and the remains of many of the first settlers ruthlessly destroyed or carried away. This story received much credence. Some of the names of such early settlers were given; some of later date were also named. In one instance the man was found alive; in another, the doubters were taken to an old graveyard in the vicinity and shown the grave of a man plainly marked, who was alleged to have been buried in the ancient mound. Therefore, to fully refute such silly and impossible allegations, it was determined by the Museum Committee on the Mound to hold a public meeting where the visiting scientists could lecture on Historic Mounds and Prehistoric Mound Builders, and instruct the people of Pittsburgh and others interested, concerning recent archaeological investigations, and what had been revealed by them.

The meeting was held in the Carnegie Music Hall, the auditorium of the Carnegie Free Library of Allegheny, at Federal and Ohio streets, now on the North Side of the city of Pittsburgh. The meeting was presided over by Samuel H. Church, of Pittsburgh. Seated with him on the platform were the Rev. Father A. A. Lambing, Dr. Holland, Mr. Mellor, Mayor Henry P. Ford of Pittsburgh, and the speakers of the evening (September 2d).

Professor Magee spoke first. He began with the geological phase of his subject, then passed to the ethnological and archaeological aspects. He announced that the McKee's Rocks Mound was a thoroughly typical structure of the prehistoric class, (laying special emphasis on the words *mound* and *structure*) such as are found in all parts of our country. He said at one point: "I desire to say with emphasis that the builders of all of them were the same race. As to the antiquity of this mound at McKee's Rocks, I do not desire to venture an opinion. Though one tree found growing on its surface is shown to have been at least one hundred and seventy years old, the mound itself may have existed centuries before the tree began to grow."

⁷No account of this "cut" has been obtained.

Dr. Putnam followed. He stated that he had devoted more than thirty years of his life to the study of mound building, and that he had been present at the opening of hundreds of them, and, in addition, had superintended the opening of hundreds more. He described the best known mounds in the United States, illustrating many by drawing sketches on a blackboard. He dwelt on the two great varieties of the prehistoric races, termed by scientists the "Longheaded" and the "Shortheaded" stocks. He said the relics found at McKee's Rocks were common to those found in the mounds in the Mississippi Valley. The bones might determine the kind of "old people" that originally populated Western Pennsylvania, for the skulls denoted a people of the "broad-headed" stock. The Doctor illustrated this from skulls he had brought with him, showing points in common with those of the Southwest. An underjaw indicated formatively and structurally that it had not belonged to a white man. The upper arm bones of the skeleton numbered eighteen and twenty, both found near the surface of the mound, gave indubitable evidence that they were parts of the framework of prehistoric men; the same evidence was presented by the flattened tibiae. With much more proof of a similar character, Dr. Putnam kept the interest of his audience attentive to the end of his discourse. He concluded: "The evidence I have produced proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that these bones are those of the 'old people' of the Ohio Valley, and there is no evidence even of the slightest character, in any bone taken from the mound at McKee's Rocks, that a white man was ever interred in it."

The heads, a tooth covered with copper, and the ornaments found with the skeletons, were given full consideration by Dr. Putnam. He said they showed intimate relations between the builders of the McKee's Rocks Mound and those farther down the Ohio river. Stereopticon views of the skeletons were shown by Professor Gerrodette in their original positions, and also views of the work of excavation at various stages. There was a large audience present.

"The Last of the Wyandottes," the reporters called No. 29, which was brought to light September 8th. This skeleton was found on the top of the mound, only eighteen inches under the sod. Like some others, he was evidently at interment crouched in a heap, with head towards the center, and a rude cist of stones built around him. No. 28 was alongside, the two forming the shape of a T. Some arrow heads, a tooth, a piece of pottery, were about these bones. No. 29, the reporters noted, "had the distinction of having been buried higher than any in the sacred pile, fourteen feet six inches from the natural level." This "brave" did not live his allotted time; an arrow, perhaps a bullet wound in his left jaw had taken him off in his prime. He had all his teeth in most excellent condition.

Among the last skeletons taken out were two on September 5th,

interred in a single cist. The skull of one was within the interlaced roots of a tree, the roots over an inch in diameter, which had forced themselves through the cist. Mr. Harper removed the skull and the enclosing roots. These singular objects, as taken out, form one of the most curious and interesting exhibits of the mound relics in the Carnegie Museum. No implements or ornaments were found with these two skeletons. What were supposed to be charred bones were taken out September 10th, and sent with the other relics to the Museum. No other bones were found later.

Of all these skeletons, but two indicated violent death—"The Headless Warrior" one, and the young man with the wound in his jaw. Around the beheaded one there was no stone cist. The beheaded one measured from top of the head to below the knees six feet two inches. The position in which he had been found indicated he had been decapitated before burial, the skull having been found below the shoulder blades, the face turned upwards and in an opposite direction from the position of the body. The skull was in a crumbling condition. This was No. 23, before noted.

A large skeleton was unearthed September 2nd; as it lay, it measured six feet two inches. A skeleton marked No. 27 is laid out in the Museum as found in the mound, fifteen feet four inches from the top, considered from the number of ornaments found around it and from its position to have been a great warrior, of more than average size. With him there were taken out a stone tomahawk, five excellent perforators, two flakers, an amulet, a bone scraper, two spear points, a bear's tooth encased in a copper sheath, 160 shell beads, 357 loose beads, and a pottery vessel. These articles have been arranged around the skeleton in the glass case in which it has been placed. It is a curious sight. A single glance is sufficient to tell the most casual visitor that the bones are very old, for they look it. The word *relics* applies properly to all material taken from the mound.

Among other visitors was Captain J. R. Johnson, of Clarksville, Pennsylvania, who had opened many mounds in the Southwest and had obtained a valuable collection of relics from them. He stated the mound was like many he had seen explored in the Southwest. M. W. Thompson, then chief engineer for the Pennsylvania railroad, was a visitor, and was questioned regarding intensive burials in the mound. His opinion was to the contrary. He said, "From what I know about mounds, I am positive no such burials were ever made in this mound. The state of the layers of earth proves that conclusively."

Dr. R. A. Brown, of Leavenworth, Kansas, then president of the Leavenworth Academy of Natural Sciences, came to see the relics and the work. He said that thirty-one mounds, several of which had been opened, were within a few miles of Leavenworth. He advanced the

theory that these works were original with the mound builders proper, who had been driven to the West by the Indians, who later added to the mounds, and that some burials in the Leavenworth mounds that were near the tops could not have been later than the Revolutionary War period. From what the Doctor knew of the Indians of that section, he was thoroughly convinced that they were absolutely too lazy to undertake the work of heaping dirt upon the remains of their dead. The western mounds, Dr. Brown said, were different from that on McKee's Rocks; those in the West were covered with stones, while at McKee's Rocks nothing but soft earth was heaped over the bodies. Towards the Ohio or to the north, there were the remains of a good sodded slope and a fine grove on it.

Besides the numerous articles which have been mentioned as taken out with the bones, there were also many arrow and spear points found loose, and a number of stone implements such as axes, tomahawks, and broken pieces of three pottery vessels. All of these were sent to the Museum, and are part of the collection there of the McKee's Rocks Mound.

Dr. Holland, in charge of the work of exhumation, with Mr. Mellor, his colleague, was at the time chancellor of the University of Western Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Holland gave the history of these mounds much study and research. He was much sought by the reporters for his opinions, and gave them freely, with clear explanations, which were printed with the daily news of the explorations in the papers. He said among other things, that the McKee's Rocks Mound was a genuine work of the class once common in all this region. He had frequent conversations with the late William M. Darlington, the Pittsburgh historian, concerning the mounds on McKee's Rocks and on Grant's Hill, who described the latter. Mr. Darlington related that he had as a boy played among the stones that surmounted the mound on Grant's Hill.

There was a small mound on the "Puckety road," seven miles from the city, to the north and east, which, in connection with Dr. Hiram Depuy, Dr. Holland had opened. "We found," said the Doctor, "several acres which abounded in shells and the bones of Indians, dogs, deer and other animals, at a depth of from twelve to eighteen inches. We regarded the site as one once occupied by an Indian village which had been probably chosen with reference to the safety of the inhabitants, as the view extending to the Allegheny river on one side and the Monongahela on the other would reveal the approach of an enemy from either side, and thus afford an opportunity of escape to the river bottom on the opposite side. The purchase of this land for the erection of a Roman Catholic church and for cemetery purposes put a stop to the work of exploration."

Dr. Depuy, now of Tacoma, Washington, writes that the Puckety Road Mound was known as Rich Hill, and was three-quarters of a mile east of the intersection of that road with Lincoln avenue. The mound was not known as a burial place until opened in 1886. Dr. Depuy in his letter describes the work of exhumation as carried on under the direction of himself and Dr. Holland. His description of the contents of the mound is so similar to that of the contents of the McKee's Rocks mound, that it may be omitted here. Several skeletons were exhumed from the Puckety Road Mound. The situation of this mound was high and corresponds with the situation of other mounds mentioned herein.

Dr. Holland's impromptu talks to the newspaper representatives included substantially the facts of science as narrated before in the lectures of the scientists who have been quoted. The McKee's Rocks Mound, he said, had been known for a century and a half, and has been frequently mentioned in local histories. The relics, implements, and the bones and the shapes of the skulls, reveal indubitably the existence in this section of the prehistoric race termed the mound builders.

The Depuy Collection from the Puckety road excavations is in the Carnegie Museum. It is catalogued in the Annual Report for 1898, in the Loan Collection lists; the Indian or prehistoric relics—pipes, bones, teeth and stone implements—in this collection numbering 364 objects. "The Indian implements were mostly obtained from burial places near Pittsburgh," the catalogue said. Captain James R. Johnson loaned that year a similar and larger collection of Indian relics collected by his son, H. L. Johnson, of Clarksville, Tennessee, in that vicinity, comprising 408 items, numbering 758 objects—Indian pottery, flint and stone implements, altogether similar to the relics found about Pittsburgh. There are many relics such as these in the Museum, one of the notable that of Isaac Yohe, of Monongahela, Pennsylvania. These are among the earliest exhibits in the Museum. They have been listed in the catalogue of the first annual report, 1898. In looking over these lists there can be found frequent mention of antiquities of Indian relics picked up in and about Pittsburgh, and also of "the extinct people," as Dr. Dordridge has termed them.

Having thus given the story of the exploration of the McKee's Rocks Mound and its lessons, if only for comparison, it is fitting to tell of others similar, and presenting practically the same story of the mound builders proper, and to tell also some story of the fortification mounds, for some of these were in the Western Country, as all the country beyond the Alleghenies was termed in Colonial and Revolutionary times. The most elaborate, largest and celebrated work of the mound builders in North America is the great mound at Moundsville, West Virginia, known to archaeologists and in history as the Grave Creek Mound. Moundsville, the county seat of Marshall county, West Virginia, has

been given that name since the beginning of the Civil War, for geographies of that period show the name Elizabeth, the first name of the town. In the story of this great tomb there will be observable throughout a striking similarity to the mound on McKee's Rocks, and it will be evident that the same race of people built both. The problem why one was built of such astounding dimensions, and others of various and far smaller dimensions, must remain forever unanswered. In the unfolding of the history of the mounds in this region and in Virginia and the Upper Ohio Valley, two of our Pittsburgh historians will appear prominently, and be quoted as authority, and their accounts are old. These men were Neville B. Craig and Henry Marie Brackenridge, both natives of Pittsburgh and contemporaries almost from birth: 1787-1786, respectively. Each knew of the mound on McKee's Rocks, and each in boyhood romped over the mound on Grant's Hill, and played in the beautiful grove on its summit and sloping sides.⁸

The historian Avery in a recent work, in his chapter therein headed "The Neolithic Americans," gives a good description of the Grave Creek Mound, which he portrays as seventy feet high and cone-shaped, and nearly three hundred feet in diameter at its base.⁹ Mr. Avery doubtless obtains his facts from Craig's "Olden Time," (Vol. I, pp. 232, *et seq*), where the editor of that work inserted an extract from the "American Pioneer," and a long letter from A. B. Tomlinson giving the history of the mound from the time Tomlinson's grandfather settled on Grave Creek in 1772. The "Pioneer" in its introductory paragraph said that great praise was due Mr. Tomlinson for his careful preservation of that tremendous structure of ancient American aboriginal industry. "Many of our towns," continues the editor of the "Pioneer," "vandal-like, have destroyed their ancient curiosities. What a pity!" (Pittsburgh has for one). The "Pioneer" printed also a short letter from A. B. Boreman, of Elizabethtown, who sent a *facsimile* of the "stone" taken from the mound, of which more anon. Mr. Boreman said there were a great many mounds in the vicinity of Grave Creek, "some of which had been digged down, and in which there had been found many bones of human beings; copper beads, also, and stone tubes ten and one-half inches in length and having a calibre of three-fourths of an inch, some of which were full of something that might be called red paint of a light shade, with other things of a similar character." The mound, he said, was situated on an extended plain and within the suburbs of the town, 250 yards from the court house, and a quarter of a mile from the Ohio river. Boreman placed its altitude at 69 feet, and the circumference of the base a little more than 300 yards. It was shaped like the frustrum of

⁸"Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," H. M. Brackenridge, 1830; p. 61.

⁹"A History of the United States and its People, etc.," Elroy McKendree Avery; Cleveland, 1901; Vol. I, p. 39

a cone, flat on top, the distance across the top 50 feet. These figures closely approximate Avery's.

Tomlinson's letter reveals so much in telling of the exploration of his mound that is so similar to the account of the explorations of the mound on McKee's Rocks that his narrative will be largely drawn on in order to show the similarities and differences between the mounds, and that the contents of the mounds was not materially dissimilar with the exception of the vaults, which betoken much labor. Mr. Tomlinson first describes the Grave Creek Flats, a large scope of bottom land extending from north to south about four miles, and containing nearly 3,000 acres. Big and Little Grave creeks both enter into the Ohio at these flats. The flats and the creeks obtained their names by reason of the many tumuli, commonly called Indian graves, which were located on the flats, and especially between the creeks. The creeks were not navigable, but of the kind known to settlers as mill streams. The flats were composed of first and second bottoms, the first about 200 yards wide, running the whole length of the flats. The great flood of 1832, Mr. Tomlinson asserts, was ten feet on this bottom, but lacked from ten to twenty feet from the height of the second bottom where the Indian mounds were. There were no signs of any such works on the lower land. Mr. Tomlinson thought it could reasonably be inferred that the brow of the second bottom was the bank of the river when the works were erected. This was not uncommon, he said, where such works appear near the streams that have first and second bottoms. This deduction does not necessarily follow, for the mound builders may have known of and seen the first bottom frequently overflowed and the second high and dry, and built accordingly. Elizabethtown, now Moundsville, is situated on the second bottom, near the mouth of Little Grave creek and on the widest part of the flats. Mr. Tomlinson wrote as follows concerning the "Mammoth Mound," as he termed it, which with its contents formed the subject of his narrative: "This mound is surrounded by various other mounds and ancient works, and in respect to other localities the situation, as respects defense, was well chosen on the brow of the second bottom, and partially encompassed by steepes and ravines."

Tomlinson recites the dimensions as given by Boreman, stating that the flat on the top of the mound until about the time he writes, was dish-shaped. The depth of the depression in the center was three feet, and its width forty feet. He thought this depression was caused by the falling-in of the two vaults which were originally constructed in the mound, but which had fallen in, and the earth had sunken over them.

Tomlinson's description is most interesting:

The mound was discovered by my grandfather soon after he settled the flats, and was covered with as large timbers as any in the surrounding forests, and as close

together. The center of the hollow was occupied by a large black beech. The mound was early and much visited. Dates were cut on this beech as early as 1734. It was literally covered with names and dates to the height of ten feet, none of a more remote period than the date above; most of them were added after the country began to be settled, from 1779 to 1790. On the very summit of the mound stood a white oak which seemed to have died of old age about fifteen years ago. It stood on the western edge of the dish. We cut it off and with great care and nicety, counted the growths, which evidently showed the tree to have been five hundred years old. It carried its thickness well for about fifty feet, where it branched out into several large limbs. Top and all, it was about seventy feet high, which, added to the height of the mound, it might well have been styled the Ancient Monarch of the Flats, if not of the forest. A black oak stands now on the east side of the mound, which is as large as the white oak was, but it is situated on the side of the mound, about ten feet lower than the throne of the white oak.

Prompted by curiosity, or some other cause, on March 19, 1838, we commenced an excavation in this mound. I wrought at it myself from the commencement to the termination, and what I am about to tell you is from my own personal observation, which if necessary could be substantiated by others. We commenced on the north side and excavated towards the center. Our horizontal shaft was ten feet high and seven feet wide, and ran on the natural surface of the ground or floor of the mound.

At a distance of 111 feet we came to a vault that had been excavated in the natural earth before the mound was commenced. This vault was dug out eight by twelve feet square and seven feet deep. Along each side and the two ends, upright timbers were placed which supported timbers that were thrown across the vault and supported the ceiling. These timbers were covered over with rough unhewn stone, of the same quality as is common in the neighborhood. These timbers rotted, and the stone tumbled into the vault, the earth of the mound following quite filled it. The timbers were entirely deranged, but could be traced by the rotten wood, which was in such condition as to be rubbed to pieces between the fingers. The vault was as dry as any tight room; its sides very nearly correspond with the cardinal points of the compass, and it was lengthwise from north to south.

In this vault were found two human skeletons, one of which had no ornaments or artificial work of any kind about it. The other was surrounded by 650 ivory beads and an ivory ornament about six inches long, one and five-eighths inches wide in the middle, and half an inch wide at the ends, with two holes through it of one-eighth of an inch diameter. It is flat on one side and oval on the other. The beads resemble button moulds, and vary in diameter from three to five-eighths of an inch. In thickness they vary from that of a common pasteboard to one-fourth of an inch, the size of the holes through them varying with the diameter of the beads from one-eighth of an inch in the largest. Some of the beads are in good state of preservation, retaining even the original polish; others not so favorably situated are decayed, some crumbled to dust. I count only the whole ones left. The large ornament is in a good state of preservation, but somewhat corroded. The first skeleton we found on the 4th of April; the second on the 16th.

Mr. Tomlinson sent a drawing of the ornament, which Craig was obliged to omit from his story. He was unable to reproduce the other drawing Tomlinson mentions further on. In fact, with the exception of one of Celoron's leaden plates and a map of Braddock's route "the Olden Time" is not illustrated. To continue Tomlinson's story:

After searching this vault, we commenced a shaft ten feet in diameter at the center of the mound, on top and in the bottom of the depression before mentioned. At the depth of thirty-four or thirty-five feet above the vault, at the bottom, we discovered another vault, which occupied the middle space between the bottom and the top. The shaft we continued down through the mound to our first excavation.

The second or upper vault was discovered June 9th. It had been constructed in

every respect like that at the base of the mound, except that its length lay east and west, or across that at the base perpendicularly over it. It was equally filled with earth, rotten wood, etc., by the falling in of the ceiling. The floor of this vault was also sunken by the falling in of the lower one, with the exception of a portion of one end.

In the upper vault was found one skeleton only, but many trinkets, as 1,700 ivory beads, 500 sea shells of the involute species, that were worn as beads, and five copper bracelets that were about the wrist bones of the skeleton. There were also 150 pieces of isinglass (mica), and the stone of which I send you a drawing herewith. The stone is flat on both sides, and is about three-eighths of an inch thick. It has no engraving on it except on one side. There is no appearance of any hole or ear, as if it had been worn as a medal. It is of sandstone, of a very fine and close grit. The beads found in this vault were like those found in the other one, as to size, material and decay. The bracelets are of pure copper coated with rust as thick as brown paper. They are an oblong circle (?). The inner diameter of one is two and one-fourth inches one way, and two and five-eighths the other. They vary in size and thickness; the largest is half an inch thick, and the smallest half that thickness. They were made of round bars beat so that the ends came together, which forms the circle. The five bracelets weigh seventeen ounces. The shells in this vault were three-eighths of an inch long and one-fourth inch in diameter at the swell, or largest part. The pieces of isinglass are but little thicker than writing paper, and are generally from one and a half to two inches square; each piece had two or three holes through it about the size of a knitting needle, most likely for the purpose of sewing or in some way fastenening them to the clothing.

The beads were found about the neck and breast bones of the skeleton. The sea shells were in like manner distributed over the neck and breast bones of the skeleton in the upper vault. The bracelets were around the wrist bones, the pieces of isinglass were strewn all over the body. What a gorgeous looking object this monarch must have been. Five bracelets shining on the wrists, seventeen beads and five hundred sea shells that we found whole about his breast and neck, besides one hundred and fifty brilliants of mica on all parts of his body! No doubt oft the object of the thronged admiring gaze. The stone with the characters on it was found about two feet from the skeleton. Could it be read, doubtless would tell something of the history of this illustrious bed, interred high above his quite gorgeous companion in the lower story.

The skeleton first found in the lower vault was lying on the back, parallel with and close to the west side of the vault. The feet were about the middle of the vault; its body was extended at full length; the left arm was lying along the left side; the right arm as if raised over the head; the bones lying near the right ear and crossed over the crown of the head. The head of this skeleton was towards the south. There were no ornaments found with it. The earth had fallen and covered it over before the ceiling fell, and thus protected it was not much broken. We have it preserved for the inspection of visitors; it is five feet nine inches high, and has a full and perfect set of teeth in a good state of preservation; the head is of a fine intellectual mould; whether male or female cannot be ascertained, as the pelvis was broken. Opinions differ as to sex; my own is, that it is of a male.

The second skeleton found in the vault, and which had the trinkets about it, lay on the west side, with the head to the east, or in the same direction to that on the opposite side. The feet of this one were likewise near the center of the west side. The earth had not crumbled down over it before the ceiling fell, consequently it was not much broken (as was also that in the upper vault). There is nothing in the remains of any of these skeletons which differ materially from those of common people.

The skeleton in the upper vault lay with its feet against the south side of the vault, and the head toward the northeast. It is highly probable that the corpses were all placed in a standing position, and subsequently fell. Those in the lower vault most likely stood on the east and west sides, opposite to each other—the one in the upper vault on the south side.

The mound is composed of the same kind of earth as that around it, being a fine loamy sand, but differs very much in color from that of the natural ground. After penetrating about eight feet with the first or horizontal excavation, blue spots began to

appear in the earth of which the mound is composed. On close examination these spots were found to contain ashes and bits of bones. These spots increased as we approached the center; at the distance of 120 feet within, the spots were so numerous and condensed as to give the earth a clouded appearance, and excited the admiration of all who saw it. Every part of the mound presents the same appearance, except near the surface. I am convinced that the blue spots were occasioned by the depositing remains of bodies consumed by fire. I am also of the opinion that the upper vault was constructed long after the lower one, but for this opinion I do not know that there is any evidence.

We have overlaid the excavation from the sides to the center with brick, and paved to bottom. We excavated the vault in the center twenty-eight feet in diameter. It is well walled with brick, and neatly plastered. The rotunda or shaft in the center is also walled with brick. The foundation of the rotunda is in the center of the lower vault, and around this we have made departments for the safe keeping of the relics, nearly where they were found; this vault we light with twenty candles for the accommodation of visitors, many of whom have never seen it.

Upon the top of the mound and directly over the rotunda, we have erected a three-story frame building, which we call the observatory. The lower story is thirty-two feet in diameter, the second twenty-six feet, and the upper story ten.

Mr. Tomlinson proceeds to further describe this observatory, which he states was erected in 1837, and then says: "In addition to the relics found in the Mammoth Mound, I have a great number and variety of relics found in the neighborhood, many of them found with skeletons which were nearly decayed. I have some beads found about two miles from the great mound, that are evidently a kind of porcelain, and very similar if not identical in substance with artificial teeth set by dentists. I have also an image of stone found with other relics about eight miles distant; it is in human shape, sitting in a cramped position, the face and eyes projecting upwards; the nose is what is called Roman. On the crown of the head is a knot, the hair is concentrated and tied. The head and features particularly are a display of great workmanship and ingenuity; it is eleven inches in height, but if it were straight would be double that height. It is generally believed to be an idol." Mr. Craig makes no comments anywhere in Tomlinson's story, save the foot-note, referring to Tomlinson's sketch, to wit: "This figure we must omit."¹⁰

Dr. J. W. Foster has inserted a woodcut engraving of the great mound in his work, "Prehistoric Races, etc." (p. 190), showing large trees on the summit and on the sides of the great mound, and the observatory that crowns it. He credits the picture to Squier and Davis. Dr. Foster's book was first published in 1873.

Dr. Foster quotes at length from Mr. Tomlinson's account, which he states Tomlinson had published in pamphlet form when his explorations were completed. Foster gives the exact number of the ornaments Tomlinson found in the mound, in order to portray a just idea of their profusion. The discs cut from the shells of the *Busycon perversum* in all were 2,350; the small shells known as *Marginella apicina*, which were

¹⁰"American Pioneer;" Vol. II, p. 239 *et seq.* "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 232-238

pierced at the shoulder for stringing, numbered 500; and the specimens of mica, 25. No date is given by Craig in the reproduction of Tomlinson's letter. Dr. Foster states that the stone "inscribed with antique alphabetical characters" was not produced by Tomlinson until two years after the explorations.

Dr. Clemens, "an observer," is quoted by Dr. Foster, Clemens stating that in carrying the horizontal excavation, at a distance of twelve or fifteen feet there were found numerous masses composed of charcoal and burnt bones. On reaching the lower vault from the top, Clemens states further, it was determined to enlarge it for the accommodation of visitors, when ten or more skeletons were discovered.

Dr. Foster was well satisfied from the descriptions that the principal occupant of the mound, as indicated by its magnitude, was a royal personage. He draws the astounding inference and says no other can be drawn, than that many of this great one's attendants were strangled, and that others were sacrificed as a burnt offering. The same evidences of human sacrifice appeared plainly enough in the exhumations at McKee's Rocks. The strangulation theory we may accept only as inferential. Dr. Foster finds in ancient history good authority for his beliefs. He quotes Herodotus' account of the burial of the Scythian king.¹¹ A mound very nearly as large as that on Grave Creek is mentioned by Dr. Foster at Miamisburg, Montgomery county, Ohio, which he states measures 68 feet in height and 850 in circumference.

There are many writers who have been interested in the Grave Creek Mound, and consequently much history of it, some of it old. Schoolcraft attempted to ascertain the purport of these mounds from living Indians in his time. Replies given him by the older sagamores were vague, which he thought could be regarded as designed in some measure to repress the inquisitive spirit among immigrants, which is known to be distasteful to the native red men, and calculated to awaken suspicion. Schoolcraft ventures the opinion that these rude mausolea were once regarded by the Indians as places of interment of their great men of past ages, and as places of resort for pious reflection and communion. He presents illustrations of a skull, and the stone with the curious inscriptions upon it, alleged to have been taken from the Great Mound on Grave creek. Schoolcraft accepted the stone as genuine, but gave no translation, nor any mention of any.¹² A footnote in the third edition of "Doddridge's Notes," (Pittsburgh, 1912, edited by John S. Ritenour and William T. Lindsey), states that the Grave Creek Great Mound was opened in 1888 by Mr. Tomlinson. The year is an error in composition, readily noted from Tomlinson's extended account above.

Dr. Doddridge, familiar with Jefferson's work, quotes him in the

¹¹"History;" Book IV, Chap. 72. "Pre-Historic Races;" Foster, p. 192.

¹²"Indian Tribes of the United States, etc.;" H. R. Schoolcraft, Vol. VI, p. 612.

original edition of Doddridge's "Notes on the Settlements," in one of eleven footnotes made by Doddridge himself in his book. He mentions Jefferson's estimate that the mound he examined on the Rivanna, in Albermarle county, Virginia, near Monticello, might contain a thousand skeletons. Doddridge, in supposing Jefferson's estimate warranted, inquired what must be the number of skeletons in the great mound of Grave creek. Doddridge requested those curious enough to make the calculation to do so and make public the results.

The McKee's Rocks Mound yielded but thirty-one that could be identified. How many had disintegrated into bone dust cannot be estimated. A casual glance at the skeletons and remains of skeletons in the Carnegie Museum, and a comparison with the classroom skeletons for anatomical study, impresses the most ordinary observer that there is a vast difference in their appearances, and that the former are undoubtedly of rare antiquity. The inference that they date back a thousand years is not untenable.

The Grave Creek Mound is also accorded mention by Winsor. In the chapter, "The Antiquity of Man in America," noting the protracted controversies over the genuineness of certain relics, he states that the best known of these was the inscribed stone found in the Great Mound on Grave Creek. He attests that this is the largest mound in the Ohio Valley, and that it was earliest described by its owner, Mr. Tomlinson, in 1838, and mentions Tomlinson's excavations and his construction of the rotunda in the center of the mound as a showroom for relics, and then says: "Here as taken from the mound, appeared two years later what is known as the Grave Creek Stone, bearing an inscription in inscrutable characters. The supposed relic soon attracted attention.¹³ Naturally it did. Schoolcraft was charmed with the find, and was ably supported by Dr. J. P. McLean in maintaining its authenticity, while Colonel Charles Whittlesey was sure of its fraudulent character. This was "the only" inscribed stone of the mound builders of the Upper Ohio region. None such could have been in the mound on Grant's Hill, and none was found in that on McKee's Rocks; nor are any mentioned by Jefferson, Brackenridge, and other early investigators. There are many persons yet living in the town of McKee's Rocks who saw the mound opened and what was taken from it, and many in Pittsburgh also, including Dr. Holland, who had charge of the work of excavation. All the relics from the mound can be seen in the "Indian Room" in the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh.¹⁴

Dr. James M. Callahan, of West Virginia, in a recent work¹⁵ says: "Indian stone graves and earth mounds are found all over West Vir-

¹³"Narrative and Critical History of America," Justin Winsor, Vol. I, p. 371.

¹⁴See "Publications of the Carnegie Museum," No. 3, 1898; p. 100.

¹⁵"Genealogical and Personal History of the Upper Monongahela Valley," Lewis Pub. Co., New York, 1912; edited by Dr. B. L. Butcher; Vol. I, p. 198.

ginia. The largest mound and the largest anywhere is at Moundsville. This is one of the best known mounds in the country. A stone with hieroglyphics found in it many years ago led to a wide discussion among scholars in many countries. It was hoped for a time that its interpretation might be discovered, and that it would throw light on the origin of the Indians. The stone was finally pronounced a hoax. It was probably dropped in by some joker while the mound was being excavated, and when the workmen were temporarily absent."

Other tourists down the Ohio have described the Grave Creek Mound. Thus James Hall in 1828, who was there April 18th, remarks: "Between Wheeling and Marietta there is little worthy of attention, except the mounds and fortifications on Mr. Tomlinson's farm on Grave Creek. It is a circular mound sixty-eight feet high and fifty-five feet in diameter at the summit. This is one of the largest mounds in the Western Country, and exhibits every indication of great antiquity, its whole surface being covered with forest trees of the largest size, and the earth presenting no peculiarity to distinguish it from the adjacent soil."¹⁶

Mr. Hall wrote before Tomlinson began his explorations. Henry Howe in his "Historical Collections of Virginia," (1845), describes the Grave Creek Mound at some length in his sketch of Marshall county, and presents a good picture of it.

F. Cuming, voyaging down the Ohio from Pittsburgh in 1806, landed at Grave creek and stopped with the Tomlinsons. He states that when he was with them they had been settled there thirty years. His story of the mound reads thus:

Mrs. Tomlinson obligingly permitted one of her sons to guide us to what is called the Indian grave, which is about a quarter of a mile to the southward of the house. It is a circular mound like the frustrum of a cone, about 180 yards in circumference round the base, sixty round the flat on the top, and about seventy feet perpendicular height. In the center of the flat top is a shallow hollow like a filled up crater of an old volcano, which hollow or settle is said to have been formed within the memory of the first neighboring settlers, and is supposed by them to be occasioned by the settling of the earth on the decayed bodies.

The whole mound appears to be formed of clay, and is evidently a work of art, though I am not of opinion that it has been a general or public cemetery, but either a mausoleum raised over and in memory of a great Indian chief, a temple for religious worship, or a site of a fortification or citadel to serve as a place of retreat from a superior foe. About three years ago the neighbors perforated the north side at about half the elevation, digging in horizontally about twelve feet, without other satisfaction to their curiosity than the finding a part of a human jaw bone, the bone rough and honeycombed, but the teeth entire, and the surrounding clay of a white chalky substance.

There are four or five small mounds, all within a few hundred yards of the great one, each about thirty feet in diameter, much lower in proportion than it, all rounded over the top, and, like the great one, showing their antiquity by the size of the trees, plants and shrubs which cover them, and having more than the appearance of tumuli.

The bark of the trees which crown this remarkable monument is covered by the initials of visitors cut into it wherever they could reach—the number of which, considering the remote situation, is truly astonishing.¹⁷

¹⁶"Letters from the West, etc.," James Hall, London, 1828; p. 78.

¹⁷"Tour to the Western Country."

We need not express surprise at Cuming's observations here. The mound has continued a great curiosity, and is well worth seeing. Mr. Cuming, in the appendices to his book, inserts one pertaining to mounds and the so-called "fortifications." He leads an extract of six and a half pages with this paragraph: "In the sixth volume of the 'American Philosophical Transactions' will be found the following observations on the American Antiquities by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Madison of Virginia. He treats of the supposed Indian fortifications in the Western Country, and adopts an entirely new opinion concerning them. Having visited some of these remarkable works on the river Kenhawa and its vicinity, he has been induced to wholly reject the common belief of their being fortifications or military works. His reasons for this conviction we offer in his own words."

Bishop Madison's opinion was based upon military principles—many ancient works had a ditch within the enclosure, and the earth that was thrown up, or the supposed parapet, lacked the elevation necessary for a defensive work. These circumstances occurred without exception in all the works he examined, which presented an entire or regular circle. The imaginary breastwork never exceeded four or five feet in height, in his time, many only three feet. A bank of earth thrown up in the usual way does not wash, and loses little of its height in a century, or twenty centuries, he said. One-fourth of the height would be more than a sufficient allowance for loss in this manner. The ditches were shallow—four feet wide usually, and a little more than two feet deep. He concluded that, making allowance for the operation of all the causes that tend to diminish the depth of a ditch, and from the measurements of many ditches he had taken, that originally they were very trifling fossæ, and from a study of military art from past ages in many countries, even in ancient Greece, that these "ancient fortifications" in North America, as a defense, could not oppose a sufficient obstacle to human agility, and this point would be decided in nearly the same manner by every people unacquainted with gunpowder. The decision would not admit of such fosses and parapets as we find dispersed over the Western Country, "and man in this new world has lost no portion of his former agility," he forcefully finished.

Bishop Madison noted particularly the constant similarity of the "antiquities" he examined. It was as constant, he said, as the rude edifices or cabins that the first white settlers reared. The description of one answered for all. There was no anomaly observable except that occasionally the variation of a few yards in the diameter of the circles.

These observations in the main will apply to the "imaginary fortifications," as Bishop Madison terms them, about Pittsburgh. In Virginia, in nearly all he examined, in a direct line with the gateway to the fort, there was a mound of easy access, from ten to twenty-five feet

in height. These mounds effectually commanded the whole enclosure. There was not a missile weapon, the Bishop said, that would not, from the height and distance of the mound, fall within the fortification, and that they would not have fallen in vain.

To rear a fortification and then build a castle or mound around it, which would give to an enemy the entire command of the fortification, would, in his opinion, be as little recommended by an Esquimau as by a Bonaparte. There was no such blunder committed, he contended—no such discordancy of means to be found. On the contrary, there could be traced a perfect harmony of parts. Bishop Madison follows these statements with much matter relating to the mounds, and his remarks and conclusions are pertinent to the story of Pittsburgh's mounds. To quote Bishop Madison freely:

These mounds are universally cemeteries. Wherever they have been opened, we find human bones and Indian relics. They have grown up gradually as death robbed a family of its relatives, or a tribe of its warriors. Alternate strata of bones and earth, mingled with stones and Indian relics, establish this position, and hence it is, we find, near the summit of these mounds, articles of European manufacture such as the tomahawk and the knife, but never at any depth in the mound. Besides, it is well known that among many of the Indian tribes the bones of the deceased are annually collected and deposited in one place; that funeral rites are then solemnized with the warmest expressions of love and friendship; and that this untutored race, urged by the feelings of nature, consigned to the bosom of earth, along with the remains of their deceased relatives and friends, food, weapons of war, and often those articles which they possessed and most highly valued when alive. This custom has reared, beyond doubt, those numerous mounds. Thus, instead of having any relation to military arrangements or involving any of the absurdity above mentioned, they furnish, on the contrary, strong evidence that the enclosures themselves were not destined for defensive works, because reared as these mounds have been, by small but successive annual increments, they plainly evince that the enclosures which are so near to them have been, not the temporary stations of a retiring or weakened army, but the fixed habitations of a family and a long line of descendants.

That these mounds, or repositories of the dead, sometimes also called barrows, were formed by the deposition of bones and earth at different periods, is now rendered certain by the perfect examination to which one of them on the Rivanna was subjected by the author of the "Notes on Virginia." His penetrating genius seldom touches a subject without throwing on it new light. Upon this he has shown all that can be desired. The manner in which the mound or barrow was opened, afforded an opportunity in viewing its interior with accuracy.

Bishop Madison quotes Jefferson here:

Appearances certainly indicate that it has derived both origin and growth from the accustomary collection of bones and deposition of them together; that the first collection had been deposited on the common surface of the earth, and a few stones put over it; that the second had been laid on this, had covered more or less of it in proportion to the number of bones, and was then covered with earth, and so on. The following are the particular circumstances which gave it this aspect: (1) The number of bones; (2) their confused positions; (3) their being in different strata; (4) the strata in one part having no correspondence with those in another; (5) the different states of decay in these strata, which seem to indicate a difference in the time of inhumation; (6) the existence of infant bones among them.¹⁸

¹⁸"Notes on Virginia," in "Writings of Jefferson," Library Edition, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 137-138.

Bishop Madison continues:

The number of bones in this barrow, which was only forty-five feet in diameter at the base and about twelve feet high, authorized the conjecture (by Jefferson) that it contained a thousand skeletons. Now as all of these numerous barrows have the most obvious similarity, we may conclude that what is true of one is *ceteris paribus*, applicable to all. The only difference consists in their dimensions. I visited one situated on the low grounds of the Kenhawa which might be almost called the pyramid of the West. Its base measured 140 yards in circumference, its altitude very nearly forty feet. It resembles a truncated cone; upon the top there is a level of twelve or thirteen feet in diameter. A tall oak of two and a half feet in diameter which had grown on the top, and had long looked down on the humbler foresters below, had experienced a revolutionary breeze which swept it from its majestic station, apparently about six or seven years before my visit. Within a few miles of this stands another which is said to be higher. No marks of excavation near the mound are to be seen. On the contrary, it is probable from an examination of the work that the earth composing the mound was brought from some distance. It is also highly probable that this was done at different periods, for we cannot believe that the savages would submit to the patient exertion of labor requisite to accomplish a work at any one undertaking. Near to this large one are several upon a much smaller scale. But if that upon the Rivanna, which was so accurately examined, contained the bones of a thousand people, this upon the Kenhawa would contain forty times that number, estimating their capacities as cones. But who will believe that war has ever been glutted with so many Indian victims by any one battle. The probability seems to be that these mounds, formed upon so large a scale; were national burying places, especially as they are not connected with any particular enclosure, whilst those upon a smaller scale, and which are immediately connected with such a work, were the repositories of those who had there once enjoyed a fixed habitation. But whether the conjectures be admitted or not, the inferences from what has been said, that those enclosures could not be designed as fortifications, will, I think, be obvious to any one.

Bishop Madison gives three more strong reasons for his belief; first, some were built at the foot of a hill where stones could have been rolled down on them by the thousands; again, many were too remote from water, and no indications of any wells; water is most necessary to the besieged. Still again, the works were too numerous, every foot of the Western Country was covered by them, had been valiantly and obstinately disputed. Those met with on the Kanawha and every tributary of that stream, several in a square mile, were as thick as the cabins of the farmers. There were no advantageous selections of ground for forts such as at the junction of the Kanawha and Elk rivers, and too many in low places; in short, no fortifications where civilized people would have built them.

James Madison, above quoted, born in 1749, died in 1812, was the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Virginia. He was first a member of the faculty and then president of William and Mary College. He was consecrated bishop in 1790. He published sermons and occasional papers, and was best known for his eulogy on Washington in 1800, and for a map of Virginia which he prepared.

How much these deductions and opinions may differ from those of more modern antiquarians can be left to the reader to be determined from the close reading of the extracts from the writings and discourses

of such archæologists as Drs. Putnam, Foster, Moorhead, Holland and others, who have been quoted. In connection with the story of the McKee's Rocks Mound they are most interesting. Thomas Jefferson has been mentioned as having been interested in Indian antiquities, and discourses on them. He observes:

They consist of nothing like monuments. I would not honor with that name arrow points, stone hatchets, stone pipes, and half-shapen images. Of labor on the large scale, I think there is no remain as respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands, unless indeed it would be the Barrows, of which many are to be found all over in this country. These are of different sizes, some of them constructed of earth and some of loose stones. That they were repositories of the dead has been obvious to all, but on what particular occasion constructed was a matter of doubt. Some have thought they covered the bones of those who have fallen in battles fought on the spot of the monument. Some ascribe them to the custom said to prevail among Indians, of collecting at certain periods the bones of all their dead wheresoever deposited at the time of death. Others again, suppose them the general sepulchre for towns conjectured to have been on or near these grounds, and this opinion was supported by the quality of the lands in which they are found, those constructed of earth being generally in the softest and most fertile meadow grounds on river sides, and by a tradition said to be handed down from the aboriginal Indians, that when they settled in a town, the first person who died was placed erect and earth put upon him, so as to cover and support him; and that when another died, a narrow passage was dug to the first, the second reclined against him, and the cover of earth replaced, and so on. There being one of these in my neighborhood, I wished to satisfy myself whether any and which of these opinions was just. For this purpose I determined to open it and examine it thoroughly. It was situated on the low grounds of the Rivanna, about two miles above its principal fork and opposite to some hills on which had been an Indian town. It was of a spheroidal form, of about forty feet in diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though now reduced by the plow to seven and a half, having been under cultivation about a dozen years. Before this it was covered with trees of twelve inches diameter, and around the base was an excavation of five feet in depth and width, from whence the earth had been taken, of which the hillock was formed.¹⁹

In the mound, Jefferson found abundance of human bones which from their position it was evident had been thrown or piled promiscuously there together; bones of the head and feet being in contact; some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass. These bones, when exposed to the air, crumbled to dust. Some of the skulls, jawbones and teeth were taken out nearly in a perfect state, but would fall to pieces on being examined. It was evident that this assemblage of bones was made up from persons of all ages, and at different periods of time. The mound was composed of alternate strata of bones, stones and earth. Hence it would seem that barrows, or mounds as they are most usually called, were formed by the Indians whose custom it was to collect the bones of their deceased friends at certain periods and deposit them together in this manner. "But," Mr. Jefferson observes: "On whatever occasion they may have been made,

¹⁹"Notes of Virginia;" Thomas Jefferson, given as on p. 156. I find these paragraphs in the second American Edition by Carey, Philadelphia, 1794, pp. 138-139.—Editor. See also "Writings of Jefferson;" Library Edition, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 134-135.

they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians; for a party passing about thirty years ago through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it without any instructions or inquiry, and having stayed about it some time, with expressions which were construed those of sorrow, they returned to the high road which they had left about half a dozen miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey."

Says Samuel G. Drake: "In these tumuli are usually found, with the bones, such instruments only as appear to have been used for superstitious purposes, ornaments of war. Of the latter kind no more formidable weapons have been discovered than tomahawks, spear and arrow heads, which can be supposed to have been deposited before the arrival of Europeans in America. What Mr. Jefferson found in the barrow he dissected, besides bones, or anything, he does not inform us. In several of the depositories in the city of Cincinnati, which Dr. Daniel Drake examined, numerous utensils were found. He has given a most accurate account of them. He divides them into two classes: ancient and modern; or, ancient and more ancient. Among the latter, he says, there is not a single edifice, nor any ruins which prove the existence in former ages of a building composed of imperishable materials. No fragment of a column, no bricks, nor single hewn stone large enough to have been incorporated into a wall, has been discovered."²⁰

Dr. Daniel Drake was one of the early physicians in Cincinnati, and an author of medical works, editor of medical journals, and a prolific writer. S. G. Drake in this citation makes no footnote reference to any work of Daniel Drake, merely quotes him. There were many mounds in and about Cincinnati, the largest originally thirty-five feet high, which was cut down to twenty-seven feet by General Anthony Wayne for military purposes when he was encamped there in 1794. These mounds at Cincinnati were all on the Ohio side, and were similar to those in Pittsburgh and that at McKee's Rocks. Cuming evidently knew the Rev. John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary to the Indians in Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio. Cuming seems to have written to Heckewelder, for in the appendices to Cuming's book there is one communicated in a letter to him by Heckewelder, and dated "Gnadenhuetten (Muskingum, Ohio), 3 Feb. 1810." Heckewelder said that while in the Big Beaver region in 1771, that within the earthen walls of an Indian fortification he saw at the depth of about three feet "a large body of cinders the same that are found in our smith shops."

Heckewelder conversed with the oldest Indians, and to him these related the story of the nation, the Delawares, called the "Tallegawe," who had inhabited the region before the Delawares came, and these old Indians affirmed that all the fortifications had been erected by the

²⁰"Pictures of Cincinnati and the Miami Valley," 1815.

"Tallegawe;" that the nations coming in from the west and northwest (namely, the Delawares and those of their stock), had been attacked by them at their crossing of the Mississippi; that great and bloody wars had been carried on between them, but that in the end, the Tallegawe were totally routed and extirpated; that these people had been a very tall race, much taller and stouter than the Delawares; and that the word "Allegheny" had derived its name from the Tallegawe.²¹

The spelling "Tallegawe" is Cuming's. Heckewelder's spelling is "Talligue, or Talligewi." He mentions Colonel John Gibson's opinion that the proper title is "Alligewi," for the Delawares to Heckewelder's knowledge called the Allegheny river "Alligewi Sipu," or the River of the Alligewi. Heckewelder, who lived for years among the Lenape, or Delawares, saw everything with Delaware eyes and wrote from the Delaware point of view. The story of the passing of the mythical Alligewi is a typical Indian traditional story. The Lenape did most of the fighting with these enemies, while the Mengwe, or Iroquois, hung in the rear and enjoyed the fruits of victory. Battles were fought without quarter given, and hundreds fell on each side. This war lasted for many years. Heckewelder relates that the Alligewi fortified their large towns and erected fortifications on the large rivers and near lakes, where they were successively attacked, and sometimes stormed by the allied enemy nations. After an engagement, the slain were buried in holes or gathered together in heaps, and earth piled over them.

This procedure will account for many small mounds in which bones were found promiscuously, but it cannot account for the elaborate mounds such as the Grave Creek and McKee's Rocks, for the manner of interments in them and the all too suggestive evidences of barbaric rites preclude any ideas of hasty burial. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe these mounds were gradually erected, with deliberation, and without interference. However, in the story of the prehistoric races, that of the Talligewi, or whatever name we may call them, is not without pertinence to the history of Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania, for the Indians who came hither by reason of that conquest, figure largely in our State and city's history. Their chiefs have left their names, and their town's names also have come down to us in commemoration and as fixed designations, of which more anon.

Mr. Charles A. Hanna, in his comprehensive work, "The Wilderness Trail," quotes Dr. Cyrus Thomas, who wrote a monograph on "The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times," wherein Thomas advances the theory that the Cherokees were the Talligewi of Heckewelder, and that they reached the heads of the Tennessee river from the Ohio Valley

²¹See "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States;" Rev. John Heckewelder; originally published by him in 1818, under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society; reprint 1876, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

by way of the Great Kanawha, and cites in proof the similarity between the great mound at Moundsville, the burial mounds in the Kanawha Valley near Charleston (described by Bishop Madison.—Ed.), and those constructed by the Cherokees in Eastern Tennessee and Western North Carolina. Dr. Thomas noted that the names first applied by the Spanish to the Kanawha and Tennessee rivers were variations of the spelling, Cherokee. Heckewelder's recital of the disappearance of the Tallegewi is that they finally abandoned the Pennsylvania region and the Ohio Valley to their conquerors and fled down the Mississippi and were never afterwards heard of.

We can have no doubt that the original races of Aborigines warred much among themselves; that is, one Indian stock against another. Iroquoian was ever antagonistic to Algonquian, and the Iroquoian conquered and subdued. Whether the Tallegewi were the mound builders, or whether the mound builders antedated them, must be left to conjecture. Some light may be thrown on this question in the chapter on the Indians (Chap. III) in narrating the events that led to wars among two rival European nations, and the condition of the Indian tribes about the Forks of the Ohio when the white man came.

Brackenridge, in a chapter headed "Antiquities in the Valley of the Mississippi,"²² states that no apology is needed for devoting a chapter to a subject that has been dignified by the pens of Mr. Jefferson, Dr. B. C. Barton and Bishop Madison. Says Brackenridge: "With all possible deference to these respectable names, I cannot but think their theories founded on very imperfect acquaintance with these remains, having never themselves visited any but the least considerable, and but few having been described with accuracy. The subject is still new, and I know of none which opens a wider field of interesting and amusing speculation."

Brackenridge devoted considerable space to the long since exploded theory that the mounds were erected by a colony of Welsh or Danes who were supposed to have found their way to North America by accident. He describes the difference between the mode of fortifying in Europe almost from time immemorial, and the ancient fortifications of the Western Country. He said: "The place is usually such as convenience would dictate, or as best adapted to the ground; three miles below Pittsburgh, on a kind of promontory called McKee's Rocks, nearly inaccessible on three sides there is a fortification formed by a single line on the land'side. They are sometimes, it is true, laid off with regularity, in the form of a parallelogram, semicircle, or square, but most commonly they are irregular."

We know the McKee's Rocks Mound was not a fortification in any sense. It was on high ground. Brackenridge scouts the idea that

²²"Views of Louisiana, with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River in 1811," by H. M. Brackenridge, Esq., Pittsburgh, 1814.

any Europeans were connected in any way with the antiquities. This notion had had widespread diffusion in the time he was writing, and has since been given much space by Winsor and other historians.

Brackenridge describes himself on the title page of his "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," as a "Traveler, Author, Jurist." His "Views of Louisiana" is one of his first books. He was in no large sense a scientist. He wrote principally of the great Cahokia Mound and those in the American Bottom on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. As his death occurred in 1871 in Pittsburgh, at the age of eighty-four, he had ample opportunity to keep pace with archaeological research almost to the end of his life. He seems to have done so, for in the last edition of his "Recollections" (1868), the final appendix bears the heading: "Mounds, or Pyramids," and in this he tells further of the mounds opposite St. Louis, which he first visited in 1811. He quotes at length from an article on these mounds in a St. Louis paper printed that year.

In the twenty-seventh chapter of his "Recollections," writing of his return to Missouri, and mentioning his literary pursuits then (1830), he reverts to his collection of essays published in his "Views of Louisiana," as showing him "thus aspiring to the ambitious distinction of authorship." He states also that this youthful production was favorably mentioned by the "London Quarterly" and the "Edinburgh Review." He goes on to say: "Nothing interested me so much as the remains of antiquity, the evidences of a more numerous and more civilized people throughout the Valley of the Mississippi. Besides the chapter on this great subject, I made a special communication to Mr. Jefferson, who as president of the American Philosophical Society transmitted it to that enlightened body, who published it among their Transactions. This led to my being chosen a member of the Antiquarian Society of Boston, and of a similar society at Copenhagen in Denmark."

He said further: "In imagination I peopled this now silent plain with the numerous human beings who once animated it, busily engaged in the occupations of peace, or more deeply agitated by the thrilling incidents of pestilence and war. In my book, which may now be found in some public library, there will be seen a full account of these mounds, and in the meantime hath not my friend, Caleb Atwater, in his curious and interesting volume on the Antiquities, made honorable mention of me, my theories on this subject and descriptions of those which came under my personal observations? Mr. Jefferson and Bishop Madison of Virginia were among the first to notice these Western Antiquities, and afterwards a Mr. Harris, in his journal, gave a particular account of those at Marietta."²⁸

²⁸The Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, whose "Journal" was published in Boston, 1805. His voyage in a flatboat down the Ohio was made in 1803. Dr. Atwater was one of the early historians of Ohio.

Flints, arrow and spear heads were found in all the region about Pittsburgh. In 1876, when the "History of Allegheny County" was published by Everts & Company, the number of these relics and the frequency with which they were picked up, especially in the Sewickley Valley, received mention in the book. Stone axes were common, and pieces of pottery and various utensils were often unearthed near Leetsdale, in the Sewickley bottom, and within one mile in this locality five mounds were at one time visible. Near Ford City, on the Allegheny, in Armstrong county, the remains of an ancient fort could be readily traced to about the middle of the nineteenth century. Writers of Armstrong county history, as late as 1883, tell of various aged persons they had met who had seen the vestiges of this ancient fort, and had traced and measured the fosse and parapet, and who had dug up quantities of lead from the front of the parapet, evidently shot from across the river. The writers of the history of the vicinity could tell also of aged persons who had dug up, and of farmers who had plowed up, great numbers of flint arrow heads and broken pottery of rare design and of various types and colors. The old people told also of a wonderfully walled well near the fort, which was cleaned out, bringing to light unmistakable parts of human bones—a deep well, indeed, such as no Indian ever dug, for the red men pitched their teepees and built their towns near running water always. This well was found accidentally by settlers who came on the spot in 1813, and it was used for many years. It remained a small spring until about 1902, when it was filled up and obliterated.²⁴

These Armstrong county pioneers were of course not aware of such elaborate works of the aboriginal people as those near Newark, Miamisburg, Chillicothe, Circleville, Fort Ancient, and other places in Ohio. They may have thought their ancient fort was the only one of its kind.

The mounds about Pittsburgh, which were well known to past generations and many of the present, have passed away and left only thoughts such as inspired Dr. Doddridge a century ago. He thought these primeval people were a race of barbarians, and has told us they had left nothing but their forts or town walls and their graves. He says: "It is often asked whether those people who have left behind them the antiquities of our country, were the ancestors of the present Indians? Unquestionably they were; and, reader, their contemporaries of Europe and Asia were your ancestors and mine. Humiliating as this statement may seem, it must be true; otherwise there must have been two creations of the human race, and that we have no reason to suppose."²⁵

²⁴"Ford City, Pennsylvania; a Locational Sketch," etc.; edited by John N. McCue, 1917; pp. 5-7.

²⁵"Notes on Settlement, etc.;" Edition 1912, p. 36.

In estimates of the great age of the works of the mound builders, great stress is laid upon the fact that immense forest trees grew upon the mounds, and even greater stress upon the condition of the masses of human bones found in them, which did not admit of removal, crumbling into dust on exposure to air. Such was the case with many exhumed at McKee's Rocks. There are records of tumuli, especially of tumuli in England, known to be older than the Christian era, from which bones were taken out and which have remained entire. Brackenridge, closing his chapter above mentioned, quotes appropriately from Selleck Osborn:

He grasped a hero's antique bust,
The marble crumbled into dust
And sank beneath the shade.

The study of primeval man is fascinating; the more pursued, the more the student is puzzled. Others present only mystery.

Dr. Thomas Wentworth Higginson in his article, "The First Americans," has given us an interesting story. He said:²⁶ "The mound builders were formerly regarded as a race so remote from the present Indian tribes that there could be nothing in common between them, yet all recent inquiries tend to diminish the distance." He discussed also the evidences that aboriginal man in America was contemporary with the mammoth, and left the question open. He closed his article inquiringly thus: "Must we admit that in our efforts to explain the origin of the first Americans it is necessary, after all, to end with an interrogation point?" He inclined to the opinion of Lewis H. Morgan, that there never was, in North America at least, a prehistoric civilization, properly so-called, but only an advanced and wonderfully skilled barbarism. or semi-civilization at the utmost.²⁷

We may concede that the most recent explorations of these ancient tumuli erected by a people that existed before American history, or any history, could be written, have radically changed all our conceptions of such a people. Modern archæologists admit that the notions of their predecessors in the science were partly if not wholly in error in their notions. In the more accurate studies and researches of late years, many assumptions of former years have not been substantiated. Whether or not the so-called Mound Builders and the American Indians were two distinct races is not pertinent to this history. It is now accepted that they were not. The best authorities in archæological researches hold fast to the theory that they were one and the same people.²⁸ A mass of testimony is furnished in support of the settlement of the long mooted question, and the speculations of former years have been swept away.

²⁶"Harper's Magazine," July, 1882.

²⁷"Montezuma's Dinner," Lewis H. Morgan, in "North American Review," April, 1876

²⁸"Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," p. 17, Art. 7; quoted by Dr. Archer Butler Hulbert, in "Historic Highways;" Vol. I, p. 38.

Beyond a doubt, the region about Pittsburgh for untold ages before the white man came was inhabited by human beings of the American race, perhaps the Red Race, in error called Indians by Columbus, a misnomer that will endure for all time. But there has been no testimony adduced that supports the theory that a teeming population was anywhere in North America. Such a theory is now regarded as altogether fanciful. The sizes and dimensions of the largest mounds do not reveal that a vast number of men were employed in their construction, hence the examination of the works does not imply a great population. It is now believed that the population in the mound building era never exceeded the population of the continent when the first white man landed here and made records. There were undoubtedly congested areas such as along the rich alluvial bottoms, and especially those in the Ohio Valley where the mounds and works are most numerous, for these bottoms were most fertile, and we must believe the American race primeval was to some extent an agricultural people and lived otherwise than by the chase and by fishing. The Aborigines were carnivorous, hence brave, for primitive man slew the primitive beasts with primitive weapons. Pittsburgh people and many aged people of the community about McKee's Rocks of fifty years ago, will readily recall the fine farm lands along Chartier's creek, and the wide well tilled bottoms on the Ohio now occupied by the shops and yards of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad, and by the immense works of the Pressed Steel Car Company. F. Cuming in 1807 described the "Rocks" and McKee's fine farm land. It is easy of belief that these alluvial and easily cultivated loam soils were put to practical use agriculturally by the primitive people who left their mound upon the promontory of the famous Rocks, an object of curiosity for ages, to be exhumed in these modern years of scientific research; and its sacred relics and crumbling bones are destined, amid the magnificence of Pittsburgh's Carnegie Museum, to awaken awe and give rise to strange speculations in the minds of curious observers for perhaps centuries to come.

While it must be admitted that this chapter cannot as a whole be called historical, its contents have not been incorporated in any history of Pittsburgh heretofore published; for, although the explorations of the McKee's Rocks Mound took place a quarter of a century ago, its lessons and the story of its exploration are subsequent to all our histories except Miss Killikelly's, published in 1906, who made no mention of the work of exploration and its results. It may be admitted also that it was unnecessary to go into such an extended account, for the many care little for such a story, and, not well informed on archaeological researches, may consider the story but a chain of conjectures, though some deductions seem plausible enough. To this it may be answered that the opening of McKee's Rocks Mound was a national

scientific event, as well as a local affair of interest, and even beyond the community of Pittsburgh; that eminent scientists came here, and that the explorations lasting nearly three months, were given ample space in the newspapers, and these newspaper accounts are records made at the time, and have now passed into history. Finally, the results of the explorations have been for twenty-five years an exhibit of a more than ordinary nature in the Carnegie Museum, daily viewed by hundreds of visitors, on holidays by thousands, and that these visitors should be interested in the story of the mound and the Mound Builders generally, is a logical conclusion. We may extend this conclusion to apply to all Pittsburgh people and those of the city's environs; not only to the people of today, but to future generations—as long at least as the Museum shall endure, which we may consider to be for all time, unless destroyed by some cataclysm of nature, or like Ypres and Verdun.

It is true that the Mound Builders made no history that concerns Pittsburgh. The Red Race that came after or descended from them, made enough, and in the recording of that history and its succeeding history, lies the duty and the task of the historian of the region.

Many will agree with the learned Dr. Doddridge that the antiquities of the Western Country of his day—our region of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and Northern West Virginia—do not present to the mind the slightest evidence that this section of our country was ever inhabited by a civilized people before the white man came across the sea. No traces of the arts of building, sculpture or painting, were found in Dr. Doddridge's lifetime, and none since; and no stones for building purposes that bear the mark of a hammer. Rude sketches of birds and animals, chiseled into rocks, are still extant, notably on the shore of the Ohio river at Smith's Ferry, Pennsylvania, almost at the State line, and now under water by reason of slackwater navigation, and on the Allegheny river near Franklin, Pennsylvania. To these the name "Pictured Rocks" has been given. One of the best specimens and largest of these rocks was on a farm near Millsboro, Pennsylvania, on the Monongahela river, which was blown up by the irate landholder a few years ago to stop the continual trespass of curiosity seekers who came in numbers, to the detriment of his crops.²⁹ We may also conclude that it is idle to amuse ourselves with fanciful creations, while great and momentous facts of history are waiting to find a record and comment, many of which have occurred within the memory of men now living. Indeed, but a few generations ago there resided in the country about Pittsburgh many old people who had lived in Colonial days. Early historians of Pittsburgh knew these persons—Neville B. Craig

²⁹Pictures of this rock in "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," Howard M. Jenkins, Vol. I, p. 20. Picture of "Indian God Rock" near Franklin, in Schoolcraft's "Indian Nations," etc.; Vol. VI.

and Henry Marie Brackenridge, for instance. Then, too, there are the events of absorbing interest in the two decades of the twentieth century that have already passed; hence we proceed to the stories of more modern times, and permit the prehistoric races—rather, what remains of them—to lie unexhumed, wrapt in the mystery that shrouds them.

CHAPTER III.

In the Days of the Iroquois.

When the first white men crossed the Allegheny mountains and came to the Western Country, they found it "occupied by the Indians," some historians assert; others say "inhabited by the Indians." Both are in a measure wrong in their statements. "Possessed" is altogether a better word, and more truthfully expresses the fact. The first history of the region arises from this possession; its origin and nature passes rapidly to English claims and English-Indian alliances, disclosing a rivalry ages old and leading to extended warfare. Most histories of Pennsylvania begin with accounts of the Indians that William Penn found dwelling on the Delaware in 1682, and with whom he made his famous treaty. Some histories go back to Columbus.

Neville B. Craig begins his "History of Pittsburgh" with some account of the earliest known occupants of the region; Howard N. Jenkins' first chapter in that elaborate work, "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," is headed, "The Indians of Pennsylvania." Judge James Veech, in his "Monongahela of Old," first tells of the Mound Builders, passes to the story of the Indian occupants, thence follows the line of events. So, too, others—and the same is true of most histories of the United States. The Aborigines cannot be passed over, and their history must be told, regionally at least, in any history of any part of the country. It is more than regional history when Pittsburgh is the subject, for hereabouts mighty events, following trivial ones, took place, which brought on the long war between France and Great Britain, called by the English colonists the French and Indian War, which in the end decided the fate of the North American continent, when the issue was whether Celtic Gaul or the Anglo-Saxon should rule this continent, and, incidentally, whether the region treated of in this history as "Pittsburgh and Its Environs," in fact the Western Country, should be part of New France in America or be brought under the Royal Banner of St. George.

With that decision the history of the region changed, but the phases given it by the Indians still continued. In the sense of color, it was red; perhaps not so sanguine in hue as when the French allied tribes ravaged the length and breadth of Pennsylvania and left a shocking record. Not until Anthony Wayne punished the Western tribes on the Maumee in August, 1794, did the menace of the red warrior depart from Western Pennsylvania. From the time when Governor Dinwiddie sent the youthful George Washington as ambassador to the French commander in Northwestern Pennsylvania in 1753, until twenty years after

British sovereignty had ceased in the Thirteen Colonies, the bane of the savage was ever at hand in the Western Country, and armed forces and block houses were constantly required to protect the settlers in even a slight degree, not only in the trans-Allegheny region, but also the older settlements along and east of the Susquehanna. True, there were lulls in the warfare—intervals of peace—but the menace remained, and the peaceful periods were short and fleeting.

It will therefore be proper to tell of the tribes that occupied the Western Country, their mode of life, and how governed; their activities in war; their racial and political enmities; their espousal of the cause of "Onontio"—the governor-general of French Canada, or of "Onas"—William Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, each claiming jurisdiction of the region about the Forks of the Ohio, and thereby running counter to the claims of the government of the colony of Virginia.

Before coming to these claims of the English colonial governors, and antecedent even to the claims of France to the region, the story of the Pennsylvania Algonquins and their subserviency to other tribes, or their enmity, must be written, and a strange story it is. Then, too, how came these tribes to the region, neither indigenous nor long seated here? Herein first looms up the power of the most wonderful confederacy of savage nations, the purest democracy since the early days of Athens, rivaling that, in fact—the League of the Iroquois, "The Romans of America," in the language of De Witt Clinton. In the story of the Indians of Western Pennsylvania the Iroquois are the landlords; the other tribes were tenants at will—especially the Delawares and Shawanese—for both these tribes had fixed habitations assigned them in the region of the Upper Ohio, and with them most of the Indian history of Pittsburgh has to do.

The Ottawas, Wyandots, Miamis, Cherokees, Mohicans, and even more remote tribes, have also place in our local Indian history, but in the main, the Delawares and Shawanese are the chief sources of it. The Mingoes, oftmentioned, were Iroquois; emigrants, we may term them, from the most western of the Western Iroquois in New York, or those who dwelt on the shores of Lake Erie and at the headwaters of the Allegheny, thence following an easy waterway to the Ohio, which river they regarded as the main stream, only a continuation of the Allegheny. Delaware and Seneca names therefore are most common commemorations in our regional geographical nomenclature, and will receive more extended notice farther on, as they most frequently occur in this history and should have mention.

The region beyond the Alleghenies, to be more explicit, that extending westward from the northern Susquehanna at its forks was Iroquoian hunting grounds. In this vast timbered area, abounding in mountain and stream, the Indian found his ideal country. The Iroquois, while

savage in nature and indulging to excess all their savage propensities and barbaric rites, were nevertheless semi-civilized. They had their dwelling houses of bark, their farms and gardens well tilled by their women, and above all their Long House, or seat of assembly. They were warriors—a race of warriors, whose origin was lost in myths, weird, shudder-causing, wonderful. But they loved the chase also, for they required the peltries of the fur-bearing animals for clothing and home comfort. So when the conquest was over for a season, their hunters sought the woodland wilderness, trapped the bear, the otter and the beaver, and killed the buffalo and deer for meat and skins, and in this pursuit roamed over wide stretches, for the warrior-hunter was at home anywhere. He was never lost or dismayed. In the inimitable language of Parkman we are awakened to this truth. He tells us that “The Indian is the true child of the forest and the desert. The wastes and solitudes of nature are his congenial home. His haughty mind is imbued with the spirit of the wilderness, and the light of civilization falls on him with a blighting power. His unruly pride and untamed freedom are in harmony with the lonely mountains, cataracts and rivers, among which he dwells; and primitive America, with her savage scenery and savage men, opens to the imagination a boundless world, unmatched in wild sublimity.”¹

In the wilderness of Western Pennsylvania, in its vast forests of pine and hemlock and in the deciduous woods along its quickly flowing streams and on its clear lakes, the Iroquois hunters reveled in the chase, and that, conquerors as they were for centuries, they should share this hunting ground with the conquered, awakens surprise and evokes inquiry. The tribes of the Algonquian stock were here by their permission—the Delawares and the Shawanese driven here at the behest of Onas, and in all it is a strange story, curious in inception, dramatic in its forceful telling, and tragic in its ultimate results. The name Delawares, it will be noted, is of English derivation; rightly these were the Lenape—in Indian orthography, the Len-ni-Len-a-pe, a tribe of the great Algonquian family whose history is more inextricably interwoven with Pennsylvania history than that of any other, not even excepting the Iroquois and the Delaware congeners variously called Shawanese, Shawanoes and Shawnees.

The Iroquois therefore call for special and specific mention, for they were the masters. Again recourse to Parkman. He tells us in this regard:

Foremost in war, foremost in eloquence, foremost in the savage arts of policy, stood the first people called by themselves the Hodenosaunee, and by the French the Iroquois, which has since been applied to the entire family of which they formed the dominant number. They extended their conquests and their depredations from Quebec to the Carolinas, and from the western prairies to the forests of Maine. On the south

¹“Conspiracy of Pontiac,” Francis Parkman, Vol. I, Chap. 1; also quotations *post*.

they forced tribute from the subjugated Delawares, and pierced the mountain fastnesses of the Cherokees with incessant forays. On the north they uprooted the ancient settlements of the Wyandots; on the west they exterminated the Eries and the Andastes and spread havoc and dismay among the tribes of the Illinois; and on the east, the Indians of New England fled at the first peal of the Mohawk war-cry. Nor was it the Indian race alone who quailed before their ferocious valor. All Canada shook with the fury of their onset; the people fled to the forts for refuge; the bloodsmearers roamed like wolves among the burning settlements, and the colony trembled on the brink of ruin.

From the hour when the fire-spitting arquebusiers of Champlain astounded and decimated the Mohawk hordes at famous Ticonderoga on Lake George in 1609, the entire Confederacy hated the French with that intensity of hatred characteristically Indian. Hence there came a day when the Six Nations, as the English called the reinforced Confederacy, stood a blazing wall between the French in Canada and the feeble colonies of New York and Pennsylvania with hundreds of miles of unprotected wilderness frontiers. This alliance with the English will be most forcefully apparent in the recital of Braddock's campaign, in the story of the few Iroquois allies of the colonial forces whose well-meant efforts were spurned by the haughty British general, and the Iroquois chieftain and warriors were insulted by his bitterly disdainful words. By reason of Braddock's defeat, the region of Western Pennsylvania, not alone the trans-Allegheny region but all the country from the Appalachian chain to the Mississippi, became unmistakably French soil, a large part of New France in America. The French were in control, and the fleur-de-lis, their beautiful emblem of sovereignty, flew triumphantly to the forest breezes not alone at Fort Du Quesne, at the Forks of the Ohio, but from the forts at Venango, Le Boeuf, Presque Isle and on the Wabash. Well then for the English colonists the Iroquois friendship! Well, indeed, the Iroquoian domination of the French allied tribes! Better had it continued, but the Iroquoian yoke becoming burdensome, with Indian pride and Indian racial hatred undying, and strong at all times, there was needed only the stimulation of the crafty French to arouse the spirit of the fighting ancestors of the Delawares, Shawanese and Wyandots, and cause these by no means despicable warriors to toss the galling yoke lightly aside, and bid defiance to their masters and drive the Iroquoian overlords from the Algonquian villages along the Upper Ohio and its tributaries. The Delawares were no longer "Petticoat Indians;" the Shawanese no longer "Bedouins." They were henceforth fighting savages in every sense, and in consequence of their new-found freedom, from every page of Pennsylvania's history of the twenty succeeding years there arises more than one shudder in its perusal, for much of this history is a shocking record.

The story of the Iroquois dominancy of the Algonquian tribes, the open alliance of the latter with the French and the allegiance of the Iroquois to the English, must ever find place in the history of Pittsburgh

and Western Pennsylvania, for in this region there occurred startling events in consequence. Woe, indeed, to the Colony of the Penns and the frontiers of Maryland and Virginia when the hitherto easy-going Delawares, the submissive Shawanese, and the compliant Wyandots, and all the Western tribes in sympathy with them, dug up the tomahawk and went on the warpath. Then entered on the stage of our history in tragic array that great conspirator Pontiac, the Ottawa, and his myrmidons, and the chief warriors acknowledging fealty to him and following his leadership;—Guyasutha, the renegade Seneca, and the White Mingo, his tribesman; Shingiss and Custaloga, and the Beaver. Captain Jacobs and White Eyes, and a long line of chiefs and chief warriors of the Delawares; Kissinautcha, Nymwha and Red Hawk, Shawanese chiefs; and in the perilous days of the Revolution, Simon Girty, the white savage, and his equally savage brothers, all three steeped in the blood of the innocent and helpless of their own race.

These red actors in the great drama of the eighteenth century in North America, with other noted chiefs and warriors of the Wyandots, Miamis, Ottawas, and the more Western tribes, came on the stage of action after the Iroquoian ascendancy had terminated; but before proceeding with the narrative of events, it is well to accord some consideration to the state of the subservient tribes in the region of Western Pennsylvania and the Upper Ohio, and observe how it originated and how it was maintained, and in the revolt of the Delawares and Shawanese see the fine hand of French intrigue appear ungloved, and the French sovereignty of the Western Country made secure for a brief season. In the overthrow of that sovereignty, the first history of Pittsburgh occurs.

The Iroquois, having so large a place in the history of Western Pennsylvania, are deserving of more extended study than is usually accorded them in our local histories. Their origin and the causes that compelled the formation of their Confederacy and its maintenance must appeal to us aside from the recital of their activities in our region. They were not only prominent in the stirring days of Penn's Colony, but more especially so in the days of the Revolution, and the history of Pittsburgh during that struggle is the history of Fort Pitt, its garrisons and commanders demonstrating its importance as a frontier outpost, recounting also the expeditions sent against these Indian allies of the British in the West, in our section mainly the Senecas. We are reminded of the Six Nations most frequently from the Indian geographical nomenclature they have bequeathed us, and a most interesting chapter of our local history is the story of Indian commemorations in street and local designations in and about Pittsburgh. These, too, serve to keep the Iroquois in mind.

The Iroquoian legend relating to their origin and union into a Confederacy is both pretty and sad. They relate that ages ago they were

confined under a mountain near the falls of the Oswego in New York, from where they were led by the "Holder of the Heavens" into the beautiful Mohawk Valley, along which river and farther westward each nation settled, but in different localities. The sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, left and moved "towards where the birds fly in winter." The five nations remaining kept at war with each other. After a time a fierce and most warlike tribe with many warriors came from the home of the North Wind, and falling upon the Onondagas, one of the five, almost exterminated them. This threw the other four nations into consternation. Unless they could unitedly overcome these barbarians from the North, each nation would perish. In great distress they called upon the "Holder of the Heavens," affectionately called by the Iroquois Hi-a-wat-ha, the "Very Wise Man." The Iroquois were his dearest children, and they followed his advice at all times. Hi-a-wat-ha told them to call representatives from all the tribes to a great council to be held on the banks of Lake Onondaga. They complied, and the great council fire blazed for three days, and yet Hi-a-wat-ha did not appear to help or advise.

At length, guided by the Great Spirit, he was seen coming across the lake in a white canoe bearing with him his beautiful little daughter. Scarcely had they landed upon the shore when suddenly there arose a mighty wind, and an immense bird, so large as to darken the landscape, swooped down upon the beautiful girl and crushed her to the earth. Speechless with grief, Hi-a-wat-ha mourned for three days; then he said to the assembled tribesmen, "I will meet you tomorrow and unfold to you my plans."

We may note here a bit of impotency in the "Holder of the Heavens," else he might have saved his darling daughter, and that the relevancy of her terrible taking off is not apparent. But he was as good as his word, and when the council met on the day appointed he arose and spoke as follows:

Brothers, you have come here from a great distance to provide safety for yourselves and your homes. How shall it be done? We can make no progress by opposing these tribes from the Cold North singly. We must unite all our tribes into one band of brothers. In that way we shall be able to keep our enemies from our land.

You, the Mohawks sitting under the shadow of the "Great Tree" whose roots sink deep into the earth and whose branches spread over a vast country, shall be the first nation because you are warlike and mighty.

And you Oneidas, a people who recline your bodies against the "Everlasting Stone" that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation because you give wise counsel.

And you Onondagas, who have your habitation at the "Great Mountain" and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation because you are gifted in speech and are mighty in war.

And you Cayugas, whose habitation is the "Dark Forest," and whose home is everywhere, shall be the fourth nation, because of your superior cunning in hunting.

And you Senecas, a people who live in the "Open Country" and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation, because you understand better the art of raising corn and beans and making cabins.

You five great and powerful nations must unite and have but one common interest, and no foe shall be able to disturb or subdue you. If we unite, the Great Spirit will smile upon us.

Brothers, these are the words of Hi-a-wat-ha. Let them sink deep into your hearts. Admit no other nation and you will always be free, numerous and happy. If other tribes and nations are admitted to your council they will sow the seeds of jealousy and discord and you will become few, feeble and enslaved. Remember these words. They are the last you will hear from Hi-a-wat-ha. The Great Master of Breath calls me to go. I have patiently awaited his summons. I am ready to go. Farewell!

The legend further relates that when Hi-a-wat-ha finished his speech, the air was filled with entrancing music. The beautiful white canoe rose slowly into the air, and it bore the good friend and wise counsellor far into the eternal blue. The music slowly died away, and the dusky red men were left to try the experiment of becoming a federated nation. How successful the experiment proved, all the history of our country tells.²

Just when these five nations united to form that great "Barbaric Republic" which enacted so great a part in our intercolonial wars and the Revolution, is not known. It may have been ages before Columbus set foot on the Western Continent. It had reached its greatest potency when the white men came.

The Confederacy successful, slight wonder the tribesmen called themselves "Men surpassing all others," and earned the reputation of being the proudest representatives of natural manhood ever discovered. The Senecas, their western wall, were the main defense against their fierce foes in that quarter, and gradually, as the Confederacy extended its conquests to the Mississippi, the Senecas penetrated farther and farther into the conquered territory. It was solely upon this conquest which included the region of the Upper Ohio, that the British based their claims to the territory as against the French, and led to the opening of the French and Indian War, we may say, right where our doors are now, for Washington's little skirmish in what is now Fayette county, in which Jumonville was killed, was the first overt act in that war which in its termination made the debatable land beyond the Alleghenies debatable no more. Great States have been carved from the land thus won, and to the conquest of the region by the Iroquois Republic the State and Nation surely owe some debt for their claim of conquest proved, under the arbitrament of arms, better than that resting upon La Salle's right of discovery—a mere shadow when applied to the region of the Upper Ohio county; and what, we may inquire, would have been the history of North America had the Iroquois thrown their influence on the side of the French?

²The tradition of Hiawatha, Longfellow tells us, is common to all North American Indians. He found the inspiration for his "Song" in Schoolcraft. See "Algonic Researches," Vol. I, p. 134. "History, Conditions, etc., of Indian Tribes," Part III, p. 314.

As the Senecas kept the Western gate, so, too, the acknowledged ablest warriors of the Aborigines of America, the Mohawks, kept the Eastern gate of the Iroquois home country. Near Lake Onondaga, where Hi-a-wat-ha had appeared to the tribes assembled, the Five Nations kept the great council fire of their Confederacy. It was the duty of the Onondagas to guard this fire, the general meeting place of the united nations, and well they performed it.

Classical students have ever been accustomed to look to foreign lands, to ancient civilizations, as the birthplace of political institutions. How remote in antiquity was the birth of the League of the Iroquois, no history will ever tell. Some writers assert, early in the fifteenth century Parkman in his vigorous days essayed to approximate it by wide research among the oldest of the tribesmen he could find, and was given only legends and legendary lore. No historian since has done any better. Their form of government has been described as "of the whole, by the whole, for the benefit of the whole," almost a prototype of our own democratic form. It is remarked by students of democracies that these ostensibly primitive people had not developed far beyond the stage of barbarism when they set up that form of government which civilized races are wont to expect only in the highest civilization. Their surroundings were in no manner refining. They had no schools, and no studies greater than the studies of nature and their own lives. The tribes of their race they knew and married with, were even more barbaric than they. How, then, ask the students of democracies, this striking resemblance between their clan and tribal governments and that of the ancient Teutons centuries ago? Why, indeed, the spirit of the Amphictyonic Council of old Greece?

Our Pittsburgh historian, Neville B. Craig, in his "History of Pittsburgh" and in the "Olden Time," in the first mention of the Iroquois Council composed of the sachems of the different nations, remarks: "This Council has been compared to the Wittenagemot of the Saxons," and in that sense a parliament. He is referring to the *Wittena-gemote*, or the "Meeting of the wise men," explained by Blackstone and the old writers on law who preceded him, and by Hallam and Sharon Turner and authors of works on the British Constitution.³

"Like needs," observes Professor Kimm in a late and brief dissertation on the Iroquois, "have brought about like conditions of society in various ages in widely separated parts of the earth. When first discovered, the Iroquois were conquering, or at least gaining an influence over all the surrounding tribes. Their plan was largely one of exter-

³"Commentaries," etc., Sir William Blackstone, Book I, Sec. 148. Ibid., IV., Sec. 412. "Middle Ages," Hallam, Vol. II, Chap. VIII, Pt. I, p. 279. "History of the Anglo-Saxons," Turner, Vol. III, p. 180; Ibid., 184. Cf. Also "The Norman Conquest," Freeman; "History Anglo-Saxons," Kemble; "Anglo-Saxon Institutions," Chadwick. "Constitutional History of England," Stubbs, et al.

mination and adoption rather than of conquest. If they spared a tribe it was to levy tribute, and woe to that tribe if it refused to acknowledge their sovereignty. Some think that if the Iroquois had not been checked in their career by the coming of the whites, they would have extended their empire over the greater part of North America.⁴

Again, Kimm, who seems to have followed Morgan, remarks: "Although their Confederation was purely democratic in spirit, yet, ruling over so large a territory, they found it necessary to adopt the representative form. They were constrained at first to form a league against the more numerous and hostile tribes by which they were surrounded. This union developed their natural aptitude for government, and necessity compelled them to keep it in active operation. In a short time, instead of acting on the defensive, they became the most aggressive warriors on the American continent. Like the political fathers who framed our present Constitution, they made a wide distribution of power." The Iroquois ruled kindly at times; always with sheer bravado and in memory of past vengeance. Says Parkman:

The Iroquois in some measure owed their triumph to the position of their country, for they dwelt within the present limits of the State of New York, whence several great rivers and the inland oceans of the Northern Lake opened ready thoroughfares to their roving warriors through all the adjacent wilderness. But the true fountain of their success is to be sought in their own inherent energies, wrought to the most effective action under a political fabric well suited to the Indian life, in their mental and moral organization, in their insatiable ambition and restless ferocity.

In their scheme of government, as in their social customs and religious observances, the Iroquois displayed in full sympathy and matured strength the same characteristics which in other tribes are found distorted, withered, decayed to the root, or perhaps faintly visible in an imperfect germ. They consisted of five tribes or nations. To each tribe belonged an organization of its own. Each had several sachems, who, with the subordinate chiefs and principal men, regulated all its internal affairs, but when foreign powers were to be treated with, or matters involving the whole confederacy required deliberation, all the sachems of the several tribes convened in the general assembly at the great council-house in the Valley of the Onondaga. Here ambassadors were received, alliances were adjusted, and all subjects of general interest discussed with exemplary harmony. The general order of debate was prescribed by time ordered customs, and in the fiercest heat of controversy, the assembly maintained its self-control.

This great council-house occupies its page in the history of Western Pennsylvania, for nearby was Fort Stanwix, where Sir William Johnson, the English Crown's superintendent of Indian affairs for the British Colonies in North America, in October, 1768, negotiated with the Iroquois (the Six Nations always in the designation of the English), the treaty by which the entire region of Western Pennsylvania and all the country south of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers to which the Six Nations had any claim was transferred to the British. This treaty was debated in the great council chamber, and here again in October, 1784, under united colonial auspices, with Oliver Wolcott, General Richard Butler,

⁴"The Iroquois;" S. C. Kimm, 1900, a brochure.

and Arthur Lee, commissioners of the embryo United States, a second treaty was negotiated with the same nations, and all their indefinite claim, so long set up to the Valley of the Mississippi, based entirely on their conquest of a century before, was finally extinguished. The region of Western Pennsylvania was included in this vast domain, and the claim of the Iroquois had entered in a large degree into the diplomacy of Great Britain and France in the protracted contest for the possession of the Ohio Valley and the entire Cis-Mississippi region. "An important treaty," epitomizes the historian in mention of this result.

So we must be interested in the history of the Six Nations, for it is well to remember from now on that the Five Nations written of by Colden became the Six Nations later, and that the French-named Iroquois, and the Six Nations of the English, were the Ho-de-no-sau-nee (in their own tongue), literally, "they form a cabin," or in the language of Parkman and other historians, the League of the Iroquois. We will follow Parkman's description further:

Besides their inherent qualities, the tribes of the Iroquois race derived their great advantages from their superior social organization. They were more or less tillers of the soil and were thus enabled to concentrate a more numerous population than the scattered tribes who lived by the chase alone. In their well-peopled and well-constructed villages they dwelt together the greater part of the year; and thence their religious rites and social and political usages which elsewhere existed only in the germ, attained among them a full development. Yet those advantages were not without alloy, and the Jesuits were not slow to remark that the stationary and thriving Iroquois were more loose in the observance of social ties than the wandering and starving tribes of the North.

Except the detached nation of the Tuscaroras and a few smaller tribes adhering to them, the Iroquois family was confined to the region south of Lakes Erie and Ontario, and the peninsula east of Lake Huron. They formed, as it were, an island in the vast expanse of Algonquin population extending from Hudson's Bay on the north to the Carolinas on the south; from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and Lake Winnipeg.

Much of the Iroquois conquest took place within a quarter of a century. Parkman thinks from 1672, for during that time four of the most powerful of the North American savage nations sank before the arms of the Confederacy. These have been referred to. Parkman states that within the same short period they subdued their southern neighbors, the Lenape, then and long leading members of the Algonquin family, and expelled the Ottawas from the river of that name. In the north, west and south, their conquests embraced every tribe, and meanwhile their war parties were harassing the French in Canada with reiterated inroads and yelling their warwhoops under the walls of Quebec.

Among the subjugated tribes were the Wyandots, also known as the Hurons, of Iroquoian stock, but not at any time a member of the Confederacy. These gave their conquerors harder battles than any Algonquin tribe, and their conquest was attended with greater losses. The Iroquois, as scions of a warlike stock, were of singular vitality and forceful in the extreme. Few tribes matched them in prowess, constancy,

moral energy or intellectual vigor, as all historians assert. Nevertheless the Hurons were the better soldiers. They alone of all the tribes held it disgraceful to flee from the face of an enemy when the fortunes of fight were adverse. Noting that their habitat lay about Detroit and along the south shores of Lake Erie, Theodore Roosevelt states: "They were close kin to the Iroquois though bitter enemies to them, and they showed the desperate valor of their hostile kinsmen, holding themselves above the surrounding Algonquins, with whom nevertheless they lived in peace and friendship." ("Winning of the West," Vol. I). Mr. Roosevelt also makes prominent the fact that it was a point of honor among the Wyandots not to yield; of all the tribes, the most dangerous in pitched battle.

Overpowered by the Iroquois, they felt all too keenly the heel of the conqueror, though never slow to plant that heel when chance was given them. This tribe has been assigned many pages in the history of the Indians of our region, and were most restive under their condition of vassalage, for "the Iroquois were the worst of masters." Says Parkman:

Inordinate pride, the lust of blood and dominion, were the mainsprings of their warfare, and their victories were stained with every excess of savage passion. That their triumphs must have cost them dear, that in spite of their cautious tactics, these multiplied conflicts must have greatly abridged their strength, would appear inevitable. Their losses were, in fact, considerable, but every breach was repaired by means of a practice to which they, in common with other tribes, constantly adhered—when their vengeance was glutted by the sacrifice of a sufficient number of captives, they spared the lives of the remainder and adopted them as members of their confederated tribes, separating wives from husbands and children from parents, and distributing them among different villages in order that old ties and associations might be more completely broken up. This policy is said to have been designated among them by a name which signifies flesh cut into pieces and scattered among the tribes.

In the years 1714-1715 the Confederacy received a great accession of strength. Southwards about the headwaters of the Neuse and the Tar and separated from their kindred tribes by intervening Algonquins, dwelt the Tuscaroras, a warlike people belonging to the generic stock of the Iroquois. The wrongs inflicted by white settlers, and their own undistinguishing vengeance, involved them in a war with the colonists which resulted in their defeat and expulsion. They emigrated to the Five Nations, whose allies they had been in former wars with southern tribes and who now gladly received them, admitting them as a Sixth Nation into their Confederacy.

Hence the Six Nations in Colonial and Revolutionary history. It will be noted from Parkman's account of the policy of adoption and one likely long continued, that the Iroquois could not have been a pure blood, especially in the last years of the Confederacy. The accession of the Tuscaroras is variously given, 1712-13-14. The war which broke the power of this tribe in the south forever, was begun by them in September, 1711, and its first fury broke forth in an indiscriminate massacre of the settlements. But the vengeance of the whites was quick, for with the aid of the Tuscaroras' enemies—the Catawbass, Cherokees, Creeks and Yemassee—the strongholds of the Tuscaroras were attacked and stormed and slight quarter shown them. Hence they abjectly sued

for peace and gave up twenty chiefs as hostages. But they were forced to move, and came to New York immediately following their final defeat. There had been some emigration northward about 1710, for Governor Charles Gookin laid before the Pennsylvania Council on June 16th of that year, the minutes of a conference held at Conestoga on June 8th with the various Indians, at which conference there were present three Tuscarora chiefs and some "Seneques," also called "Conestogas." The last paragraph in these minutes reads:

Pursuant to your Honour's, and Council's intent, we went to Conestoga where the forewritten contents were by the chiefs of the Tuscaroras to us delivered; the sincerity of their intentions we cannot any wise doubt, *since they are of the same race and language as our Seneques* (Conestogas), who have always proved trusty and have also for these many years been neighbors to a government (North Carolina or Virginia) jealous of Indians and yet not displeased with them.⁵

In July, 1712, the New York Council decided that the Tuscaroras might settle, conditionally, beyond the Blue Hills. As late as 1722, outrages and massacres were charged to the Tuscaroras on the frontiers of Virginia, and that they actually worked their way southward of the Potomac from their "castle lately seated between Oneyde and Onondage." The Tuscarora commemorations in Southern Central Pennsylvania, the Tuscarora mountains, creek and valley from the time of bestowal of the name, show the Tuscaroras to have been resident in the section most of the period between 1712 and 1722, and the well known Tuscarora Path marked their route from the country of the Six Nations to North Carolina and Virginia. Hence it is only natural to find Tuscarora commemorations where the tribe dwelt. The tribal name has long been commemorated in a Pittsburgh street, in harmony with other Indian names of both Iroquoian and Algonquian origin. In fact, the Indian nomenclature geographically in use in Pennsylvania and in street designations in Pittsburgh, is in itself impressive of an extended Indian history. That the Tuscaroras did not largely range hereabouts is evidenced by a glance at Conrad Weiser's census of the Indians he found at Logstown on the Ohio in 1748, when he enumerated 789 Indians of ten tribes then sojourning there, among them representatives of each of the five original Iroquois nations, but really this was the Seneca country or an extension of it, and by reason of Seneca occupancy or possession the name Mingo became the designation of the people of that nation in this region, as we have already seen, and the name has endured geographically and historically in Mingo Junction and the Mingo Bottom on the Ohio below Steubenville, and in Mingo church and valley in Washington county, Pennsylvania, a church still there on the site of the log structure famed in the days of the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794, and the graveyard, too, with its many pioneer interments

⁵"The Wilderness Trail," Charles A. Hanna, Vol. I, p. 83.

marked with flat stones, just across the road from the modern church edifice.

The word Mingo is to be regarded as a corruption of the term "Mengwe" applied to the Iroquois by the Dutch and the Swedes; first to the Susquehannocks, the ancestors of the Custologas, and later to the New York Iroquois. The form Minquas was also used. As a rule the designation "Mingo" was applied to the Senecas living on the Allegheny and the Upper Ohio by the English. The Susquehannocks were Iroquoian stock, but there is evidence in the Pennsylvania Council records in the administration of Governor William Keith, 1717-1726, that the Conestoga Indians actually paid tribute to the Five Nations. James Logan, president of the Council, said in 1721, that the celebrated Conestoga chief, Civility (his English name), was a descendant of the ancient Susquehanna Indians, "but now reputed as of Iroquois descent." The Mingos of the Ohio are said to have been descendants of those who subdued the Susquehannocks, or early Mingos. Thomas Chalkley, a member of the Society of friends, visited the Conestogas living in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in 1706. He kept a journal of his extensive travels in America, and recorded that two nations dwelt in a town he visited—the Senecas (Conestogas), and the Shawanese; and that the first nation was ruled by an empress, his interpreter told him, and that the tribe gave much heed to what she wished. This was the celebrated Queen Alliquippa, the friend of Washington, who visited her at the mouth of the Youghiogheny river, December 30, 1753. She had taken up several locations in the years intervening between Chalkley's visit and Washington's visit, and her last years were spent about the Forks of the Ohio. Her name is commemorated in the manufacturing town of Aliquippa in Beaver county, Pennsylvania. Her name is variously spelled; the last form above is that of the United States postal authorities. Queen Alliquippa was undoubtedly an Iroquois, for Conrad Weiser, who met her in 1748 and dined with her at her town on the Ohio, opposite McKee's Rocks, called her an old Seneca woman who reigned with great authority.⁶ Notwithstanding this assertion five years later, in a list of chiefs of the Mohawk Nation, he enumerated Alliquippa's son among them. Celeron met her in 1749, and mentions her only as an Iroquois. Queen Alliquippa will be accorded mention more in detail in the story of her devotion to the English in their struggle for supremacy in the West.

⁶"The Wilderness Trail," Vol. I, pp. 78-79, 81-82. See also Weiser's "Journal," Chap. X, Aug. 27, 1748.

CHAPTER IV.

The Barbaric Republic.

Much of the early history of Pittsburgh that will follow is border history, that is to say, it deals with events that happened far beyond the pale of civilization. The actors in these events were many; they were of two races, the Aryan and the Indian, the white and the red, we may say to be more colloquial. It is altogether logical that all phases of this history should be considered as events occurring before the advent of the white settlers have been accorded equal potency with those occurring afterward. As Governor Colden put it in a letter to General Oglethorpe: "The Indian Affairs have ever appeared to your Judgment of such importance to the Welfare of our own People that you have ever carefully applied your thoughts to them, etc."

Again, the Harvard trio tell us: "The history of the United States is inferior to that of no other country in the romance of discovery, border warfare and frontier life, or the record of material results of a nation's efforts. The Indians are certainly as interesting in customs, warfare, and tribal government, as the Ancient Germans. The three centuries of strife between the native races and the white invaders—what Parkman calls 'the history of the forest,' is one of the World's treasure houses of romantic episodes comparable with the history of chivalry."¹

Governor Colden aptly remarks in his opening lines: "It is necessary to know something of the Form of Government of the People whose history one is about to know, and a few words will be sufficient to give the Reader a Conception of that of the Five Nations," then, as he observes, still under original simplicity. His account of these Nations he said would show what dangerous neighbors the Indians had once been, and what pains a neighboring colony (French Canada) whose interest was opposite to the English, had taken to withdraw their affection from the English. The riches of the Indian trade which this antagonistic colony received had a great part in the startling developments in our home region leading to open and terrible warfare a few months after Colden wrote.²

Various historians have spread their views of the Iroquois over pages of our national history, Lossing and Fiske especially. The Iroquois have also their particular historians—Colden and Catlin, and Schoolcraft; Beauchamp, William L. Stone and Lewis H. Morgan, and to invoke this voluminous history it is apparent that these able writers esteemed these wonderful specimens of the American race worthy of their extended

¹"American History Guide," Channing, Hart and Turner, pp. 1-2.

²"History of Five Nations," Cadwallader Colden—Introduction.

efforts. The "Jesuit Relations," those carefully prepared records of the French missionaries while laboring in the heart of America, have frequent mention of the Iroquois who, when first found by Cartier, were dwelling on both banks of the St. Lawrence, with villages where Montreal and Quebec now stand. The French explorers first betrayed the confidence of these natives by making prisoners of their head chief and some of his followers and carrying them overseas. The Iroquoian stock was wholly an inland stock, at no point reaching the ocean. The most ancient traditions of the Five Nations locate their pristine home between the lower St. Lawrence and Hudson's Bay. Hence the French explorers first met them and first wronged them, to the lasting regret of France, and it remained for Champlain to ruin all prospects of winning the haughty Iroquois and their country for the French Crown.

Neville B. Craig was impressed with the great part the Iroquois took in our national and local history. He had reasons to be, for when he was but a child in Pittsburgh he knew certain Seneca chiefs, among them Guyasutha and Cornplanter. He could remember Wayne and his Legion, and was acquainted through his father, Major Isaac Craig, with many officers of the Revolution and with some who served in the Indian wars subsequent. Craig has given us pages pertaining to the League of the Iroquois in his most timely, elaborate and entertaining work, "The Olden Time," which he published in magazine form monthly, beginning January, 1846, and ending December, 1847, which work is highly spoken of by Parkman. His Iroquois matter consists of a series of letters on that people addressed to Albert Gallatin, LL. D., president of the New York Historical Society, and published originally in the "American Review," the monthly magazine and organ of the Whig party. The letters are under the *nom de plume*, "Skenandoah." An "Advertisement" accompanying states that many parts of these letters were read before the "Councils of the New Confederacy of the Iroquois" in the years 1844-45-46, and to the establishment of that historical institution the research by which the facts were accumulated is chiefly to be attributed.

In his introductory article, Craig says he has given great attention and much space previously to the history of this remarkable people, "The earliest known proprietors of the country around the head of the Ohio." He was not at all apprehensive that his readers would think he could devote too much of his magazine space to the account of that Confederacy which had such absolute sway over so vast an extent of country, and which produced such men as Tanacharison, Guyasutha and Cornplanter. He could have mentioned Brant, Red Jacket, and others also. Craig believed everything calculated to explain the means by which the union of the constituent nations was so long preserved, and to illustrate their domestic institutions would continue to interest

every enlightened mind. He reiterated the common opinion that the existence of institutions so artificial and yet so admirably calculated to accomplish the purposes of the framers among a people usually regarded as savages, must astonish and yet gratify all who there for the first time became acquainted with them. At the time he printed these observations, Mr. Craig had in mind the address of De Witt Clinton which Craig had read thirty-six years previously, having been presented with a copy of it by Judge Henry Baldwin, of Pittsburgh, his law preceptor, who was an intimate friend of Clinton. Judge Baldwin sat on the Supreme Bench of the United States from 1830 to 1846. When publishing "The Olden Time," Craig found in an old work³ some parts of this address, which he reprinted in "The Olden Time." (Vol. I, pp. 396-398). Craig states regretfully that he had "loaned his copy to a friend who was careful not to return it." Clinton made plain the wisdom and policy of the Iroquois in their selection of their home country, situated as they were upon the high tableland from which waters flow into the St. Lawrence, the Mohawk, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Allegheny, because so situated these Indians by short portages at the most could readily launch their light canoes to transport their warriors to any part of the country to war upon their enemies or punish their refractory subjects. Parkman, too, as will be noted, dwells upon their strategic position. Craig, well satisfied that the Six Nations were a wonderful people among the Aborigines of the soil of America, and as they were rightfully or otherwise lords paramount in this our home region when the first white men visited it, believed that everything relating to their history, character or institutions, came properly under the scope of his undertaking of republishing in whole, or in parts, various interesting papers in relation to the early history of our country, in preference to undertaking the task of the historian by forming from such documents his own inferences, conclusions and opinions, and presenting them as historical facts. By carrying out his intention thus, he has left us in "The Olden Time" a long series of elaborate and entertaining articles which show patient and careful research, and to which he has added explanations and editorial remarks. From "Skenandoah's Letters" we extract some further items of interest, introducing also some quotations. It has been stated in these letters that:

It is an original peculiarity of Indian character that he has no desire to perpetuate himself in the remembrance of distant generations by monumental inscriptions or other erections fabricated by the art and industry of man. The Iroquois would have passed away without leaving a vestige or memorial of their existence behind, if to them had been entrusted the preservation of their name and deeds. A verbal language, a people without a city, a government without a record, are as fleeting as the deer and the wild fowl upon which the Indian himself subsists. With the departure of the individual, every vestige of Indian sovereignty vanishes. He leaves but the arrowhead upon the hillside, fit emblem of his pursuits; and the rude pipe and ruder vessel, entombed beside

³"Knapp's History and Topography of the United States."

his bones—at once the record of his superstition, and the evidence of his existence. If the red man had any ambition for immortality, he would entrust his fame to the unwritten remembrance of his tribe and race rather than to the inscriptions on columns in his native land, or other monument more durable than brass, which neither wasting rain nor mighty wind, nor flight of time, could overthrow.

It is for us to search out their government and institutions, and to record the events of their political existence. To these sources the historian must turn for the materials to be inscribed upon the introductory pages of our territorial history; and should he desire more ample knowledge of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, in the various departments necessary to a full history of the race, the effort must be quickly made, for soon avenues of inquiry will be perpetually closed. The antiquities of our State are essentially Indian, on which account they lose in comparative interest. Could we look back to a barbarous and antiquated era during which our ancestors were struggling upon the territory to emerge from rudeness, and to elevate themselves to a state of civilization, the research would rise in dignity and importance. But since our ancestors occupied this territory as a civilized race, with no link between them and the aboriginal occupants, except that of feeble humanity, we are inclined to pass by the incidents of his sovereignty with careless and transient observations.

We may ponder upon these observations, noticing at the same time the paraphrasing of some well known Horatian lines.⁴

Craig, in his introduction to the final installment of "Skenandoah's" letters, remarks the beauty and vigor of style of the author and the philosophical cast of mind displayed in his comparison and contrast of form of government of the Six Nations and those of other nations, and that these alone would command attention. Craig again asserts strong reasons for reprinting the entire series of letters. He says: "But when we bear in mind that these Indians were the occupants of the banks of the Ohio and the Allegheny when Europeans first visited these streams, their history and institutions must become subjects of absorbing interest to every liberal and inquiring mind."

In presenting specimens of Iroquois language and illustrating the modes of variation, Craig says the specimens "are those of the very tribe, the Seneca, who had their homes along the Allegheny and the Ohio rivers. The language is that of Washington's early friend, Tanacharison, of Guyasutha, and of the wise and venerable Cornplanter." Craig knew Guyasutha, who was one of Washington's guides on his mission to the French forts in 1753. Craig knew also the venerable Cornplanter, and men were still living whom Craig knew in his boyhood who had met Tanacharison and Monacatoocha—among those then living persons, Washington himself, for Craig was thirteen years old when the great Washington passed from earth to immortality. Slight wonder then that Craig should in regret say of the Seneca tongue: "It will be ere long a dead language, and the sole remaining memento of the soil we now occupy." However, his fear proved groundless, for already there were books printed in Seneca, notably a spelling book in 1842,

⁴"Carmina," Book III, Ode 30; "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*," etc., "I have raised a monument more enduring than brass," etc. Cf. "League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee," L. H. Morgan, p. 59.

the issue of the mission press at the Buffalo Creek Reservation in New York, copies of which are still extant. The tribe is not extinct by any means, but flourishing under a new civilization; though of much interest, their later history can find scant place in our present work.

The Iroquoian tongues, like all unwritten languages, is imperfect in construction and scarcely admits of comparison, except on general principles with those which have been systematized and perfected, observes "Skenandoah," and it would be apt to be characterized as a barbarous jargon by the schoolmen. This writer properly admits an incident to the Iroquoian dialects which rises far above mere literary curiosity; it is the fact, as he states, that "through all generations their language will be spoken in our geographical terms," but of that anon.

In the story of the Iroquois, exhibiting the highest development the Indian ever reached by him in the hunter state, there arises another source of admiration, for during the expansion of the Confederacy there sprang up a class of orators and chiefs unrivalled among the red men for eloquence in council and bravery upon the warpath, some of whom flourished in the region about the Upper Ohio and will be referred to as one by one, or in company, they appear on the stage of action. Some have already been named.

But we have not completed the examination of their political structure, a fuller knowledge of which is essential to the better understanding of their sovereignty and its continuance. To give a complete account of the League, or Confederacy, one should follow the admirable order of "Skenandoah," viz.: The origin of the League; the ruling body and its powers; the division of the people into tribes with the tribal bond or cross-relationship between them; the laws of succession, with their incidents, and the councils of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee with their powers, mode of proceeding, spirit and effect. Upon the facts derived from these sources of investigation, the true character of the Iroquoian government is to be settled. The writer above referred to is to be quoted again. He says:

In their original well developed institutions and in the government so systematic in its construction and so liberal in its administration, there is much to enforce a tribute of respect to the intelligence of our Indian predecessors. Without such institutions and without that animating spirit which they nourish and diffuse, it would be difficult to account for the production of such men as have sprung up among the Iroquois. The development of national intellect depends chiefly upon external, reciprocal influences, and is usually proportionate to the vitality and motive which the institutions of the people possess and furnish.

The central government of the League was organized and administered much upon the same principles as each nation in its separate capacity, and the nations stood nearly in the same relation to the League as the States bear to the United States. The Iroquois government presented several oligarchies within one, in the same manner as our

Federal Union exhibits its numerous republics within the one united republic. Lossing has epitomized the Iroquois government as follows:

Each canton or nation was a distinct republic, independent of all others in relation to its domestic affairs, but each bound to the others of the League by ties of honor and general interest. Each canton had eight principal sachems or magistrates, and several inferior sachems. The whole number of civil magistrates in the Confederacy amounted nearly to two hundred. There were fifty hereditary sachems.

Each canton or nation was subdivided into clans and tribes, each clan having its heraldic insignia called totems. For this insignia, one would have the figure of a wolf; another a bear, etc. By their totemic system they maintained a perfect tribal union. After the European came, the sachem of the tribe affixed his totem in the form of a rude representation of the animal that marked his tribe, to the documents he was required to sign, like an ancient monarch affixing his seal.⁵

The autographs of the signatory sachems to the treaties at Fort Stanwix in 1768 and 1784 do not conform to Lossing's statements. Samuel Hazard, the Pennsylvania historian, had copies made of all the Indian autographs to the Pennsylvania treaties from 1682 to 1785, which he assembled and had lithographed on one sheet, and which is to be found in Volume I of the First Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, edited by Hazard and published by the State in 1852. All of the original parchments on which these treaties were written have been preserved by the State, and are in charge of the Custodian of Public Records in the State House at Harrisburg. A photostatic copy of the signatures to the treaty of 1768 has been furnished by Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, State Librarian. Some of the sachems' autographs are plainly legible, and are individual rather than totemic. In the highly important treaty of 1768 the Indian title to most of Western Pennsylvania was divested as will appear. The first sachem signing was Tyanahasare, or Abraham, of the Mohawks; Gastrax of the Senecas last; and with the exception of his, each individual's mark is plain and all the names but one. The name of each signer's nation is written under his name, but not his tribe, though in some treaties this was done and the totemic mark affixed. Thus in the treaty at Albany in 1754, when certain lands held by them were confirmed to about two thousand settlers in the Wyoming Valley, Tyanahasare, *alias* Abraham Peters, signed second, and under his mark are the words, "Sachem of Canajoharie, of ye tribe of ye Bar;" and after Senosies, another name for Senaghsis, the Oneida, the words "his Turtle mark" occur, thus corroborating Lossing's statement.⁶

The tie of kinship furnished the strongest bond of Indian unity, the totem, for it was essentially a system of symbol-association among the many Indian clans, and one that ramified and intermingled all the native races of America. The beasts and birds represented in rude pictographs

⁵"Harper's Cyclopaedia U. S. History;" B. J. Lossing, 1892, Vol. I, p. 694. "Iroquois Confederacy;" also *Ibid.*, Edition 1906, Vol. V.

⁶See "History of Wilkes-Barre and the Wyoming Valley," Harvey, Vol. I, pp. 275-276.

were accepted and adopted as guardian spirits or protectors of man. Each individual family had in the earlier days such a tutelary genius. Intermarriage carried the genius of an especial family interest into other tribes, for the warrior always followed the clan of his wife and became a member of the family of the wife. "The Bear and the Wolf, the Turtle, the Eagle, and other well known creatures of earth and sky, became thus the family gods," observes Elbridge G. Brooks, "the Lares and Penates of the American Indians." When such a reptile, bird or quadruped was adopted as a guardian spirit, its rude representation, or pictograph, wherever seen, was at once recognized and respected by other possessors of the same totem. Like the hand-clasp or pass-word of modern secret societies, the symbol of the totem secured for its owner all the rights of hospitality, help and friendship, wherever claimed or needed, alike among hostile and stranger tribes as among friendly and confederated ones. "The wayfarer, the hunter of the warrior," says Parkman, "was sure of a cordial welcome in the distant lodge of the clansman whose face perhaps he had never seen."⁷

A warrior might change his name repeatedly. This could be done for many reasons, and instances will be apparent in this history, but the totem name was never changed. Its central motive was the doctrine of "Once a citizen always a citizen." Bear, or Beaver, or Turtle, the possessors of these badges of consanguinity were always and unalterably Bear, or Beaver, or Turtle, wherever they might be, or whatever they might become. The best reason that can be assigned for the great importance attached to the totem is, that it was the expression of that strong love of kin that forms the basis of Indian nature. This assumption explains also the respect paid to it, and as the totem is the outgrowth of the original clan-marks without regard to tribal organization, in it may be discovered the earliest traits of association, political or social, among the separating races, while it may be also regarded as an immediate outgrowth of the original or patriarchal state. There was a basic difference between the clan and the tribe or nation. The former was totemic, the latter directive; the clan, the bond of kinship; the tribe, of the daily life; the clan had no distinct chieftain; it was simply a diversified bond of blood relationship; the tribe was the governmental organization necessary wherever the families of men unite for mutual protection and support. The tendency of all society, whether civilized or barbarous, is naturally though gradually towards cohesion, union and centralization. The narrower the limit of the land, the speedier is this union. Scattered over a vast area and separated by the barriers of climate and speech, the Indian tribes of North America emerged but slowly from the barbarism into which the whole land had fallen when the suggested and unsubstantial civilization of prehistoric days had

⁷"The Story of the American Indian," etc.; Elbridge G. Brooks. p. 95.

gone down into savagery. Hence the spirit of union was of slow and retarded growth, but that it did exist, the numerous confederacies that were found in the land at the time of its discovery by Europeans is sufficient evidence. These are largely the observations of Mr. Brooks, leading to mention of "the strongest, the most intelligent, the most alert" of all, quoting Parkman, "foremost in war, foremost in eloquence, foremost in the savage arts of policy, the Ho-de-no-sau-nee"—the Iroquois, in the language of France. It is to be kept in mind that in the confederated tribes under this designation, the word "tribe" has the same significance as "clan" used by Brooks and other historians. The division of a people into tribes is an ancient and simple organization. In the words of "Skenandoah," "Each tribe being in the nature of a family, the ties of relationship which bind its individuals together are indispensable, until they are rendered unnecessary by the adoption of a form of government and the substitution of other ties, which answer the same ends of protection and security." The founders of the Iroquois Confederacy did not seek to suspend the tribal divisions of their people, to introduce a different social organization; altogether on the contrary, they built up the Confederacy upon the tribes. The Iroquois tribes were unlike any in ancient history. A tribe with them was not a group of families, neither was it made up of the descendants of a common father, as the father and his child were never of the same tribe. The Iroquois tribes came nearest in their structure to the tribes of the Jews; the chief difference to be noted is the incident of descent in the former, which was in the female line, while in the latter the descent was in the male line.

The careful study of the confederated tribal divisions of the Iroquois which characterized the political system of their Confederacy, is of paramount importance. Without such knowledge as this study will afford, their government itself is meaningless, and therefore it cannot be understood or appreciated for its wisdom and strength. The eight tribes in each nation were in the order named: Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk, all animals common to the latitudes between the Gulf of Mexico and the St. Lawrence river. This tribal subdivision was common to Indian nations; and will be noticed in the history of the Delawares in Western Pennsylvania. It is accorded mention and explanation by most writers on our local history, even of what may be designated "mixed history," on account of its inclusion of strictly legal phases. (See "Settlement and Land Titles," Daniel Agnew, p. 175). These phases are manifest from the examination of titles running back to the vesting of the Iroquois land in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by the two treaties with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, 1768 and 1784, and by the later one with the Wyandots and Delawares at Fort McIntosh, now Beaver, Pennsylvania, in January, 1785—also an important treaty.

These animal names in themselves do not throw any light upon the locality in which the Iroquois originated. That they had an emblematical signification is most probable; of this but little is known, and perhaps if known would be of little importance. Tradition declares the Bear and Deer the original tribes, the others subdivisions. On the establishment of the League, there is some evidence that there were seven tribes in the distribution of the Onondaga and Seneca hereditary sachemships, for of the fourteen assigned to the first mentioned nation, all the tribes receive mention but the Heron. So, too, the Seneca sachemships—five only are represented, to the exclusion of the others. Originally the Mohawks and Oneidas had but three tribes—Wolf, Bear and Turtle. It is a plain inference that they did not then exist.

The division of the people of each nation into eight tribes, whether preëxisting or perfected at the establishment of the Confederacy, did not terminate in its objects with the nation itself. It became the means of effecting that most perfect union of separate nations that has ever aroused admiration. In effect, the Wolf tribe was divided into five parts, and one-fifth placed in each of the five nations. The other tribes were subjected to the same division and distribution, thus giving to each nation the eight tribes, and making in their separate state forty tribes in the Confederacy. Between the separated parts of each tribe there thus existed a tie of brotherhood which linked the nations together with indissoluble bonds. The Mohawk of the Wolf tribe recognized the Seneca of the Wolf tribe as his brother, and they were bound by the ties of consanguinity. In like manner, the Oneida of the Turtle received the Cayuga or the Onondaga of the same tribe as a brother, and with fraternal welcome. The cross-relationship between the tribes of the same name was stronger if possible than the chain of brotherhood between the several tribes of the same nation. In this cross-relationship can be found the chief reason for the tenacity with which the fragments of the old Confederacy held together for years after the American Revolution.

Again there obtrudes the wonder of this extraordinary specimen of Indian legislation, evincing the wisdom of savage minds. To further elucidate we may note first, that if either of the five confederated nations had wished to cast off the alliance, it would have broken the bond of brotherhood. Had the nations collided it would have turned the Hawk tribe against Hawk tribe, Heron against Heron, and so in detail; in fact, brother against brother. In the history of the Confederacy, the wisdom of these organic provisions stands forth clear and illuminating, for during the long period which the Confederacy lasted they never fell into anarchy. They never even approximated dissolution from internal disorders. We of the United States of America in our history are not permitted thus to boast.

With the progress of the inquiry that has been instituted, it has been made plain that the Iroquois Confederacy was a "League of Tribes." With ties of kindred as the principle of union, the whole race, as allied, was interwoven into one great family. It is always to be remembered that there were Indian nations of Iroquoian stock not admitted to the illustrious Ho-de-no-sau-nee—not people of the Long House. The great family made up from the five nations was composed of tribes in its first subdivision. These nations we have seen were counterparts of each other. The tribes themselves, in their subdivisions, were composed of parts of many households. It is apparent that without these close inter-relations, resting mainly upon the strong impulses of nature, a mere alliance of the five nations would have been feeble and most probably transitory.

So was constructed the Tribal League of the far-famed Ho-de-no-sau-nee. "Simple in its foundation upon family relationships; effective in the lasting vigor inherent in the ties of kindred; and perfect in its success in achieving a lasting and harmonious union of the nations, it forms an enduring monument to that proud and progressive race who reared under its protection a widespread Indian sovereignty."

These are the words of "Skenandoah" in the wonderful letters Historian Craig, of Pittsburgh, has preserved for us. In the foregoing, much of the information recorded is abstracted from these "Letters," and rightly, for the author of them has in the three-quarters of a century that has elapsed, earned and justified the honor of having been the best historian of and the greatest authority concerning the Iroquois. When his identity is revealed as Lewis H. Morgan, no scholar will dispute the assertion. Mr. Craig did not announce the author's identity; either he did not know, or Morgan at the time wished his identity concealed in the name of a famous war chief of the Oneidas who died at an advanced age in 1816. Morgan was a young man when he wrote the Letters—about twenty-six. In 1851 they were published in book form under the title, "League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois."

The sachem is to be always distinguished from the chief, and chief warriors. The sachem's place was in the Assembly or Council; the chiefs were leaders in war. The scheme of sachemship in the Confederacy was simple. Fifty permanent sachemships were created at the institution of the Confederacy, with appropriate names, and those who held these titles were vested with the supreme powers of the Confederacy. To secure order in the succession and to determine the individuals entitled, the sachemships were made hereditary under limited and peculiar laws of descent. The sachems themselves were equal in rank and authority (except three in the Onondaga Nation) and, in the place of holding separate territorial jurisdictions their powers were joint, and coextensive with the Confederacy. As a safeguard against contention

and fraud, each sachem was "raised up" and invested with his title by a Council of all the sachems, with suitable forms and ceremonies. Until this ceremony of confirmation or investiture was performed, no one could become a ruler. He received, when raised up, the name of the sachemship itself, as in the cases of titles of nobility, and so also did his successors from generation to generation. The sachemships were unequally distributed among the five nations, but without thereby giving to either a preponderance of political power. Nine of them were assigned to the Mohawk nation; nine to the Oneida; fourteen to the Onondaga; ten to the Cayuga; and eight to the Seneca. The sachems, united, formed the Council of the League, the ruling body in which resided the executive, legislative and judicial authority. It thus appears that the government of the Iroquois was somewhat of an oligarchy in its eclectic sense; and while more system is observable in this than in the oligarchies of old, it seems also better calculated in its framework to resist political changes. This specimen of Indian legislation is certainly most striking. To the Onondagas were allotted the three highest sachemships, the highest called Ta-do-da-hoh, always of the Bear tribe, who had two hereditary counselors, always of the Beaver tribe. Ta-do-da-hoh was regarded as superior in dignity and authority to the other sachems, yet he had no unusual or executive powers, no authority not equalled possessed by his compeers. In this sachemship there appears an anomaly explainable only by tradition, that the name Ta-do-da-hoh was once that of a living person who was so illustrious that he had been handed down for ages as the personification of heroism, of forecast, and of supreme dignity of character; hence this sachemship descending from him was dignified above all others.

The sachems had no set time for assembling. The kindling of the council-fire depended entirely upon the exigencies of a public or domestic character. The object of the Council, originally to raise up sachems to fill vacancies that had been occasioned by death or deposition, was in time enlarged and assumed charge of all matters which concerned the common welfare. The Council declared war and received embassies; disposed of subjugated nations, as we shall presently note in the case of the Delawares and Shawanese; and took all necessary measures to secure the prosperity and expansion of the Confederacy. For all purposes of a local and domestic character, and many of a political, the nations were entirely independent of each other. The nine Mohawk sachems administered the affairs of that nation with joint authority, precisely as they did in connection with the others the affairs of the Confederacy-at-large. With similar powers the Cayuga sachems regulated the internal affairs of their nation, and so the other nations' sachems. As the sachems of each nation stood upon a perfect equality in authority and privileges, the measure of influence was determined solely by the talents and address of the individual.

The councils of the nations were frequent in which all business of national concernment was transacted, and although on such occasions the questions moved would be finally settled by the opinions of the sachems, yet such was the spirit of the whole system of their government that the influence of the inferior chiefs, the warriors, and even the women, would make itself felt whenever the subject to be considered aroused a general public interest. The powers and duties of the sachems were entirely of a civil character, yet arbitrary within their sphere of action. The warrant for this is to be found in the etymology of the Iroquois word which corresponds with "sachem," and which signifies "a counselor of the people," and this signification can be taken as intimating a check upon the enlargement of civil authority.

The sachems' duties having been confined to civil matters, it became necessary to provide a class of officers in whom the military power might be vested. Hence fifty war-chieftainships were created simultaneously with the sachemships, in their relation to inheritance and investiture almost the same. By a novel provision, the subordination of the military to the civil power was perpetually indicated. To each sachem was assigned a war-chief to stand behind him on all ceremonious occasions to aid with his counsel and to execute the commands of the sachem. The war-chief was "raised up" to discharge these duties, and for the particular sachem upon whose death, or deposition, the office in him ceased, for with the successor of the sachem there was raised up another military chief. If the sachem should join a war party led forth by his war-chief, as was his privilege, he would cease for the time to be other than a common warrior, and would fall under his war-chief's command.

An interesting question presents itself here: in whom resided the superior military command of the forces of the Confederacy? The Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas agree upon an answer that at an early period in the League's existence two military chieftains were established and made hereditary. The names given these were to be taken, as in the case of the sachemships, by successive incumbents, and they were raised up in like manner as sachems. To these high chiefs the supreme command of the forces of the Confederacy was given and the general conduct of wars entrusted. It was provided that they were always to be taken from the Seneca nation, for the reason that this nation was the hereditary keeper of the door of the Long House, which faced the west or towards the country of the Senecas. Thus, ever at the door of the Long House, the Senecas could first take the warpath. If they could not drive back the invaders, they called upon the next fire (the Cayugas) for aid, and if more aid was necessary, the Onondagas, and so on until all five nations were in arms. Hence it was considered necessary, in justice to the Senecas, that the great war-chiefs be taken

from them, for upon this nation was placed the first defense, and the chief defense of the Council House of the Confederacy.

It is not a fact that Thayandanega (Brant) ever commanded the forces of the Six Nations as military chieftain. He did those of his own nation, the Mohawks, especially during the Revolution. All the other tribes denied that he held supreme command, and the fact is he himself never advanced such a claim; such an honor having been assigned him by English writers from his conspicuous position and the high confidence reposed in him. Brant was a war-chief. He did not figure in events in the West in any history that concerns Pittsburgh, except in the disastrous affair of August 24, 1781, when Colonel Archibald Lochry's expedition from Westmoreland county was ambushed on the Ohio river and all killed or captured by a force of Iroquois, Shawanese and Wyandots under Brant's command. Brant was also a party to the negotiations with General Wayne in 1794, by which all of Western Pennsylvania was forever freed from Indian marauding.⁸

The peculiar method of warfare among the Iroquois has rendered it difficult to obtain a satisfactory exposition of the manner in which their wars were conducted, and to ascertain beyond disputation with whom the military power actually resided. As the Confederacy was at war with all nations not in actual alliance, it was lawful for any warrior to organize a party and go on the warpath whither he pleased. All that was necessary to do was to institute a war dance, which served as a recruiting station. There enough warriors enlisted to warrant the expedition, however perilous or distant the enterprise might be. There were no drafts required to fill the ranks.

However strong the war party might be, there was a third party which had the right to veto a declaration of war. This party was composed of the Matrons of the Long House, who could command a cessation of war, nor was it any disgrace for the bravest chief to bury the hatchet at the command of the peace party. In this one particular the Iroquois were a long way in advance of civilized nations, for only within very recent years, and not until 1920, did women appear nationally as man's co-worker in legislation.

It will be shown in the story of the degradation of the Delawares that the mediators among the Indians were the women. No warrior ever spoke of peace while war raged. Their wars were to the knife and the tomahawk. The "assumption of the role of women mediators" by a whole nation will strike the reader as in a manner comedy; in the end it was tragedy. Mr. Craig calls it a "metamorphosis," and states that it was celebrated with great pomp. The year is fixed approximately as 1677; certain it is that it was prior to the coming of William Penn. However, this long and peculiar story is well authenticated in Pennsyl-

⁸"Annals of the West;" J. R. Albach, pp. 334, 656.

vania history. The Delawares always blamed the Dutch for conspiring with the Delawares' enemies, the Mengwe, the Dutch term for the Five Nations. The reason is that the "metamorphosis" was celebrated in the presence of the Dutch at Albany, a Dutch town.

The admission of the Tuscaroras having been long subsequent to the formation of the League, they were never received into an equal alliance with the other nations. After their disastrous overthrow and expulsion from North Carolina, to be noted later, most naturally they turned toward the country of their congeners, the Iroquois, and were admitted about 1715 (the dates vary), as the sixth nation, as related. They were never allowed to have a sachem who could sit as an equal in the Council of Sachems. The Five Nations were unwilling to enlarge the number of sachemships founded at the institution of the League. For purposes of national government, however, the Tuscaroras were organized like the other nations, with similar tribes, relationships, laws, and institutions. They also enjoyed a nominal equality in the Councils of the League by the courtesy of the other five tribes, and their sachems and war chiefs were "raised up" with the same ceremonies. They were not dependent, but were admitted to a full equality as could be granted them, without enlarging the framework of the Confederacy. In the Councils of the League they had no national designation.

It is to be remembered that the Tuscaroras were nevertheless an integral part of the Confederacy, and always recognized to that extent, and acknowledged to have an equity in Iroquois land similar to that of the other tribes. This fact is apparent in the premises of the deed granted at the Fort Stanwix Treaty in 1768, previously referred to, in which the Confederacy extinguished its title to that vast tract of Pennsylvania territory then acquired by Thomas and Richard Penn, and known as the "Purchase of 1768," the western boundary of which came to the Allegheny river above Kittaning and thence to the Ohio. The Tuscaroras' interest in this land was neither assailed nor controverted at any time. In Craig's "History of Pittsburgh" and his "Olden Time," and in histories that have copied from Craig, in the text of this treaty, in the enumeration of the parties of the first part, that is the grantors, the sachem representing the Tuscaroras is named fifth in order, and precedes the Cayuga sachem. The order is: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, etc. Actually they signed in this order: Mohawk, Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca, as the original deed at Harrisburg shows.

There is, in fact, another order of precedence than that stated to have been assigned by Hi-a-wat-ha. When the nations were enumerated, the Mohawks were always placed first, for what reason is not understood unless so ordered in the Hiawathan legend. Each tribe had a national designation significant to a degree, and always a term of respect.

Thus the Mohawks' designation meant "neutral," or as some of the nations interpreted it, "a speech divided." Its origin is lost in obscurity. "Skenandoah" names the Onondagas next, the designation meaning the "Name Bearer." This term is asserted to have been conferred in commemoration of the circumstances that this tribe bestowed the names upon the fifty original sachems of the League. This was a great privilege, and these sachem names were to descend from generation to generation—in fact they are yet in use.

The Senecas, justly proud of their designation, "The Door Keeper," came next in the order of succession, as "Skenandoah" has it. To this tribe belonged the hereditary guardianship of the door of the Long House.

The Oneidas occupied the fourth place, and originally had no appellation by which they were distinguished. At a long subsequent period an epithet meaning the "Great Tree" was conferred upon them by their confederates.

The Cayugas came last in this enumeration. Their appellation signified the "Great Pipe." Tradition refers its bestowal to the incident that the leading Cayuga chief in attendance at the Council which established the Confederacy, smoked a pipe of unusual dimensions and workmanship.

Historians have remarked that the Iroquois Confederacy had no chief sachem or chief magistrate; Lossing concludes that the League had a president, clothed with power similar to those conferred on the President of the United States—authority to assemble a congress of representatives of the League. He had a council of six advisors, and in the Grand Council he was moderator. Only by merit could public office be secured, and public opinion was the only reward for years of service. The Onondagas were honored by having the first president selected from among their wise men. Receiving no pay but public favor, the sachems became renowned for prudence and sagacity. Lossing evidently refers to the sachem To-do-da-hoh of the Onondagas.

The Iroquois resembled the Romans in that the military power was stronger than the civil, and instances occurred when the civil power was overthrown by deposing the sachems. The military leaders received their authority from the people and were always called Chief. That these people loved freedom, stands preëminent in the fact that they never made slaves of any; not even captives in war. These were either killed or adopted into the Iroquois tribes. The history of their League shows that they were born diplomats, unequalled for tact in diplomatic art, self-repression and political strategy. In short, they were the ideal Indians from the Indian standpoint.

There is much in the family life of the Iroquois to awaken interest; their mode of computing degrees of consanguinity for one thing; also

the relation of the tribes to each other with reference to marriage. In this respect the Wolf, Bear, Beaver and Turtle tribes were brothers to each other, and cousins to the other four. They were not allowed to intermarry. The opposite four tribes were also brothers to each other, and were also prohibited from intermarrying; however, either of the first four could intermarry with either of the last four—the Hawk with the Bear or Beaver; Heron with Turtle, but not Beaver and Turtle, nor Deer and Deer. Whoever violated these laws of marriage incurred the deepest detestation and disgrace. The rigor of this original system in time was relaxed, and the prohibition was confined to the tribe of the individual, which among the residue of the Six Nations is still the rule. Under both the original and modern regulation, the husband and wife were of different tribes; the children still follow the tribe of the mother. However greatly the social relations of these wonderful people may interest us, we Pittsburghers are not especially concerned. For lack of space, if for no other reason, it must be left without further elucidation. It may be permitted to say that the study of these relations is of absorbing interest, and those who desire to follow it more largely are referred to the authorities who have been named.

We may well believe that before the European had planted his footsteps upon the Red Man's trail, or the Old World had knowledge of the New, these boundless solitudes had been the scene of human conflicts, and therein occurred the rise and fall of Indian sovereignties. "Isolated nations," remarks "Skenandoah" in his "Letters," "sprang up with an energetic growth, and for a season spread their dominion far and wide. After a brief period of prosperity, they were borne back by adverse fortune into their individual obscurity. The reason must be sought in the unsubstantial nature of their political structures. It was the merit of the Iroquois to rest themselves upon a more durable foundation by the establishment of their Confederacy. The alliance between their nations, they cemented by the stronger and more imperishable bands of their Tribal League. At the epoch of the Saxon occupation, they were rapidly building up an empire which threatened the whole Indian race from the chain of lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Their power had become sufficient to set at defiance all hostile invasions from contiguous nations, and to preclude the idea of subjugation. A nationality of character and a unity of interest had resulted from the relationships by which they were so blended together, and above all, the Confederacy, while it suffered no loss of numbers by emigrating bands, was endued with a capacity for indefinite expansion. At the period of discovery, the Aztecs of the South and the Iroquois in the North were the only Indian races upon the continent whose institutions promised at maturity to ripen into civilization. Such were the conditions and prospects of the Indian League when Hendrick Hudson sailed up the river which con-

stituted the League's eastern boundary. This silent voyage of the navigator may be regarded as the opening event in the series which resulted in reversing the political prospects of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, and in introducing into their Long House an invader more relentless in his purposes and more invincible in arms than the Red Man against whose assaults it had been erected."

The invader was a man of white skin.

"Skenandoah" points out a singular feature in connection with Indian organizations, in that their decline and fall are sudden and usually simultaneous. "A rude shock from within," he said, "but, too easily disturbs their inter-relations, and when once cast back upon the predominating sentiment of Indian life—the Hunter state—a powerful nation rapidly dissolves into a multitude of fragments, and is lost and forgotten in the undistinguished mass of lesser tribes. But the Iroquois Confederacy was subjected to a severer test. It went down before the Saxon, and not the Indian race. This Indian constellation paled only before the greater constellation of the American Confederacy. If it had been left to resist the pressure of surrounding nations (living like the Iroquois themselves, a hunter-life), there is reason to believe that it would have subsisted for ages, and perhaps having broken the spell, would have introduced civilization by an original and spontaneous movement."⁹

Perhaps! Great events occurred in the region about Pittsburgh that were powerful factors in the expulsion of all Indians from the region, incidentally destroying the dominion of the Iroquois. It is for this reason that the history of their League is part of the history of the region. The Seneca nation alone made more Pittsburgh history than any other in the League.

⁹"Letters on the Iroquois." "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 127. *Ibid.*, p. 71.



CHAPTER V.

The Lenni-Lenape, alias the Delawares.

In the history of Pennsylvania, the story of the Lenape takes up many pages. From the arrival of William Penn on the River Delaware in 1682 until Wayne's victory over the western tribes in 1794, or more than a century, this nation made most of Pennsylvania's Indian history, and with this record in large degree the history of the Shawanese runs concurrent.

The tribal union of the remarkable people commonly known as the Iroquois, has received extended notice in Chapter IV. Dr. Brooks remarks that "this union was not exceeded in rude statecraft by the half mythical Aztec Confederation," and their story briefly told will indicate the general nature of other though less perfect Indian confederacies of North America.¹

The less perfect confederacies that pertain to this history were of Algonquian tribes or nations. They could not say as Thayendanega, the Mohawk (Joseph Brant). "The Six Nations have no dictator among the nations of the earth. We are not the wards of the English. We are a commonwealth." We can in a softer sense refer to the Pennsylvania Algonquins as wards of the Iroquois. Historians are more apt to say vassals of the Iroquois. We may note the remark of Parkman also, that the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy were placed together by an eight-fold band, and to this hour have the slender remnants clung to one another with an invincible tenacity. The Pennsylvania Indians are among those who "have withered from the land." It is an observation of Dr. Brinton that "the League of the Iroquois was a thoroughly statesmanlike creation illustrative of the social fact of self-government; the neighbors of the Iroquois, the Lenape, had nothing resembling 'the Long House.'"

The Algonquins were the largest and most widely ranged family of North American Indians. Their tribes stretched from Labrador to the Rocky mountains, and from Hudson's Bay to the Carolinas. Many of the Indian tribes with whom our national history is most intimately associated, and their vigor and persistency of life, remarks Dr. Jenkins, have made them most familiar in our annals. Pocahontas was an Algonquin, we are to remember; and Sassacus, the Pequot, and Massasoit, and Philip of Pokanoket, and Uncas the Mohegan, and Pontiac and Tecumseh in the West, and the host of sachems and chiefs who figure in early colonial history; so, too, all who made history in Pennsylvania, not dis-

¹"Story of the American Indian; His Origin, Development, Decline and Destiny;" Elbridge G. Brooks; p. 98; *Ibid.*, 100-101.

tinctly mentioned as Iroquois, and among these latter there is to come Tanacharison, "the Half-King;" Monocatoocha; Cornplanter, or Gy-anta-wa-chia; Cannassatego; and that anomaly among Indian rulers, Queen Alliquippa. Each of these will have more or less mention as this history proceeds. We are now concerned with the Pennsylvania Algonquins, especially the Delawares, and still follow Parkman as authority:

They were Algonquins who under the great tree at Kensington made the covenant of peace with William Penn, and when the French Jesuits and the fur-traders explored the Wabash and the Ohio, they found the valleys tenanted by the same far extended race. Of all the members of the Algonquin family, those called by the English the Delawares, by the French the Loups, and by themselves the Lenni-Lenape, or original men, hold the first claim in attention, for their traditions declare them to be the parent stem from whence other Algonquin tribes have sprung. The latter recognized the claim, and at all solemn councils accorded to the ancestral tribe the title of grandfather.

In the expression of titles of relationship, all Indians were strong. Hence in the journals of conferences at Philadelphia, Fort Pitt, Easton and Lancaster, such expressions figure largely, chief among them "Brethren" and "Brothers," with occasional mention of "uncles," "nephews," and "cousins," and even "grandchildren."

The traces left by the original inhabitants of our country have been given prominence in Chapter II. The inhabitants who descended from the primitive people or came after them, were undoubtedly those found in Pennsylvania by William Penn and his settlers, and these demand mention, and their history must be given at some length. All Pennsylvania historians have devoted much space to the story of the Pennsylvania Indians; that is to say, to the Indians of the Algonquian races who had their habitations in Pennsylvania. The Indians exterminated by the Iroquois before the coming of Penn, can find no space in the Pittsburgh history of our colonial days. To this effect Robert Proud, historian of the province, is to be quoted, writing probably prior to 1780, though his work did not appear until 1797:

The Indians called the Six Nations, have held sovereignty over all the Indians, both in this and neighboring provinces, for so long a series of years, and as a similarity of their customs prevails among those who are subject to them, so previous to an account of the Indians of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as they were found and observed by the first and early European or English settlers among them, whose description or observation may be most depended on as nearest to the truth, it may be proper to say something further respecting these nations, though they have not at present their residence within the limits of these provinces.

The Six Nations first entered into an alliance with the English on the capture of New York from the Dutch in 1664, which has remarkably continued ever since. The limits of their lands, or country, included all the nations and tribes which were subject to them, either by conquest or otherwise, and they extended from the south part of Lake Champlain in latitude 44°, comprehending all Pennsylvania and the adjacent countries.²

²"The History of Pennsylvania in North America from the Original Institution of that Province under the First Proprietor, William Penn, in 1681, till after the Year 1742;" Vol. II, p. 293. This book is acknowledged to contain original material of great value. It was written mainly during the Revolution, with which Proud, a native of Yorkshire, was not in sympathy.

The nations that were spared by the Iroquois that are to receive consideration in this history, are the Lenape and their more powerful congeners, the Shawanese, for these tribes after their enforced migration to the West, figure largely in the history of Pittsburgh. It is a matter of remark, too, that the former nation having lost its own tribal designation, should be known by the English name of the river along which its tribes once dwelt, and that name is fixed in our national geographical nomenclature in the name of an original State of the National Union, and in many towns and counties in the United States. The traditions of the coming of the Lenape to the East, are given at length by Dr. Egle in his "History of Pennsylvania," on the authority of Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, and reproduced verbatim by Dr. Brinton and Mr. Jenkins from the same author.³ Heckewelder tells the story thus:

The Lenni-Lenape (according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors), resided many hundred years ago in a distant country in the western part of the American continent. For some reason which I do not find, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out in a body. After a very long journey and many nights encampments made by the way, they at length arrived on the *Namæsisipu*, where they fell in with the Mengwe, who had likewise emigrated from a distant country and had struck upon this river higher up. Their object was the same as that of the Delawares; they were proceeding to the eastward until they should find a country that pleased them. The spies which the Lenape had sent forward for the purpose of reconnoitering, had long before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. These people (as I was told) called themselves the *Talligue* or *Talligewi*. Col. John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians and speaks several of their languages, is of the opinion that they were not called *Talligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of the name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Allegewi Sipu*, the River of the Alligewi.

A word or two of explanation should be inserted. "A night's encampment" signifies half a year; and the river *Namæsi Sipu* was the Mississippi—the river of fish. Colonel John Gibson was one of the most noted of the border-men of the West of Colonial days, and his name is linked with that of Chief Logan as the recipient of Logan's wonderful speech. Gibson's name will frequently occur later in this history. Heckewelder continues; referring to the Alligewi: "Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. It is related that

³"History of Pennsylvania," William H. Egle; pp. 19-21. "The Lenape and Their Legends," D. G. Brinton, A. M., M. D.; pp. 140-144. "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," Howard M. Jenkins; Vol. I, p. 27. "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations that once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States," Rev. John Heckewelder; originally published by the author in 1818; reprint 1876, by the Pennsylvania Historical Society; pp. 47-51. See also "Names which the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians, gave to the Rivers, Streams and Localities in Pennsylvania, etc.," by the same author; edited by W. C. Reichel, 1872; p. 13.

they had built to themselves regular fortifications, or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by them."

Heckewelder has been quoted on this point (Chap. II), and the fortifications he describes were in the region of the Big Beaver river, in Beaver county, Pennsylvania. Continuing, Heckewelder says:

When the Lenape arrived at the banks of the Mississippi, they sent a message to the Alligewi to request permission to settle in their neighborhood. This was refused them, but they obtained leave to pass through the country and seek a settlement farther to the eastward. They accordingly began to cross the *Namasi Sipu*, when the Alligewi, seeing that their numbers were very great, and in fact consisted of many thousands, made a furious attack on those who had crossed, threatening them all with destruction if they dared persist in coming over to the Alligewis' side of the river. Fired at the treachery of the people, and the great loss of men they had sustained, and not being prepared for a conflict, the Lenape consulted on what should be done; whether to retreat in the best manner they could or try their strength and let the enemy see that they were not cowards, but men, and too highminded to suffer themselves to be driven off before they had made a trial of their strength and were convinced that the enemy were too powerful for them. The Mengwe, who had hitherto been satisfied with being spectators from a distance, offered to join them on condition that after conquering the country they should be entitled to share it. Their proposal was accepted, and the resolution taken by the two nations to conquer or die.

Having thus united their forces, the Lenape and the Mengwe declared war against the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns, especially on large rivers and near lakes, where they were successfully attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place in which hundreds fell and were afterwards buried in holes or laid together in heaps and covered over with earth. No quarter was given, so that the Alligewi, at last finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned. The war which was carried on by this nation lasted many years, during which the Lenape lost a great number of their warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end, the conquerors divided the country between them; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country to the south. For a long period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country and increased very fast. Some of their most enterprising huntsmen and warriors crossed the great swamps, and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed down to the Great Bay river, thence into the Bay itself, which we call Chesapeake. As they pursued their travels partly by land and partly by water, sometimes near and sometimes on the great Salt-water Lake, as they called the Sea, they discovered the great river which we call the Delaware, and thence exploring still eastwards, the *Scheyichbi* country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at another great stream which we call the Hudson or North river. Satisfied with what they had seen, they (or some of them), after a long absence returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made. They described the country they had discovered as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits, and the rivers and bays with fish, tortoise, etc., together with abundance of water fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the event as a fortunate one for them, and concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for provisions by the way, some even laying in for a whole year; at last they settled on four great rivers (which we call the Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah and Potomack), making the Delaware, to which they gave the name *Lenape wihittuck* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the center of their possessions.

Again some words of explanation: Scheyichbi is Sha-ak-bee, as David Brainerd states; the German missionaries pronounced it *Sche-jach-bi*, with a long in the first syllable. The Great Bay river was the Susquehanna, and the "Great Swamps" are taken to imply the glades of the Allegheny mountains; however, on old maps some of these are marked, notably the "Buffalo Swamp" on Lewis Evans' map of 1755 with Howell's additions of 1776, and there can be cited also the "Great Swamp" on the east branch of the Susquehanna shown on Charles Thomson's map of 1759.

One may smile at the idea of the Mengwe hanging back and permitting the Delawares to do the fighting. The Delawares' later history in connection with the Mengwe being bitter in the extreme, it could not be expected that Delaware traditions would extol their ancient enemies to any extent whatever. Heckewelder's account concludes:

They (the Lenape) say that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid that great body of their people which had not crossed the *Namasi Sipu*, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one-half of the whole, was settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest, as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of the river.

Heckewelder labored long and earnestly among the Delawares, and it has been remarked of him that he saw everything with Delaware eyes. He has undoubtedly given us the Delaware legends and traditions as they were recited to him. Heckewelder was well known on the border, and made frequent visits to Pittsburgh, on one of which (1789) he officiated at the funeral services of his friend, Thomas Hutchins, the geographer. Some writers are disposed to the opinion that the Talligewi of Heckewelder's story were the Cherokees.

To give proper understanding to the story of the occupants of the soil of Pennsylvania when the whites drove them out, some other notices are supplemented, and some comparison should be made between Algonquin life and habits and those of the Iroquois. First we may note Dr. Brinton's account of the Lenape as he has recorded it in its proper place in his history of the Algonquin nations. He says: "The Lenapes were an interesting tribe who occupied the valley of the Delaware river and the area of the present State of New Jersey. For some not very clear reason they were looked upon by the other members of the stock as of the most direct lineage, and were referred to as 'grandfather.' Their dialect, which has been preserved by the Moravian missionaries, is harmonious in sound, but has varied markedly from the purity of the Cree."

The Crees were once one of the largest and most important of the Algonquin nations, their country in the present States of the Dakotas and the Canadian provinces adjoining. The Moravians who preserved the Lenape dialect were mainly Heckewelder and Zeisberger, both missionaries. Major Ebenezer Denny in his Journal (Appendix II) has inserted two vocabularies. Dr. Brinton remarks:⁴

The totemic system prevailed among the Algonquin tribes, with descent in the female line, but we do not find among them the same communal life as among the Iroquois. Only rarely do we encounter the "long house" occupied by a number of kindred families. Among the Lenapes, for example, this was entirely unknown, each married couple having its own residence. The gens was governed by a chief who was in some cases selected by the other gentes. The tribe had as a permanent ruler a "peace chief," selected from a particular gens, also by the heads of the other gentes. His authority was not absolute, and, as usual, did not extend to any matter concerning the particular interests of any one gens. When war broke out, the peace chief had no concern in it, the campaign being placed in charge of a "war chief" who had acquired a right to the position by his prominent prowess and skill.

While the Mohegans built large communal houses, the Lenapes and most of the eastern Algonquins constructed small wattled huts with rounded tops thatched with the leaves of the Indian corn, or with sweet flags. These were built in groups and surrounded with palisades of stakes driven into the ground. In summer, light brush tents took the place of these. Agriculture was by no means neglected. The early explorers frequently refer to large fields of maize, squash and tobacco, under cultivation by the natives. The manufacture of pottery was widespread, although it was heavy and coarse. Mats woven of bark and rushes, deerskin dressed with skill, feather garments and utensils of wood and stone, are mentioned by the early voyagers. Copper was dug from veins in New Jersey and elsewhere, and hammered into ornaments, arrowheads, knives and chisels. It was, however, treated as a stone, and the process of smelting it was unknown. The arrow and spear heads were preferably of quartz, jasper and chert, while the stone axes were diorite—hard sandstone, and similar tough and close grained materials. An extensive commerce in these and similar articles was carried on.

How extended this commerce was, can be judged from the fact that black slate from Vancouver Island was found among the Lenapes of the Pennsylvania region. From the localities about Pittsburgh inhabited by the Delawares, many relics have been found, notably in the Beaver and Sewickley valleys, some of which undoubtedly were left by that tribe. The Delawares hereabout were found living in towns, and many of these town sites have been preserved, as the sites readily suggestive of advantageous locations were built upon by the white settlers, and in some cases the Indian name has been retained, the most notable of which class is Kittaning. These Delaware towns will receive mention as this history proceeds, for many things happened in them. In and about Pittsburgh there were several which were visited by Washington, and their names have gone into our national history as well as our local. Instances are Shingiss, referred to as Shingoestown; Shannopin's and Aliquippa's.

⁴"The American Race," p. 76.

When the Lenape were first known to the whites, they were divided into three sub-tribes or gentes, which correspond to the subdivisions of the Iroquois nations. Each Lenape tribe had its totemic symbol. These sub-tribes were the *Munsi* or *Minsi*, "people of the stony country;" the *Unami*, "people down the river;" and the *Unalachtigo*, "people living near the sea." The Minsi lived in the mountain country extending from the Lehigh river northward into New York and New Jersey. The habitat of the Unami has been regarded as extending along the lower Delaware from the Lehigh down to the Delaware State line. The Unalachtigo occupied the lands on the east shore of the Delaware, and were also found along the lower Potomac and in the Chesapeake Bay country. It was with this sub-tribe and the Unami that William Penn treated in 1682. It is hard to designate how far each sub-tribe roamed or claimed domain. The Minsi, sometimes called the Minnisinks, spread over much of New Jersey. The Unami had an uncertain hold beyond the Schuylkill. These sub-divisions of the Lenape became better known in their later history by the names of their totems—the Minsi, the "wolves;" Unamis, the turkey tribe; and the third, the turtles. Charles Thomson refers to the Minsi as the Minnisinks in his book. The French called all the Delawares "Loups," their word for wolves, and this designation is always that used by French writers and on French maps of the Ohio region. Some English writers prefer the term "Munsies" to Minsi, and this word has been retained in a Pennsylvania town, with the spelling changed to Muncy. The generic name is found spelled also "Monseys" and "Mon-theys."

These totemic symbols were appropriate, for the mountain people had the wolf, the central people the turtle; and the Bay dwellers the turkey. However, in the Indian mysticism the greatest dignity was ascribed to the turtle, for they held that the great tortoise was the first of all created beings, and held the earth upon its back. Thus by their totem the Unami held precedence, and in time of peace their sachem or chief, wearing a diamond-marked wampum belt, was the chief of all the Lenape. There is much evidence that the Minsi were the most vigorous and warlike of the Lenape, and the largest subdivision. They were nearest to the Hudson and the country of the Iroquois, and on that river joined hands with their Algonquian cousins, the Mohegans, and with them once guarded against the approach of their Iroquois enemies. It is one of the important facts of our Indian history that the Iroquois, by accident of contact with the earliest whites, the French and the Dutch, in consequence were first in possession of firearms, and with these advanced weapons easily prevailed over the tribes armed only with the primitive weapons of their ancestors. In the chapter on the Iroquois (*ante*) it has been related how this Confederacy started on a career of

conquest which was not halted until the American Revolution, and which influenced for two centuries not only the history of New York but the whole nation. This history in its relation to Western Pennsylvania is given in part in Chapter VI, and as the Lenape, or, as English history designates them, the Delawares, made much of it, it seems most logical to describe these Indians and tell of their tribal and family lives, and in so doing accord some mention of their political system. Their coming and their going were among the most momentous facts of the history of Western Pennsylvania. The commemorative names they have left us, geographical and otherwise, serve to keep them in mind in all the region about Pittsburgh, whence they came most unwillingly. Not alone Delaware names serve to remind, but historic names also of contemporary persons of the French regime and colonial periods.

Lenape is the proper name for the Delaware Indians. It was not introduced by Heckewelder, as charged by some writers, for long before that worthy missionary and historian of the Indians reached manhood, the term *Lenape* was in use in official documents of Pennsylvania as the synonym in their native tongue for the Delawares. The word is pronounced by giving *a* the long sound as in father, and *e* the sound of *a* in mate. Governor Gordon in a letter in 1728, speaks of "Our Lenappys or Delaware Indians." Various mention is made of these Indians in Pennsylvania treaties; for instance, at the treaty of Easton in 1756, Teedyuscung represented the "Lenopi" Indians, and Minutes of the Council in Philadelphia in 1757, and in the Conference of Eleven Nations living west of Allegheny, in the same city, in 1759, the Delawares are included under the tribal name "Lenopy," and we have Schoolcraft's "Lenno-Lenapi," or as Proud prints it, "Lene-lenoppes," and these are but variations of the spelling used at Easton. The derivation of the word *Lenape* has been discussed with great learning as well as the adjective *lenni* which precedes it. The etymological researches of these writers do not greatly concern us. We may accept the statements of Heckewelder, who lived among the Lenape for many years, that "*Lenapee*" signifies "people," and "*lenni*" "original, pure." The name Lenape has been retained by the remnant of this ancient people in Kansas and Oklahoma. However, in our history they are Delawares. Only ethnologists and writers of Indian history carry the name Lenape throughout their works. Yet the change of their ancient name finds contemporary changes, the Ho-de-no-sau-nee a most notable instance. Heckewelder concludes the introductory chapter of his book, "The Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania," by submitting a few necessary remarks for the information of the reader, as follows:

Lenni Lenape being the national and proper name of the people we call "Delawares," I have retained this name, or for brevity's sake called them simply Lenape, as

they do themselves in most instances. Their name signifies "original people," a race of human beings who are the same that they were in the beginning, unchanged and unmixed.

These people are known and called by all the western, northern and some of the southern nations, by the name *Wapanachki*, which the Europeans have corrupted into *Apenaki*, *Openagi*, *Abenakis* and *Abenakis*. All these names, however, differently written and improperly understood by authors, point to one and the same people, the Lenape, who are by this compound word called "people at the rising of the sun," or, as we would say, Eastlanders, and are acknowledged by near forty Indian tribes, who we call nations, as being their grandfathers. All these nations, derived from the same stock, recognize each other as *Wapanachki*, which among them is a generic name.

The name "Delawares" which we give to these people, is unknown in their language, and I well remember the time when they thought the whites had given it to them in derision, but they were reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great white chief, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they are fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it a compliment.

Heckewelder states that Loskiel, the Moravian historian, called the *Mahicanni* "Mohicans," but that as this nation has been called by so many different names, he himself preferred the name the tribe called themselves. Cooper has given the tribe lasting fame. The name is also found frequently, Mohegans.

The Five, or Six Nations, Heckewelder called by different names such as were most common and well understood. The Lenape never used the designation "Six Nations." "It is a rare thing," wrote Heckewelder, "to hear these people named otherwise than Mengwe. The *Mahicanni* call them Maqua, and now most white people call them Mingoes." He explained further that when he said the Five or Six Nations, he used the English mode of speaking, and not that of the Indians, who never looked upon them as having been so many nations, but divisions or tribes, who as united have become a nation. When the Lenape happened to name them as one body, the Lenape word used implied the "five divisions, together, or united." Heckewelder most frequently used the French name, *Iroquois*. The *Wyandots*, he said, were the same whom the French call the *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. This nation was principally located about Sandusky, but they roamed over Western Pennsylvania, and their warriors were concerned in all the Indian wars of that region. They were represented at many conferences at Fort Pitt; sometimes they were mentioned as the Sandusky Indians, again as the *Hurons*. Weiser calls them *Wandats*; and *Owendots*, *Wendats* and *Yendats* are other forms occurring. *Wyandot* and *Wyandotte* and *Guyandotte* have been retained as geographical names.

It was conceded by the Algonquian tribes that the Lenape were the descendants of a parent stock, and in all Algonquian traditions special dignity and authority were assigned them. Forty nations (or tribes) looked upon them with respect, and in Algonquian councils the Lenape representatives took first place as the "grandfathers" of the race. Within

the period of the white settlements, this precedence was not noticeable for the reason of Iroquois dominance. It is a fact of history that the Algonquian tribes did not war with each other, and that the Shawanese and Delawares got along amicably, often dwelling together during their sojourn in the Upper Ohio region. Their villages further mixed with the later Mingoes of that region, a renegade lot of Senacas, the nucleus of a mongrel banditti composed of Seneca outlaws and wild spirits from among the Wyandots, who, though of Iroquoian blood, were not of that Confederacy, and from the Miamis and Minsi, or Munsies. These Mingoes were among the most savage foes of the borderers in border warfare in the period between Pontiac's War and the War of 1812, and their record is as crimson as any left by any tribe of North American Indians.

The political system of the Lenape, like all Indian systems, was in a great degree democratic, though it implied a tacit obedience of each tribe to the war chief when occasion demanded. Chiefs and tribes were subject to the long established customs, and while the chieftainship was considered hereditary in certain families, the individual assigned to the chieftainship was elected by the tribe. It has always been one of the marvels of the Indian race that such a system should have served so fully to secure peace and order within a tribe, large or small. Wars of tribes of diverse races were almost incessant; internal feuds and bloodshed were rare indeed. The Indian's attachment to his own tribe was unqualified; such enemies as he had were of another tribe, generally of another stock. It is an observation of Parkman that there were times when American savages lived together in thousands, with a harmony that civilization might envy.

William Penn, fresh from the tyranny of Britain, after one year in Pennsylvania, noticed this harmony and wrote of it thus: "The King hath his council and that consists of all the old and wise men. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffic, without advising with them, and which is more with the young men, too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people." We may pause to admire Penn's metaphor, and then remember that by "king" he means a head-chief or sachem, and that the English words king and queen have no proper place among Indian titles, though we find them most frequently, especially in our Pittsburgh history, as "King" Beaver, the "Half-King" Tanacharison, and "Queen" Aliquippa.

The Lenape could not have been a large nation. The best estimates fix their number within the limits of Pennsylvania as about two thousand people. They had no central or "fixed" town. They had many places of resort—rivers and creeks in which they fished; mountains where they hunted; and cleared spaces where they planted; but they had usually no buildings more substantial than the simple hut or lodge, commonly called

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the wigwam. This was formed of sapling trees and covered with the bark of larger trees. Each lodge sheltered a single family, as Brinton has noted, and in this respect other writers have remarked the difference from the Iroquois communal system. Sometimes the Lenape huts were placed in groups, thus forming a village, and sometimes the village was surrounded by a palisade of driven stakes for defense, as was the Indian custom, but all such structures rapidly decayed and disappeared when abandoned by their occupants. Such, but not palisaded, were the Delaware villages about Pittsburgh, except Logstown on the Ohio, which, as its name implies, was a group of log-cabins, originally built by the French half-breed Peter Chartier for the Shawanese and Ohio Mingoes, and destined in the history of the West to become one of the most notable, its site later the encampment of Wayne's American Legion in 1793, and hence the name Legionville, which has been handed down.

Charles A. Hanna, in his most elaborate work, "The Wilderness Trail" (1911), has with patient care and by long-continued research traced the locations of all the Delaware villages in Pennsylvania, and in his history of this nation in the chapter he has headed "The Petticoat Indians of Petticoat Land," has included all that is extant concerning the Lenape in Pennsylvania, and necessarily also of them in the Ohio Valley. The local history appended is rare, and perhaps found in no other single work, and to him all subsequent historians must accord admiration as they have access to his books.

The Delawares, as other Algonquians, were hunters and fishermen in time of peace; warriors before the Iroquois conquest or "pacification," and savage warriors when they asserted themselves free and proved it. The Pennsylvania and New Jersey habitats of the Lenape abounded in wild life, and to such extent that all early explorers wrote vivid descriptions of its abundance. When the white men came, their first thought was to turn the fauna to commercial account; hence the "fur trade" arose, and trading stations were established, to which the Indians brought their peltries of many kinds—bear, deer, sable, otter, beaver, fox, wild-cat, lynx, raccoon, even mink and muskrat had good value, though small in size. The Indian was a shrewd trapper, a good shot with bow and arrow, and he used also the spear and club with advantage. In fishing, he speared the fish in the shallow places, or when driven into ponds formed by brush dams, and most frequently caught them with hook and line. When the Lenape came to Western Pennsylvania, they came to a land of rivers and streams where fish and game abounded, and where the traders soon found them, and then came trouble and warfare.

Under the Indian system there was never any individual ownership of land; its use was always in common. A family had only a right of temporary occupancy. Near their villages were generally rich alluvial bottom lands, and if not, the woods were cleared by a burning which

provided a field wherein the women planted maize, which the first settlers termed "Indian corn," and the world knows simply as "corn." The time for planting was "when the oak leaf was the size of a squirrel's ear." They raised some other vegetables, usually beans and pumpkins. It is well authenticated that the process of making maple sugar was an Indian discovery; at least, the whites obtained the method from them. Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, describes the process and states that the women went into the woods in February to boil the maple sap. The Indians had no fruit but wild fruit until they followed the white men's example and set out orchards. Pennsylvania, rightly named Penn's woods, was at Penn's coming and for more than a century later, an unbroken forest. Estimates have fixed only one-tenth of the State's surface as then treeless land. Large trees stood most often at the edges of the running streams and lakes, and as the Indians habitually sought resident locations along streams and by the waterside, their agricultural facilities were limited in area, as well as primitive in method of cultivation. When one traveled west in Pennsylvania, he was said to have gone "into the woods," and emigrants to the borders of the province "into the backwoods," hence the term "backwoodsmen," synonymous in a degree with "bordermen" and "frontiersmen," for these latter, though pioneers, were not always settlers, for they included trappers and traders with no fixed habitations.

The Indians were not artisans; they were not workers of metal, for they had no cutting instruments of metal. The copper articles they had were mostly ornamental, the material wrought from "native" or pure copper, as Brinton states, procured from surface deposits or shallow mines. They could not reduce ores to extract metal, or work it by fire and hammer.

That the women's part in their economic system included the labor in the fields and lodge, is not as strange as ordinarily considered. There were good reasons. The exertions of the males were far more arduous. They needed strength and agility for the chase, and most especially for war. Labor tended to impair their swiftness of motion and freedom of limb, and any deterioration of strength and vitality might be fatal in combat, in that the vanquished warrior was not evenly matched with his antagonist. Boys were trained from their earliest years to run, jump, fish and shoot, to endure hardship, suffer hunger and thirst in silence. The Indian was a trained stoic.

The Indians lived close to Nature. Sometimes their existence was placid and their subsistence easily procured; at other times with great difficulty, and famine was not rare. The Indians' faculties of observation have been the wonder of all conversant with them. Signs of life and movement in forest and field which a civilized person would not observe, appeared plain to them. Early writers on the Indians record many

instances of remarkable and accurate deductions. That formerly much esteemed writer of his years, Samuel G. Goodrich (Peter Parley), is one who will be remembered as reciting in his little book, "Manners and Customs of the American Indians," some of the most striking instances of Indian reasoning from outward observations. The habits of all wild animals, weather phenomena, the growth and decay of vegetation, aspects of nature in various forms, both of atmosphere and sky, were familiar to all Indians in the minutest detail, and these details constituted their education. They had a calendar, for they knew the seasons occurred regularly; there was a seedtime and consequent harvest; the trees budded, and the leaves fell in uniform intervals; the moon's phases appealed to them as a striking example of natural regularity, hence they made their own year in thirteen moons, and each person could count his own age and assign to events their due order of succession. Among the Lenape, these chronicles were mental. Some Algonquins used notched sticks to record certain things. It can be said, however, that the Indians generally made no records, erected no monuments, carved no stones of commemoration. Their traditions, always cherished; their laws, their history—were altogether oral in transmissal, and had been handed down thus by word of mouth for time immemorial.

Until the traders came, the Indians had no metal implements or arms. Stone was their main material. They made axes from it, and hammers, and the pestle, and frequently the mortar in which they pounded the corn for meal. They had even stone knives, which they deftly used in stripping off the skins of the animals they killed. They had also stone hoes and spades, and many other articles in common use. They had stone pipes for smoking their tobacco which they raised; stone quoits for their games; and stone ornaments for personal adornment. Many of these did not differ materially from those found in the mounds of the primitive American race. The later Indians had the same weapons of stone, arrow heads and spear heads, and tomahawks, or battle axes. These stone objects surviving for ages and found widely spread, have remained the most notable evidences of the Indian period of Pennsylvania. They were found in profusion in many places in and about Pittsburgh, as stated in previous pages.

The Lenape had, as all Indians, some arts of manufacture. Though their handiwork was crude, it was sensible and practical. They were skilled in dressing the skins of animals, especially deer skins. They made earthenware utensils, baking them hard and black. They hollowed out soapstone for pots and pans, and made also some household vessels of wood. The large wild gourd, the calabash, they readily utilized for a water carrier and as a dipper, and it is one of their few contributions to the use of the whites, but not so largely in use as in pioneer days. The

women were proficient in weaving mats from the tough though flexible inner bark of trees. They were skillful also in the making of ornamental garments from the plumage of birds. They made "wampum" strings of beads which were used to decorate ceremonious belts, and in a limited way served as money. Wampum was usually made from bits of shells from the seashore. The women were adepts in dyeing; they used wild cherries, certain barks, and the sumac berries. They found colored clays which furnished them a coarse but satisfactory paint. When the white traders came, they brought a new line of goods, and most of the materials and crudities of Indian economics were discarded.

The Lenape, as other tribes, had no domestic animals except a half-wild dog. They had never seen a horse or a cow until the white settlers broke in upon their hunting grounds. They had no beasts of burden, and hence no means of transportation or movement save those which their own vigor supplied. On land they walked or ran; if in company, always in "Indian" or "single file;" on water they paddled their canoes, which have become famous in song and story. Some tribes made canoes of bark; usually the Lenape canoe was constructed from a hollowed log. The labor of this work required rare diligence. By fire and with the stone axe, the workman felled the suitable tree, cut off the proper length, hollowed it, and shaped it into a "dug-out," or "pirogue," and these boats were found by the first white explorers of the Delaware when the Indians rowed out to the vessels in midstream.

On his journey to the Wabash in 1793, Heckewelder found the "dug-out" of great advantage in a perilous crossing of Stony creek in Somerset county, Pennsylvania. The stream was very high, and the canoe they expected to use had been carried away in the night. He relates: "After many entreaties and promises on our part, a sugar trough⁵ was brought from the woods, and in this novel vessel we were safely ferried over, but had almost lost our horses."

In a previous chapter the making of a trail has been described. This by their long and frequent marches in the chase or in war, and how these worn paths or trails have developed into main roads that are justly called historic highways, has been told.

The Lenape were typical Algonquins; they were straight, of medium height, and reddish brown in color. William Penn was impressed with their strength and virility. He described them as "generally tall, straight, and well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin." In other words, "they carried their

⁵A "sugar trough" is thus described by him: "Hollow logs, either naturally such from decay and the ravages of animals, or scooped out artificially, were frequently used by the Indians of the Delaware family as canoes, and among them the earlier white settlers for industrial purposes. The birch bark fitted for boating is not common in these parts of the country."—"Journey to the Wabash," in "Penna. Magazine of History;" Vol. XI, pp. 46-47.

heads high." Penn called their complexion black, but thought it was artificially produced by the free use of bear's grease and exposure to sun and weather. Governor Pennypacker in his "Germantown" quotes the statement of Daniel Pastorius to the same effect, that the parents rubbed their children with fat, and browned them in the hot sun.

They married young, the men generally when seventeen, the women thirteen or fourteen. As large families were not the rule, the tribes could increase but slowly. Polygamy was tolerated, but was not common. Marriage was not always a permanent relation; either party could terminate it at will. Heckewelder is authority for the assertion that the wife could leave her husband. It is thought that such cases were rare. Marriage among the Lenape in one particular was controlled strictly by the tribal law, which required that a man of one sub-tribe marry a woman from one of the others. Thus a man of the Turkey tribe must choose a wife from the Turtle or Wolf. The descent of sub-tribal membership, of property and honors, was through the female line; the child's totem was that of the mother. The Lenape, like the Iroquois, recognized the axiom of law that there can be no question that the blood of the mother is in the child. A chief among the Lenape could not be succeeded by his son, he might be by his brother or by the son of a sister or by a son of some female of his own blood and gens.

It is true of the Lenape, as of all Indians, that they had a glimmering perception of religious truth. They believed in a Manitou, a Great Spirit, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth. They believed also in a soul as the spiritual and unmaterial part of man, and in a future existence. They were not idolaters, though they gave a superstitious reference to light, and especially as manifested in fire and in the sun, and to the four winds as typical of the cardinal points and as rain-harbingers. They conceived many inferior Manitous, servants of the Great Manitou, to whom he had committed rule and control over special conditions and circumstances, and they therefore desired to conciliate these Manitous by sacrifices, dances, fasts, and in other ways. They did not fear a devil, Heckewelder states, for they were confident of safety so long as they had the approval of the Supreme Manitou. Other authorities agree with Heckewelder that the idea of an evil spirit was not known to the Lenape and perhaps other Indians, until it was communicated to them by the whites. They had their dances, songs and sacrifices, which were significant as prayer, propitiation, and as thanksgiving. No great undertaking was begun without some regular ceremony, and this was obligatory if the undertaking proved successful. Song, dance festival; were characteristic Indian performances. William Penn noted and wrote of the corn festival among the Lenape.

We come now to an estimate of the moral character of the Indians,

and it is conceded that it is difficult to form a fair judgment for want of an accepted standard. Penn thought as well of the Lenape as they did of him. To them he was "Brother Onas," their word for feather, an end, such as a tail-feather, being *Onas*, hence a quill, and quills were used for pens, hence also the sensible application of the word as Penn's title. There can and has been no standard of comparison. Jenkins thinks if we judge them by the highest white man's ideals, attained only by a few, the Indians will be found woefully deficient. If we compare them with other primitive peoples, they bear the comparison well. Few whites of Anglo-Saxon blood loved an Indian. Missionaries may be excepted—the celebrated John Eliot, and Loskiel, Heckewelder, and their fellow-Moravians, (but these were not English); Conrad Weiser, a German; and George Croghan, an Irishman who lived among them—may be named as some who shared with Penn the belief that the Indians were likable, and deserved honest treatment, and that to each individual there was due the respect that his merits and worth demanded in like manner as to a white person. To the above we may add Washington and Christian Frederick Post and John Frazer, and perhaps other bordermen, and to the fact that these men circulated among them freely, even in times of great excitement and turmoil, in acute danger, and came out unscathed, was because the Indians recognized fully that these men were just men, in truth their friends, and on this fact alone the Pennsylvania authorities relied in their diplomatic intercourse with the Pennsylvania Indians, both Iroquois and Algonquian, and the success of this diplomacy was of vast import, as will develop. Weiser's influence was a tower of strength, and to him alone the commonwealth of Pennsylvania appealed more than once when dire peril was portending.

That the Indians were without the ordinary vices of the white races before the whites came, there can be no doubt. With the acquisition of these vices, intensified by the free use of vile liquors, Indian nature changed—perhaps better said, his savage nature became more savage, his hatred more intense, and his revengeful spirit knew no subduing. Slight wonder then that the question of the Indians' morals and merits should have been confused, and vehement differences of opinion result. To many, the Indians were not merely savages, but "heathen," "vermin," whom it was necessary and a moral duty to exterminate. "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" is an old slogan. It has passed, but the potency of the belief in it in Pennsylvania caused much horror, and gave rise to a long and painful catalogue of outrages. To many, no reasoning could justify the Indians' right of existence. It was a most praiseworthy act to end that existence by any means at hand.

The Indian, however, has had many friends and some enthusiastic defenders. Penn's first settlers were altogether friendly, and Quaker

blood was long safe in his colony. The Moravians became warmly attached to the Lenape, and their attachment was reciprocated. The labors of these good people in the Upper Ohio region and in Western Pennsylvania, and their sad ending, forms a sorry chapter in the history of the West, and it had far-reaching results. The names of their missions have passed save perhaps Gnadenhuettan ("tents of grace"), and these have become synonymous with "massacre." In the relation of any story of the Pennsylvania Indians of our colonial period, partisan statements must not be permitted to bias the story. That the Indians were greatly wronged is no longer denied. That they were Indians in their worst character is also admitted.

The Lenape, like their race, had remarkable self-control, exhibiting great fortitude. They had wonderful endurance also, and spared no physical efforts to attain a desired object. They were not always treacherous, but remarkably loyal in friendship and faithful to their agreements. Governor Pennypacker quotes Pastorius, who wrote of them in 1685, "They are entirely candid, keep to their promises, and deceive and mislead nobody." They received Penn and his settlers kindly and with little suspicion. In times of need, they furnished food which saved the whites from destitution. Penn remarked their liberality, and said it was a marked characteristic. This liberality was often attended by improvidence, and as often the cause of it. Not enough food was laid up for winter; to-morrow took care of itself; starvation stalked about the wigwams when the snows were deep, and the floods that came often prevented hunting and made provisioning impossible. The intrepid Weiser came near perishing on one of his missions to the Iroquois (a most vital one) on account of this improvidence and the rigorous state of the weather. Had he failed by reason of these physical difficulties, it is conceded by historians that the authorities of Pennsylvania and of Virginia in 1736 would have had trouble with the Iroquois.⁶

The Indians without intoxicants were far different beings than when the curse of rum blighted them. Though they were in times of plenty extreme gluttons, it is a remarkable fact that they did not know how to make alcoholic beverages. The simplest process of fermentation or distillation was not within their power. The narcotic tobacco was their nearest approach to stimulants, but it cannot be said to be intoxicating. The Dutch first gave the red men drink; the Swedes and English who followed, saw the advantages of the rum trade and were heedless of protests and consequences. They sowed to the wind and harvested accordingly. Kalm, the Swedish botanist and traveler, writing in 1749, said of the Lenape of New Jersey that while smallpox had destroyed many,

⁶"Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania;" Joseph S. Walton; p. 34.

brandy had killed the most of them. Penn as early as 1683 was astounded at the injury done.⁷ The Indians he knew (and these were the Lenape) had become great lovers of strong drink, he said, and to satisfy their cravings for it, gave the richest of their skins and furs. One of the most wretched spectacles in the world to Penn was an Indian orgy. It remained a wretched spectacle in Pennsylvania to the end of Indian history in the State. The "fire-water" of the white man brought upon them every misery incident to human beings, stripped them of their self-command and their judgment, and in the end their lands and homes. How much white blood, largely that of the innocent and helpless, was shed by rum-crazed warriors, can never be estimated by any human standard.

Such as has been written here describes the Indians of Pennsylvania at the beginning of our State's history. It is mainly of the Lenape, with Penn and Heckewelder contributing their knowledge and observations. Previous to Penn's coming, we have but slight knowledge of Pennsylvania Indians. A few names spelled in many ways and mostly unpronounceable; some traditions and many disputed conclusions—that is the sum.

When the Lenape and their allies and congeners, the Shawanese, came into the Ohio country, the Indian history changed. Where previously it had been sparse, it became voluminous. It was not only vast but varied. The Indians remained a half century, which was a half century of bloodshed, and in this history the once placid and tractable Lenape occupy many crimson pages. The traders who brought rum and ruin, powder and lead, trinkets and gewgaws, blankets and beads, figure all too largely in this history, and these, too, felt the murderous arm of the Delawares, the Shawanese, and the Western Algonquins, when Pontiac gave the word. What Goodrich has written of the North American Indians is as true of the Lenape as of any other nation. He says:

The Indian tribes were not only without written law, but without a formal code expressed in language. Liberty was the great passion of the savage, and there was nothing he hated so much as restraint. Whatever government there was, was that of usage and opinion. There was no commerce, no coin, no promissory notes, no persons employed for wages, and no contracts. Exchanges were the reciprocity of gifts. Prisons, lawyers and sheriffs were unknown. Each man was therefore his own prosecutor. In case of death by violence, it was deemed the duty of the kindred to seek retaliation. They would go a thousand miles for the purpose of revenge, regardless of terrain and weather, heedless of dangers from wild beasts and venomous serpents. This necessity of retaliation often involved families and even whole tribes in strife for long periods.

The chief had no symbols of supremacy, and no guard to enforce his decrees. His power depended on his personal character, and his authority existed only in the current of opinion around him. Some chiefs seemed to rule with despotic sway, while others possessed but nominal authority. No measures were ever undertaken but with

⁷"Travels into North America, etc.;" Sec. Ed., Vol. I, pp. 383, 384.

the assent of the people. They held frequent councils for deliberation, in which the eloquent and brave acquired an ascendancy. They delighted in thus assembling and listening to messengers from abroad. At the council they were seated in semicircle on the ground, in double and triple rows, with knees almost meeting their face—painted and tattooed chiefs adorned with the beaks of the red-bird, claws of bear, or other distinguishing regalia. Each listener, with pipe in mouth, preserving deep silence—they would give respectful attention to the speaker, who with great action and energy of language delivered his message, and if his eloquence pleased, they esteemed him highly. Decorum was never broken; there were never two speakers struggling to anticipate each other; they did not express their spleen by blows; they restrained passionate invective; the debate was never disturbed by an uproar; questions of order were unknown.⁸

In the journals of the many Indian treaties that affected our Pennsylvania history, especially those at Fort Pitt, many extracts having been inserted by Isaac Daniel Rupp in his history,⁹ there will appear ample evidence of the decorous proceedings of these affairs. In fact, all Indian ceremonies were dignified. Washington, who knew the Indians well, attests he was an unwilling participant at two, for in his Journal to the Kanawha from Pittsburgh in October, 1770, in telling of his meeting with Guyasutha, one of his attendants on his mission to the French forts in 1753, he records: "After much counseling over night, they all came to my fire the next morning with great formality, when Kiyashuta, relating what had passed between me and the sachems at Col. Croghan's, thanked me for saying that peace and friendship with them was the wish of the people of Virginia, and for recommending it to the traders to deal with them upon a fair and equitable footing, and then again expressed their desire of having a trade opened with Virginia, etc." This Washington promised to do. A few lines further on he recorded: "The tedious ceremony which the Indians observe in all their counsellings and speeches detained us till nine o'clock." This was on October 29th. On November 6th, having come to Guyasutha's hunting camp, which had been removed from its seat of the previous date, Washington made a similar entry: "By the kindness and idle ceremony of the Indians I was detained at Kiashuta's camp all the remaining part of the day."

The chief was referring to the pow-wow Washington had attended on October 19th at the White Mingo's on the north side of the Allegheny, nearly opposite Croghan's mansion on the Pittsburgh side of the river, at what is now McCandless avenue. Washington's spelling of the chief's name is to be noted; in fact, his two spellings. In Pittsburgh history the chief's name is accepted as Guyasutha. On the embassy in 1753 he is

⁸"Manners and Customs, etc.;" p. 231, *et seq.*

⁹"Early History of Western Pennsylvania and the West, and of the Western Expeditions and Campaigns, by a Gentleman of the Bar, with an Appendix containing besides Copious Extracts from Important Indian Treaties, Minutes of Conferences, Journals, etc., a Topographical Description of the Counties of Allegheny, Westmoreland, Washington, Somerset, etc. Illustrated by Several Drawings;" Pittsburgh, Pa.; Daniel W. Kauffman, 1846.

referred to as "the Hunter." The White Mingo was a Seneca also. There was no variation tolerated from the time-honored ceremonies of the Indians—no haste, no levity, no applause, while speaking, no lack of attention. They were always serious affairs, and most frequently momentous, as will become evident. Croghan's conferences with the Western tribes at Fort Pitt from February to May, 1765, and that of April, 1768, were especially important, at all of which Guyasutha was present and a leading speaker.

Moral and mental character of the Delawares was estimated differently, even by those who had the best opportunities of judging. The missionaries were severe upon them. Brainerd said they were unspeakably indolent and slothful, with little or no ambition or resolution, not one in a thousand with the spirit of a man. Zeisberger was no more favorable. He spoke of their alleged bravery with the utmost contempt, and morally as "the most ordinary and vilest of savages." Other competent authorities speak more cheerfully, and from observation also, Heckewelder, of course, who said there were not in his belief any people on earth who were more attached to their relatives and offspring than the Delawares. These Indians soon learned the Quakers were non-combatants, and spared them, and for forty years after the founding of Penn's Colony there was not a single murder committed on a settler. The missionaries probably judged them by the Christian ideal, from which many not Indians fall woefully short, remarks Dr. Brinton. The Quakers never suffered personal molestation from the Delawares. Even after embittered and corrupted by the knavery of the whites, for example in the notorious "Long Walk" and the debasing influence of alcohol, so good an authority as Gen. William Henry Harrison, from a long and intimate knowledge of them, in peace and war, as enemies and friends, attested that they had left upon his mind the most favorable impression of their character for bravery, generosity, and fidelity to their engagements, nor were they deficient intellectually. Even Brainerd, who began his labors in 1742, acknowledged the Delaware children learned with surprising readiness. Zeisberger, who died in 1808, after sixty-two years of missionary work, left barely a score of converted Indians clustered in huts around his little chapel. He had lived to see the Lenape a mere broken remnant, "steeped in all the abominations of heathenism, eke out their existence far away from the former council fires."¹⁰

In treating of the Delawares in this work, in some degree there has been followed the outline of Mr. Jenkins in his first chapter of Volume I, "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal." It may be observed by students of Pennsylvania history that the account there has been adapted from

¹⁰"Lenape and Their Legends;" D. G. Brinton; pp. 62, 63. "Life of Zeisberger," E. De Schweinitz; p. 674.

Dr. Brinton's work, "The Lenape and Their Legends" (1885). Brinton in his researches has covered much ground, for he has examined everything extant on the subject. He has told also the story of the Lenape as women, and that of the "Long Walk," and detailed the historic migrations of the Lenape. Both Brinton and Jenkins have relied greatly on Heckewelder. The part these Indians took in the French and Indian War, the American Revolution and the later wars, is proper Pittsburgh history, for many events in all these wars occurred in and about Pittsburgh.¹¹

¹¹To the list of authorities here cited, there should be added Robert Proud, quoted *ante*, in whose second volume of Pennsylvania History much interesting matter is to be found, especially in Part III, "The State of Pennsylvania Between the Years 1760-1770," and in pages 292 *et seq.* therein. It may be said that most of our Pennsylvania historians have had recourse to Proud in their researches into our State's Indian history. The authority for certain statements in this chapter must be accorded to Proud, though not taken from him at first hand.

CHAPTER VI.

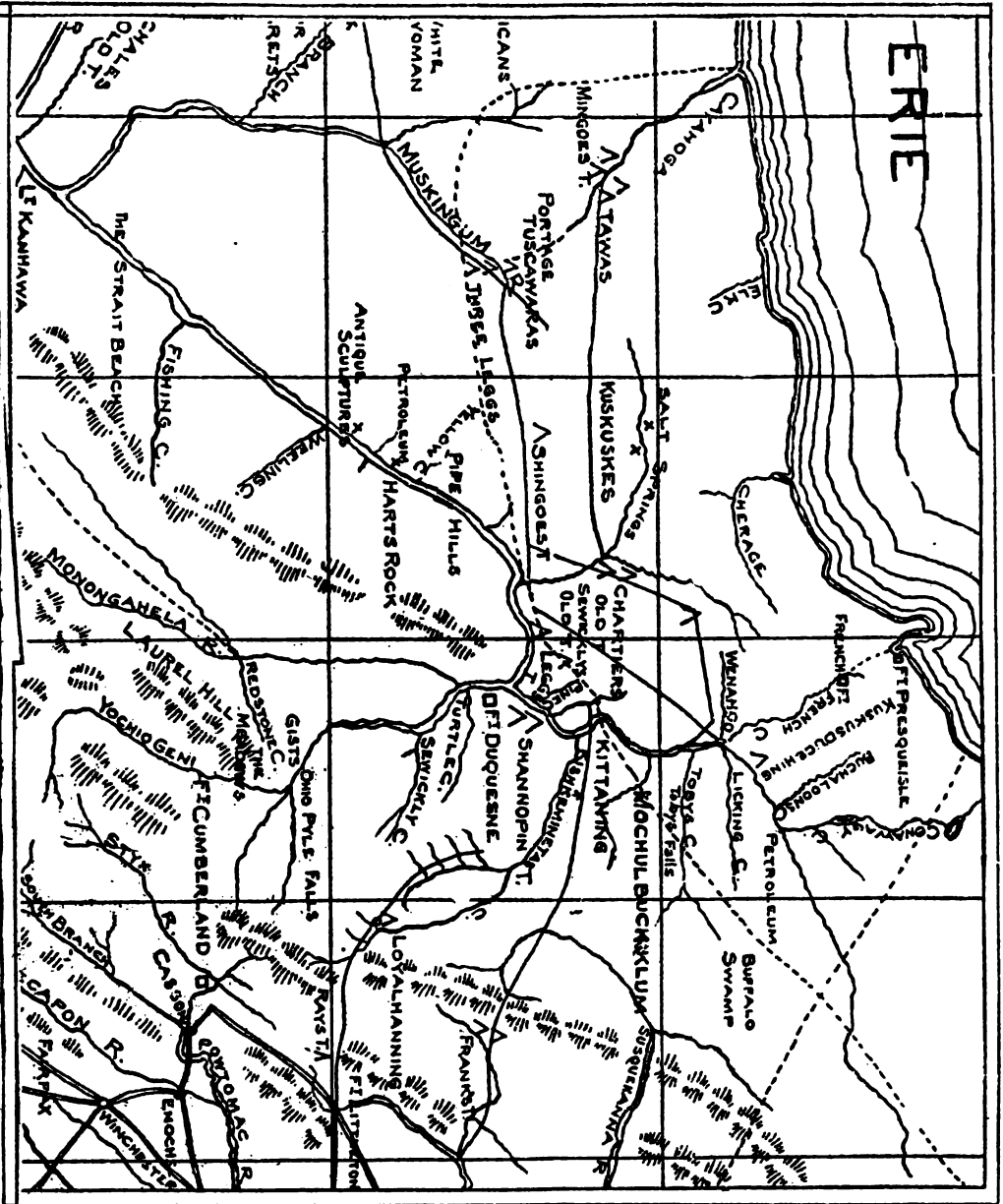
The Migrations of the Delawares and the Shawanese.

The power of the Six Nations over the Algonquin stock in Pennsylvania is the principal theme of this chapter, merging into the causes and consequences of the alienation of the Delawares and the Shawanese from the English interests; these causes rightly told by Charles Thomson, an Irishman, once master of a Quaker school in Philadelphia (the Old Academy), and best known in our national history as having been secretary of the Continental Congresses, and especially for serving in that capacity during the memorable session of 1776. Thomson's book will be quoted from further on in this chapter.

The first traders that came to the region about Pittsburgh found the savages on the Ohio living in the shadow of a tyrannical Confederacy—the League of the Iroquois. We have seen how these warriors in their wonderful career of conquest left their footprints on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, and whose war cries rang from the St. Lawrence to the Carolinas. One instance of the prowess of the Six Nations lies in the historical fact that they drove into the country about the Forks of the Ohio the deluded (?) Delawares and the equally submissive Shawanese. It is always to be remembered that the coming of these tribes was not voluntary. Back of it lies a long story of wrong. The Delawares have been described in detail; an account of the Shawanese must also be given. With the passing of the Indian nations or their adoption of civilized life, the story of their savage life becomes more and more interesting. The horrors of Indian warfare will be lightly glossed or passed over, and facts of history presented that are distinctively notable for the reason that the events to be recorded were far-reaching in effects on our embryo nation and the province of Pennsylvania. It is not a pleasant story. On the contrary, it is harrowing, and in its perusal there may arise pangs of regret—to say the least, a few sighs for the shortsighted and at times criminal Indian policy of Penn's colony.

From the days of Penn and Shackamaxon and its treaty tree, the trail of the Delawares lay to the West. Their traditions say they came from the West. We are to bear in mind here, Heckewelder's story of their migration East.

The land-hungry Penns, no less so than others of the times, induced the first step in the various migrations of the Delawares, and in this initial step they took with them their English designation henceforth to be their historical name. Their condition was pathetic. Parkman tells it well: "When William Penn came to them in the placidity of his sect, he extended a hand of brotherhood to a people unwarlike as his own



MAP OF 1756

pacific followers. This state could not be ascribed to any inborn love of peace. The Lenape were then in a state of degrading vassalage to the Five Nations, who, that they might drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation, had forced them to assume the name women, and forego the use of arms."

Their masters, the Iroquois, soon found that land had a money value and that the white man wanted it. Like true politicians, they said henceforth the Penns must deal with them. The Shawanese and Delawares were nobodies, women without power to alienate lands, without power to do anything but what they were told. They were vassals who ought daily to thank the Great Spirit that their imperious and imperial masters had not utterly destroyed them as they had the Eries, the Andastes, and other tribes, leaving scarcely a memory.

So the Iroquois sent their vice-gerents to dwell among these vassals. Some of these overlords have left their impress on Pennsylvania history, notably Shikellimy the Oneida at old Shamokin, now Sunbury, and Scarrooyada, also called Monacatoocha, an Oneida also, at Logstown on the Ohio. These vice-gerents ruled at times with all the regal hauteur of a born king. At others they were tactful and conciliatory; always dignified and forceful, they were Iroquois.

That the Iroquois masters well knew the value of all land, and especially the coveted Delaware Indian land in Pennsylvania, is attested by this paragraph in one of Cannassatego's speeches in the famous conference in Philadelphia: "We know our lands are now become more valuable. The white people think we do not know their value, but we are sensible that the land is everlasting, and the few goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone. For the future, we will sell no lands, but when Brother Onas is in the country, and we will know beforehand the quantity of goods we are to receive."¹

Cannassatego told the Delawares at that conference, in coarse language, where the proceeds of the land they had sold the Penns had gone; in short, the gluttonous Lenape had spent it in feasting. They had eaten, drank and made merry, and they were poor again.

The Delawares and Shawanese were alienated not alone from their lands, but in another sense from their former friends, the English. Emigrants from these tribes came over the Endless Mountains (as they called the Alleghenies) from the Susquehanna during the years 1727-1732. Conrad Weiser, Christopher Gist and Christian Frederick Post found them at Logstown. Celoron followed also and attempted French domination. It came later in another way—mutual alliance against the English.

With the retreating Lenape and their allies, the Shawanese, there

¹"Penna. Colonial Records," Vol. IV, p. 570.

came more largely to this region the Senecas, the most westward dwellers of the Iroquois in New York, and with the easiest route to the Ohio country, down the upper branches of that river by canoes. Hence the predominance of the Senecas here and the breaking away of part of the tribe from the New York portion and settling upon the Ohio river and driven further West, becoming as bitter foes to the English as the Ottawas, Wyandots, Miamis or any of the Western tribes. Hence also, the name Seneca applied to a county in Ohio, and Mingo to one in West Virginia.

Weiser, treating in 1748 with the deputies of all the "nations of Indians settled on the waters of the Ohio," desired them to give him a list of their fighting men. This they did, computing them by little sticks tied up in bundles. Weiser counted these and found the Senecas, Shawanese and Delawares about tied in force with 163, 162 and 165, respectively. The Owendats, as he calls the Wyandots, numbered 100, the Mohawks 74, the Onondagas 35, the Cayugas 20, the Oneidas 15, the Mohicans 15 and the Tisagechroan (Mississagas) 40. Here were represented 10 tribes, the Six Nations numbering 307, the other tribes 482, in all 789. Indeed so many Indians collected in the town that provisions ran short and many had to leave.

With the preponderance of numbers, one may ask, why did not the other tribes throw off the Iroquois yoke? In time they did, but the dread of Iroquois vengeance was then supreme.

With their removal to the Ohio, the Lenape, once first in importance among the widely distributed Algonquins, the parent stem in fact, lost their ancestral claim, and in the councils their benign title grandfathers gave way to the collateral one, nephews, more frequently cousins. No longer could the Lenape call the other Algonquins grandchildren, nephews or younger brothers. The Lenape were women. The Iroquois yoke was on them, and these were now the "uncles" of the Lenape. Even the Wyandots, also subservient to the Iroquois, were quick to lord over the degraded Lenape.

The subjugation of this people has been given prominence by all historians of our region, and Neville B. Craig, born in the Bouquet block house, in 1787, living in the embryo city of Pittsburgh before the last of these tribes departed, well acquainted with the Seneca, Guyasutha, has thought it proper history to tell of the relations of the Six Nations and the Delawares and Shawanese, and Charles A. Hanna has followed much in detail. Though in advance of the fuller details of this phase of Delaware history (Chapter VII), let us read Craig on this subject, confirmed by Parkman, whose "Conspiracy of Pontiac" was contemporaneous with Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," 1851. Craig is certainly in error as to the date of subjugation, but it was evidently previous to Penn's landing. Craig says:

The Delawares, another nation occupying this region, were once the formidable enemies of the Iroquois, but about 200 years ago their condition was greatly altered. The mediators among the Indians are the women. It is deemed disgraceful for a warrior to speak of peace while war exists.

About 1617 the Iroquois had by their own account conquered the Delawares and forced them to put on petticoats and assume the character of women. The Delawares admit the fact of the assumption of this new character, but say the Iroquois accomplished their purpose by artifice, by persuading them that it would be magnanimous for a great and heroic nation like the Delawares to assume the character of a mediator.

The ceremony of the metamorphosis was celebrated with great pomp at Albany in the presence of the Dutch, whom the Delawares accused of conspiring with their enemies, the Mengwe, to degrade them.

Mengwe was the Algonquin name for the Six Nations.

The cause of the Delawares and their explanation of this strange occurrence is zealously advocated by Heckewelder, but that view of the matter seems far from satisfactory. The Iroquois on several subsequent occasions assumed that dictatorial or authoritative tone toward the Delawares which might be expected from a conqueror and not from a treacherous deceiver. The submissiveness of the Delawares under such treatment seems rather to resemble the timidity of the conquered than the fierce resentment of a deceived people.²

Craig proceeds to tell of the dispute arising out of what is called the walking purchase of the lands in the forks of the Delaware.

This occurred in 1737, and was a clear case of fraud on the Indians, and in the end most disastrous to Penn's colony. The odium of the sharp practice involved has been placed upon Thomas Penn, one of the three sons of William Penn, and the most active of them, who came to Pennsylvania in 1732.

While the land granted by the virtuous Thomas Penn is far removed from the territory of Pittsburgh and its environs, the facts of history arising out of the transaction are so relevant to the history of Western Pennsylvania and the West, that the details of the eviction of the resident tribes must be given much space. In the recital of the details, the facts of the removal of the Delawares and their allies the Shawanese, and their alienation from the English and their devotion to the French cause, will appear, and also the attempts of the Pennsylvania authorities to regain the good will of these tribes through the missions of those intrepid emissaries, Conrad Weiser and Christian Frederick Post—successful in great degree, and all this is history with a thrill.

In the "History of Bucks County" by William J. Buck (Doylestown, 1855), a small but valuable work, this passage is found: "The Indian Walk not only forms a prominent feature in the history of Bucks county, but of Pennsylvania. Enough has been written of it to fill an ordinary volume by the author of the 'Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians,' published anonymously in London, in 1759, and by John Watson, Samuel Preston, and others."

Buck is referring to Charles Thomson's book. Historians, and espec-

²"History of Pittsburgh," Neville B. Craig; new edition with an Introduction and Notes by George T. Fleming, 1917, pp. 2, 3.

ially of the counties of Bucks and Northampton, give full accounts of the "Long Walk." They recite also all the events that the walk gave rise to by reason of the French and Indian War, the war parties of the Delawares and Shawanese in their career of vengeance, starting from the Allegheny and Ohio river region; that is to say, the vicinity of the site of Pittsburgh. They tell of the results of Braddock's disaster upon the eastern and oldest settled counties of the province. Undeniably, the story of the Walking Purchase is local history most pertinent to the region where it occurred. Yet Braddock's defeat is in similar sense local to Allegheny county; to be exact, Cumberland county, hence Bedford county and Westmoreland county—each one included in Cumberland county, and in order named antedating Allegheny county in formation, and each including Allegheny county within its limits. Few will deny that Braddock's defeat is both national and international in historical scope. The story of the oftmentioned Walking Purchase, while excellent, may be regarded as reciprocal history, far-reaching in its ultimate results, and affecting the whole province, and relevant to the history of Pittsburgh and its present environs by reason of the events of the French and Indian War that occurred here, in which the Delaware and Shawanese took large part. Though of frequent mention, but slight details of the Long Walk appear in our local histories, and though one on first reading of it may desire fuller details, these are not obtainable without wide and somewhat laborious research. Perhaps too little import has been assigned to the effects of Thomas Penn's fraud, and its connection with the history of Western Pennsylvania and the Ohio region not fully recognized. Yet hereabouts the missions of those intrepid men, Weiser and Post, were of more than ordinary importance, both successful in acute crisis in withholding the disaffected Indians from more completely going over to the French. The importance and value of the services of these men are acknowledged by our standard historians, and accorded more or less mention. Post can be truly said to have been in as extreme peril as any person who has place in our State and local history, and that he came out unscathed is one of the marvelous facts of that history. The enmity shown him by the disaffected and embittered savages arose primarily from and dated back to the Long Walk; but his story will appear in place.

William Penn's policy had been to deal fairly with the Indians, and this has become proverbial. He dealt mainly with the Delawares, and while he did not give them much for their land, he satisfied them and made them feel he was their friend. The presents he had made them were considered to have been sufficient in value, and ample recompense for the uncultivated land taken at that period. In 1696, Penn purchased through Governor Dongan of New York, as agent of the Iroquois, all the land along the Susquehanna that Dongan held in trust. When the

subservient tribes in Pennsylvania complained that they had rights and had not been consulted, Penn satisfied them with gifts, and it is a matter of record that most of the land held by the white settlers up to that time, was more than once paid for by the great Quaker proprietor in order to satisfy the savages and keep peace for his infant colony.

With Penn's death, his sons by his second wife—John, Richard and Thomas—came to rule, and a new and difficult problem arose. The colony had grown; the purchased tracts had become thickly settled, and the new proprietors had trouble in keeping the sturdy Ulster and German colonists from settling on the lands recognized as still belonging to the Pennsylvania Indians. It was customary for the settlers to claim all lands occupied by the savages, and that excellent land for farms should be retained by the Indians merely for hunting grounds aroused resentment, and the policy that permitted this retention and recognized any title in the Indians could not be understood.

Thomas Penn, becoming manager of the family lands in the province, tried to make as much money as possible for the estate. He did not understand Indian nature, or he would have "played fair." In October, 1736, Thomas Penn assembled in Philadelphia a larger number of Indians than were ever before assembled at a treaty—all of the tribes of the Six Nations were represented. Penn entertained them for three nights, and then held the treaty with them in the great meeting house at Fifth and Arch streets. The sachems, chiefs and chief warriors of the gathered tribes of the Six Nations reported that they had made alliance with six other nations that recognized them as elder brothers; in short, recognized the domination of the Six Nations. At this treaty the proprietaries purchased from the Indians all their "right, title and interest" (as a deed would recite), to all the land southeast of the Blue Mountains, being all of the present counties of York, Adams and Cumberland, parts of Franklin, Dauphin and Lebanon, and of Berks, Lehigh and Northampton counties. "This purchase, as to the lands of the Delawares and other tributaries of the Six Nations, was in the nature of a release of a feudal lordship concomitant with the purchase of the vassal's interest," says Mr. Jenkins. Thomas Penn did not rely upon the assertion of the sachems of the Six Nations that the Delawares had no lands to sell. He preferred something more specific and documentary. Therefore he began a search among the old deeds of his father for some writing on which he and his brother proprietaries could depend for quiet enjoyment of their land. He found a copy of a deed made in 1686, which called for a dimension as far as a man could go in a day and a half, and thence to the Delaware river and down the courses thereof. This land had never been measured, so Penn made his arrangements to have it done, and laid his plans carefully. When the Indians made the agreement, they had in mind only an honest day and a half's journey, which would lead to

the South Hills on the bank of the Lehigh river. Penn's agents hunted out three of the fastest woodsmen in the province—Marshall, Yeates and Jennings—and as a preliminary had them taken over the course to be "walked," which occupied nine days, mainly in clearing a way and blazing trees. Some of the Indians were opposed to the method of measurement, but a treaty was made with Penn, August 25, 1737, in which it was stipulated that the measurement should be made by a "walk." The start was made September 12, 1737, at Wrightstown meeting house in Bucks county, in the presence of some Indians and some whites on horseback. The direction was northwestwardly, and the pace from the start rapid, so rapid that one of the runners (for such they turned out), became exhausted in two hours and never recovered his health. Two by nightfall succeeded in reaching the north side of the Blue Mountains. The "walkers" were running for a large prize, and began again at sunrise. Three Indians who had been appointed to accompany them had dropped out of the race, disgusted and thoroughly angry. They saw that they had been tricked, and were justly indignant. The white hirelings continued on. Yeates fell into a creek, was taken out blind, and was dead in three days. Penn had not only blazed the way, but had boats ready to convey his runners across all important streams. At the end of the second day's period, Marshall, the last of the runners, threw himself on the ground at full length and grasped a sapling, which was declared to mark the distance called for by the purchase—how far a man could go in a day and a half; that is, go on foot at a walk. The mark was twenty miles farther than the place that had been estimated by William Penn and the Indians as being about the right distance.

The walkers were under the supervision of the sheriff of Bucks county and the surveyor-general of Pennsylvania. Some of the spectators who went along on horseback, carried refreshments. The course marked out was northerly, on what is now the Durham road to the creek of the same name, thence northwesterly, crossing the Lehigh at 2 p. m., and reaching Hokendauqua creek at sunset. Marshall passed through the Lehigh Water Gap and rested on a spur of the Broad or Pocono Mountain at 12 o'clock. The Delaware representatives objected from the start, especially to the pace, frequently calling out to the white runners "to walk." One old Delaware described the method pursued: "No sit down to smoke; no shoot a squirrel; but *lun, lun, lun* all day long." Later the surveyor-general occupied four days in going over the same course. All historians of Pennsylvania do not agree that Yeates and Jennings died from the effects of the walk, though there is convincing testimony to that effect. It is of record and uncontroverted, that Marshall was none the worse, for he died at the exceedingly ripe age of ninety. His place in Pennsylvania history is secure.

Yet the transaction was not without defenders. In 1757 the surveyor-general of the province, Nicholas Scull, swore that he, with Benjamin Eastburn, then surveyor-general, whose deputy Scull was in 1737, had been present, and that the men did not run, but walked fairly; but the Indians knew better. Those who defended the transaction, scoffed at the notion of the Indians that the journey was to be made naturally, with stops to take a shot at game, or sitting down for a rest and a smoke. It is for those qualified, to say how far a strong active young man can go on foot through a wilderness woodland; even with a way partly cleared, in a day and a half—not an eight-hour workday, but from sunrise to sunset. The reader may not be convinced that sixty miles is an ordinary distance for a man to walk in twelve hours, for the "Long Walk" took place in September, in the equinoctial season; nevertheless, we are informed that 60 miles were traversed the first day, and 26 the next; this total of 86 miles is given in the narrative of the junior Watson. There is authority that the distance was but 68 miles, which would seem to lead to the belief that there has been a transposition of figures in some records. Scull maintained that the distance did not exceed 55 miles.³

That one man of the three who started, covered the distance made in the day and a half and lived, is sufficient evidence that the distance was extraordinary. A side of a triangle was traversed whose northern point or apex was between the present towns of Milford and Shohola, in Pike county. In ending the walk, Marshall was attended by two men mounted. They reached their stopping place at 2 o'clock p. m., but had not started until 8 a. m., as the day was dull and rainy. James Yeates the first day appeared less distressed than Marshall, but all accounts, says Buck, tend to show that he had imbibed too much of the varied store of liquors provided. In person, Yeates was tall and slim, and of much agility and speed of foot. He was taken out of the stream at the foot of the mountains, quite blind, and died three days later. Solomon Jennings, a Yankee and a newcomer in Bucks county, was a remarkably stout and strong man, yet he did not hold out to cross the Lehigh. He never recovered his health, though he lived for several years after. Yeates and Marshall were natives of Bucks county.

Buck in his history, following Watson's account as obtained from Marshall's son, says that 86 miles were traveled. Samuel Preston, who wrote his account in 1826, said that he was well acquainted with a very old man, Thomas Janney, who saw Yeates and Jennings running as they passed his house, and Thomas Penn was galloping his horse to

³"History of Bucks County," edited by J. H. Battle; A. Warner & Co., Chicago, 1887; p. 162. Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," Vol. V, p. 339. "History of Bucks County," William J. Buck; Doylestown, 1855; p. 11. "History of Wrightstown," in Appendix to *Ibid.*, p. 5.

keep up with them. Preston knew Edward Marshall in 1782-83, and frequently saw Marshall carrying chain for Nicholas Scull. Marshall, though often promised the 500 acres each "walker" was to receive in compensation in addition to the £5 money, never received any land. Janney's evidence is sufficient to connect Thomas Penn with the fraud as an active party to it. Preston was one of the governor's council, and was at the conference in 1742.

Whether the distance was 86, or 68 miles as the Bucks county historian Battle has it, there has never been any doubt expressed that Marshall accomplished a great feat. Battle, commenting on the distance, remarks:⁴ "In the condition of the country, this was a remarkable performance, and considering the absence of bridges, the uneven character of the route, and the steady, constant tramp required, it is not astonishing that two of the three athletic woodsmen broke down under the severe strain."

In running a right line to the river, the surveyors after four days' work in a barren mountainous region, reached the Delaware near the mouth of Shohola creek, in Pike county. Marshall did not get pay in land; Eastburn, the surveyor, was subsequently repudiated by Thomas Penn, and his heirs notified that he need not expect the least favor, and the proprietor himself, brought before the king by the indignant people, was forced to dissemble and disown his own acts and agents in a painfully humiliating manner. But all this did not repair the injury done to the Indians, nor avert the vengeance which the folly of Penn brought upon the province. Indeed, before the "walking party" reached their homes, they saw the striking evidences of the deep feeling of dissatisfaction existing among the Indians, and made it a topic of conversation on the way. The Indians said that in May they would all go to Philadelphia, each with a buckskin to repay the presents that had been given them, and take the land back again. No such solution was possible, for the land had been sold to speculators and had been immediately put on the market. The Indians by May were astonished to find settlers taking up land about the Indian villages. The Indians refused to vacate, and continued to remonstrate until, despairing of redress in this manner, they had letters written to the governor and a Bucks county magistrate "in which they treated the proprietors with a good deal of freedom," remonstrated again, and declared their resolution of maintaining possession by force of arms. When the Iroquois, brought by Shikellimy, came to Philadelphia, the proprietaries laid special stress on the insolence of the Delawares.

Charles Thomson, writing during the French and Indian War, his book published in London in 1759, presents therein some testimony of

⁴"History of Bucks County," J. H. Battle, 1887; pp. 163, *et seq.*

the proceedings during the "Long Walk," and most competent testimony of eyewitnesses and participants. One of these was Thomas Furniss, of Newtown, a neighbor of Yeates. Furniss details some of the circumstances of the affair not given elsewhere. His companion on the return was Timothy Smith, the sheriff of Bucks county, under whose auspices the proceedings were conducted. Furniss said: "I thought Smith was surprised, as I well remember I was, through a consciousness that the Indians were dissatisfied with the walk, a thing the whole company seemed to be sensible of, and upon the way in our return home frequently expressed themselves to that purpose, and indeed the unfairness practiced in the walk, both in regard to the way where, and the manner how it was performed, and the dissatisfaction of the Indians concerning it, were common subjects of conversation in our neighborhood for some considerable time after it was done. When the walk was performed, I was a young man in the prime of life; the novelty of the thing inclined me to be a spectator."

Joseph Knowles, a nephew of Sheriff Smith, furnished a short account of the walk under date of June 30, 1757, both his and Furniss' presumably to Thomson. Neither is sworn to, but Knowles writes that he was willing to qualify at any time when desired. Knowles testified that at his uncle's orders he had gone some time previous to the walk, to carry the chain and help clear the road, and that when the walk was performed he was present and carried provisions, liquors and bedding, and that the walk began at sunrising, and that they came to the Forks of the Delaware (the Lehigh) at one o'clock the same day, and that then the Indians began to look sullen and to murmur and to call out that the methods were not fair, because the men appointed to walk were running. However, Sheriff Smith paid no regard to the Indians, and the running walkers were urged by the rest of the proprietors' party to proceed until the sun was down. The next day was rainy, but some of the Indians came up, traveled a few miles along, and then left very much dissatisfied, but, said Knowles, "we proceeded by the notches until noon."⁵

Marshall subsequently acknowledged that the Indians were cheated, and attested that, nevertheless, they would have submitted had the walk not been extended beyond the Blue Mountains. It is very clear from these statements that the methods pursued by the Penns on "the walk" were fraudulent, and so regarded by the inhabitants of Bucks county.

To add greater injustice, instead of running the line to the Delaware, the surveyors slanted it northward so as to take in the rich Minisink region. Strong objections were made by the Indians in 1757; one, that the original deed was fictitious, and that the walk should have been along the Delaware river, and, that even if the walk was in the right direction

⁵"Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, etc.," Charles Thomson; pp. 36, *et seq.*

and not too extended, then the line from it should not have been at right angles to the river, but by the compass to the nearest point on it. These objections were held by the proprietaries to have been without weight. There was one, however, which seems weighty enough to reprobate the long notorious walking purchase, and that was that the chiefs who could dispose of land a reasonable distance around Wrightstown had no ownership in land across the Lehigh river.

When the surveyors who followed the trail of the walkers struck northeast to the mouth of the Lackawaxen creek, they secured for the proprietaries the Forks of the Delaware on the south side of the Blue Mountains, and the Minisink Flats on the north side—both rich and desirable tracts which included the upper portion of Bucks county, nearly all of Northampton, and parts of Carbon, Monroe and Pike counties. The Delawares for generations had held their council fires at the Minisink Flats, hence this ground in the Indians' eyes was sacred. Here on Pocono creek the celebrated Delaware chief Teedyuscung was born. To him the English colonists gave the name "Honest John"—no mean title if properly bestowed. When his land was wrested from him by "the walk," and more especially that by the line to the Lackawaxen, Teedyuscung was the chief remonstrator to the Penns, and one of those at the council in Philadelphia to whom the Iroquois spokesman directed his unalterable mandate in deciding for the beneficiaries of the fraud. Teedyuscung was one of the most frequently mentioned chiefs in Pennsylvania history. Often a visitor to Philadelphia, he had acquired a free use of English, and thereby was able to make himself understood by the whites without the medium of an interpreter. He was the last chief of the Delawares on the east side of the Alleghenies whose relations with the English were distrusted by his own people, and his influence envied by the Iroquois. This envy developed into so great a degree of hatred that the Iroquois brought about the tragic death of this powerful Delaware sachem in the burning of his house at Wyoming, first having rendered him helplessly drunk, then setting the house on fire.

Teedyuscung figured in treaties subsequent to 1742, and in 1758 endeavored unsuccessfully to deter Christian Frederick Post from setting out on his mission to the Indians on the Ohio at the orders of Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, as related by Post in his first journal of that year; in fact, the journal of his first journey to the Ohio, for he returned almost immediately and then saw the standing faggots of Fort Duquesne in December, 1758, ten days after Gen. John Forbes had raised the royal standard of St. George here and called the place Pittsburgh. On this terrible journey, Post had for a companion Captain Bull, one of Teedyuscung's sons.⁶

⁶Post, Second Journal, Oct. 27; Nov. 2, 1758. "The Wilderness Trail;" Chas. A. Hanna, Vol. I, p. 242.

However, Teedyuscung had another side to his character. He was an Indian Jekyll and Hyde. He had been a converted Indian, and Zeisberger's biographer remarks his apostasy. Hanna calls him a minor chief of the Delawares, and a cowardly braggart who had by his oratory so impressed the Quakers that they regarded him as a martyr, a king, and a hero, and practically paid him tribute for years, and permitted him unopposed, with a small band of drunken savages, to harass the northern frontiers and kill by scores the unprotected settlers thereon, and to browbeat and flout the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania, and acquire such power and influence among his immediate tribesmen that he was able to intimidate and levy tribute on the whole province with impunity for many years.⁷

The "Walking Purchase" has remained a disgrace to those who planned it. It has thrown deserved opprobrium on the fair name of Penn. The duped savages never forgave the fraud, and in the end their vengeance was supreme. They refused to leave the land measured by the walk, claiming never to have sold it. They announced they would resist removal by force. Resourceful Thomas Penn thereupon appealed to the Six Nations, who promptly responded by sending 230 warriors to Philadelphia in July, 1742, who were made the guests of the Penns and generously treated. A new treaty was then made in which the Six Nations decided in favor of the proprietaries. The chief speaker of the Iroquois at this council was Cannassatego, an Onondaga, chief sachem of the Six Nations, who made short work of Delaware pretensions. The Minisink and Fork Delawares were the first to refuse to leave their lands. Nutimus, their principal chief, and the other chieftains, saw how they had been duped. They were not willing to quit their homes nor give quiet possession to the people who came thick to take up lands and settle. No regard having been paid to their complaints, the Delawares sent a letter to Governor Thomas, and also to a magistrate of Bucks county, in which they remonstrated against the injustice done them, and declared their resolution of maintaining possession of their lands by force of arms. "This alarmed the proprietors," says Thomson, "who thereupon in 1741 sent Shikellimy (a Six Nation chief who resided at Shamokin) to the Six Nations to press them to come down. It was well known that the Six Nations had great authority over the Delawares; it was therefore thought sufficient to engage them to interpose their authority over the Delawares and force them to quit the Forks."⁸

The authority of the Six Nations over the Delawares was acknowledged and invoked. The complaints to the governor and the magistrate were regarded by the Penns as impertinent and insulting, and at the

⁷"The Wilderness Trail," Charles A. Hanna; Vol. I, p. 118.

⁸"Alienation, etc.," Thomson, p. 42.

Philadelphia council the Delawares were not only reprimanded but punished for taking upon themselves so much authority. Shikellimy was the Iroquois over-lord at Shamokin. His name occurs in many forms in Pennsylvania history—Shicalamy, Shakallamy, Shickelimo and Shecalimy are found.

Dr. Brinton's work on the Lenape contains a narrative of the "Long Walk" which he obtained from Hazard's "Register." These are the accounts of John Watson, father and son, of Buckingham, Bucks county. The junior Watson said that his father's story, written in 1815, was read before the American Philosophical Society in 1822. Both had known Moses Marshall, son of the walker of 1737, who had been interviewed when at least eighty years of age. Dr. Brinton quotes largely also from Thomson's book.⁹

The elder Watson attests that handsome dinners were served the delegations from the Six Nations at the council in Philadelphia; that the Indians made a great show of finery, and that the health of King George and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania were drunk in high good humor, and "at one of these Canticos the subject of the walk was introduced, and several deeds and writings shown and explained by way of appeal to the high authority of the Six Nations against the conduct of their cousins the Delawares."

The purpose of the council can be truthfully said to have been made known to the Six Nations before they came to Philadelphia. Watson proceeds to say that the Iroquois then went into a private council among themselves, and "these mighty Cæsars of the lakes and woods determined to chastise and humble their dependents, which they did in a decisive manner."

The first arrival of the Six Nations chiefs was June 30, 1742, but no council was held until July 2nd, and thereafter held daily until the 12th. No speeches are recorded except Governor Thomas', and those made by Cannassatego. Among the Indians present not Iroquois, Colden enumerates the Shawanese; the "Canestogo (Conestogo) Indians that speak the Onayiuts (Oneidas) language;" the Canoyias or Nanticokes of Canastogo; the Delawares of Shamokin, Olumapies (also called Sassanoon), the principal chief; and Delawares from the Forks. Later in the minutes the name and record change to "Sassanoon and the Delawares, and Nutimus and the Fork Indians;" and Shikellimy's name occurs below Cannassatego's, sometimes just "Cannassatego and sundry chiefs of the Six Nations;" always, "Conrad Weiser, Interpreter," and at times, "a great number of the Inhabitants of Philadelphia." Weiser interpreted into English and into the Iroquois tongues, and Cornelius Spring, a

⁹"The Lenape and Their Legends," D. G. Brinton; p. 115. "Narrative of Long Walk," "Register of Pennsylvania;" Samuel Hazard; Vol. V (1830), p. 209; reproduced also by W. W. Beach; see his "Indian Miscellany," pp. 90-94.

Delaware warrior from the Forks, into Delaware. The spectacular climax occurred on July 12th, when Cannassatego upbraided the Delawares roundly and in most insulting language. He said the Iroquois had been informed of the misbehavior of their cousins with respect to their continuing to claim and refusing to move from some land on the Delaware, notwithstanding that their ancestors had sold it and deeded it as the Delawares had ratified. The Six Nations, he said, saw with their own eyes that the Delawares had been an unruly people and were altogether in the wrong; that they had concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the River Delaware and quit all claims to any lands on this side in the future, since they had received pay for them, and they had eaten it up. (Only the chief used a very vulgar simile). Turning to the Delawares and holding a belt of wampum in his hand, he said:

Let the belt serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till you recover your senses and become sober. You don't know what ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our Brother Onas' cause is very just and plain, and his intentions are to preserve friendship. On the other hand, your cause is bad; your heart far from being upright; and you are maliciously bent to break the chain of friendship with our Brother Onas and his people. We have seen with our eyes deeds signed by nine of your ancestors about fifty years ago for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves and chiefs now living to the number of fifteen or upwards; but how came you to take upon you to sell land at all.

In fiery eloquence he thundered:

We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women, and can no more sell land than women, nor is it fit you should have the power of selling land, since you would abuse it. You have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink, by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like children as you are. But what makes you sell land in the dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part, even to the value of a pipeshank for it? You have told us a blind story that you sent a messenger to us to inform us of the sale, but he never came amongst us, nor we never heard anything about it. This is acting in the dark, and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in the sales of land. On such occasions they give public notice and invite all the Indians of their United Nation and give them a share of the presents they receive for their land. This is the behaviour of the wise United Nation, but we find you are none of our blood. You act a dishonest part, not only in this but in other matters. Your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about your brethren. You receive them with greediness. For all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you liberty to think about it. You are women. Take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. You may return to the other side of Delaware where you came from; but we do not know whether, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there; or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats as well as the land on this side. We therefore assign you to two places to go—either to Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places and then we shall have you more under our eye and see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but remove away, and take this belt of wampum. (In old time printing these last words would be put in italics or small capitals to emphasize them.—Editor.)

Cannassatego was not only an orator, but an actor. After Weiser had interpreted his words into English, and Spring into the Lenape tongue,

Cannassatego proceeded with his remarks, in the midst of which he enacted the dramatic scene described by Watson. Sassanoon is said to have been the other actor in the drama, whom the fiery Onondaga seized by the hair and thrust out, and then stood in the door, while the cowed Delawares sullenly followed. Taking a string of wampum, Cannassatego added to the words quoted above:

After our reproof and absolute order to depart from the land, you are to take notice that we have further to say. This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children and grandchildren, to the latest posterity, forever meddling in land affairs; neither you, nor any that shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any lands, for which purpose you are to preserve this string in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some business to transact with our brethren, and therefore depart the council and consider what has been said to you.

Mr. Watson's story reads at this point:

When this terrible sentence was ended, it is said the unfeeling political philosopher walked forward, and taking strong hold on the long hair of the King of the Delawares, he led him to the door and forcibly sent him out of the room, while all the trembling inferiors followed him. He (Cannassatego) then walked back again to his place like another Cato, and calmly proceeded to another subject as if nothing of the kind had happened. The poor fellows, in great and silent grief, went directly home, collected their families and goods, and burning their cabins to signify they were never to return, marched reluctantly to their new home beyond the Susquehanna.

The finding of the Iroquois was a foregone conclusion. They had sold their pretended claim to the region, they were flattered by the invitation to act as arbitrators, and they could satisfy their vindictive hatred without personal cost. Can we imagine anything more supremely arrogant, more despotic, than the behavior of Cannassatego on this occasion? We can see the lordly Onondaga, towering in his vigorous manhood, strong in the pride of his venerated ancestry, boastful of the triumphs of his Confederacy, with raised hand and menacing finger, cry out in all the power of the Iroquoian master tone: "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once. We do not give you the liberty to think about it. Go!"¹⁰ The betrayed natives, beset behind and before, had no other course to pursue than to obey. Some went to the places assigned them by Cannassatego, and some to the Ohio, and here they made history for us.

It was apprehended at the time that the "walk" would lead to trouble, for subsequent actions were ominous. Buck remarks:

¹⁰Hanna, Craig and Parkman have each found the speech of Cannassatego in the minutes of the Indian Council of 1742. The pamphlet, published in London in 1759, by Charles Thomson, entitled "Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians from the British Interests," details much of the history of the council as above recited. Cf. Also, "History of the Five Indian Nations, etc.," Colden; Vol II (1902 ed.), pp. 104, *et seq.* "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," Vol. IV, p. 559, *et seq.* "History of Pennsylvania," Thos. F. Gordon; p. 253, and Appendix H, pp. 599-600.

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This walk was the cause of jealousies and heartburnings among the Indians that eventually broke out in loud complaints of injustice and atrocious acts of savage vengeance. It is supposed that Thomas and John Penn, the proprietaries, with William Allen, were the prime leaders in this nefarious business. Allen by his land speculations became at the time the wealthiest man in the province. The method resorted to by the proprietaries cannot but excite our pity and abhorrence, by employing the distant and powerful Iroquois to come and forcibly dispossess the Delawares from their native lands. Thus disappeared the Lenni-Lenapes from amongst us, who so long in peace had been our friends, but in war our most desperate enemies.¹¹

Pursuing the Watson narrative further, there is corroborative testimony as follows:

This shameful imposition was equally reprobated by all distinguished and candid men in the province, and it was seriously apprehended that mischief would some time grow out of it. But no doubt there were some land speculators and those who had conducted the business to such an issue, who enjoyed the triumph with unfeeling satisfaction. Some families of those Indians continued to come down every summer and cabin in the woods among their former friends, and go back in the fall. But when war began between England and France in 1754, and Washington and Braddock were successively defeated, there can be no doubt that aggressions upon Indian rights by force and fraud and, in general, the extension of the settlements by the whites, became popular subjects of inquiry and explanation at their great council fires. Even the history of the running walk might then be patiently listened to, and it is said that leave was given by the Six Nations to their cousins the Delawares and Shawanees, to strike the white people off the lands they had been wronged out of. They therefore fell upon the back inhabitants of Northampton county in all the inhuman and cruel manner of Indian warfare, these terrible depredations continuing for eighteen months, and strange as it may appear to many in retrospect, notwithstanding the evident cause of the war, a reward of one hundred pounds was offered by the governor in the public papers for the head of Captain Jacobs, and fifty pounds for the head of Captain Shingask, two Indian warriors.¹²

A just vengeance was wreaked on Captain Jacobs, for he was killed in the attack on Kittanning by Armstrong in 1756. Shingask is better known in our history as Shingiss, as his name has been commemorated in a Pittsburgh street. Heckewelder, who knew him, says that Shingask was his proper name in the Lenape language. He says also that Shingiss was a complete savage, "small in stature, but in point of courage and activity and savage prowess, he was said never to be excelled by any one, and were his war exploits all on record, they would form an interesting though shocking one."¹³

Washington met Shingiss on the Ohio while on his mission in 1753, and in his journal calls him King Shingiss. Hanna says he was one of three brothers—the Beaver, or King Beaver; and Pisquetomen, Post's companion, the other. Croghan in his journal refers to Shingiss frequently as "Shingass." Post dined with Shingiss at Saukunk, and traveled with him when Post was on his first mission to the Ohio in 1758.

¹¹"History of Bucks County," William J. Buck; p. 12.

¹²See "Register of Pennsylvania," Hazard; Vol. V, p. 211.

¹³"Narrative, etc.," John Heckewelder; p. 64; quoted by Craig, "History of Pittsburgh, (Ed. 1917); p. 8.

Shingiss said he knew the English had set a great price on his head, though he had never thought to revenge himself; he had always been kind to any prisoners that were brought in, and he assured the governor that he would do all in his power to bring about an established peace, and wished he could be certain of the English being in earnest. Shingiss protected Post from some drunken Indians, and his care of Post saved Post when in great peril, and by so doing made successful Post's task of withholding the Delawares from going over completely to the French. However, all the story of Post and his mission pertains most particularly to the capture of Fort Duquesne and the founding of Pittsburgh in November, 1758, and will find place in the account of Gen. Forbes' operations of that time, in proper order of sequence of events. The other Delaware chiefs who belong to the Colonial and Revolutionary periods of our history will receive mention as their deeds and associations may demand.¹⁴

Post was diplomatic to great degree. He had a delicate mission to perform, and a crisis to avert. He sought, as will be shown, to restrain the Delawares and Shawanese from further alliance with the French and to keep them at least neutral. He could not have safely told Shingiss otherwise.

There was more importance attached to the story of "the Long Walk" a century ago, than of late years. John Watson, Jr., writing in September, 1822, in concluding his article, said:

I have for several years past been anxious that a correct history should be written of the first settlement of the United States as that settlement was connected with the history of and interested the Indian Nations, the true original cause and consequence to them of the wars that ensued between them and the white people, not as they have been related by interested or prejudiced historians professing to live under the Gospel of Peace and proud of the advantages of civilization, but as they would be narrated by intelligent Indians, and I have been the more anxious to see such a history written, as I apprehend many important facts necessary thereto, even now only linger in the recollections of a few old men, and in a short time, unless collected at present, will be lost forever.

A prominent fact of this description in my view, is what has been called the long walk, and the foregoing contains perhaps as true an account of it as is now possible to collect. It is important as being the cause of the first uneasiness with the Indians in Pennsylvania, and the first murder committed by them in the province being on the very land they believed themselves thus cheated out of, and it appears this is yet remembered as one of the wrongs committed on them by the white men of which they complain.¹⁵

The deed given for the land included in the boundaries of the "Long Walk" is recorded in Philadelphia. It is signed by four sachems of the

¹⁴Consult Post's Journals under date August 28, 1758: "We set out from Saucunk in company with twenty for Kuschushkee. On the road Shingas addressed himself to me and asked if I did not think that if he came to the English they would have him, as they had offered a great reward for his head. He spoke in a very soft and easy manner. I told him that was a great while ago and wiped clean away; that the English would receive him very kindly."

¹⁵"Register of Pennsylvania," Hazard; Vol. V, p. 213.

Delawares, among them Nutimus and Teeshacomin, with a long list of witnesses, including James Hamilton, Edward Shippen and James Logan, president of the Provincial Council, and was acknowledged before William Allen, Chief Justice of the Colony. The deed is entered in the office of the recorder of deeds "for ye City and County of Philadelphia in Book G, Vol. 1st, page 283, Yr. the 8th May, 1741," and is endorsed "Release from Delaware Indians, August 25, 1737." It can be found in Vol. I, first series, Penna. Archives, p. 541, there headed "Deed for Lands on Delaware."

Dr. Brinton, commenting on the various sales of land by the Delawares, remarks that none of their land in New Jersey and none of the Susquehanna lands purchased by Penn in 1699, were subject to confirmation by the Six Nations. Between that date and 1742 the Iroquois yoke seems to have been tightened. We shall see later who passed title for all the Pennsylvania region west of the Alleghenies.

There remains the Shawanese, frequently called the Shawnees, always to be considered allies of and properly so as congeners of the Delawares. In the Indian wars on the Pennsylvania border beginning in 1755, the story of the part of the Shawanese must be written with that of the Delawares, and it is much the same, as was also their ultimate fate. In writing of the Shawanese at this stage of this historical work, it is necessary to record some facts that must be recurred to later, for it is a fact of their history, and one necessary to record, that fierce savages as these Indians were, the heel of the Iroquois trod on them, and they too wore the Iroquois yoke. Theirs is a strange story—the story of a nomad nation. If the Iroquois deserved the title of "Romans"—and no one disputes it—the Shawanese as justly could have been called "Bedouins."

"Bold, roving, adventurous spirits," says Parkman, "their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances, perplex the antiquary, and defy research." Early at war with the Iroquois, they fled to the South to avoid utter destruction. Some went to the East and settled among the Lenape, at the headquarters of the Delaware. Wherever the Shawanese went, they became embroiled in war with their neighbors, and, driven from place to place with the coming of the white man into Pennsylvania, they were found in the Ohio valley hereabouts, and, associated with the Lenapes, both tribes having been for years subject to the power and authority of the Iroquois; both, in common language, mere tenants at will. The Shawanese, in spite of this noted subserviency, have given to history the name Tecumseh, and all for which that name stands.

Besides the well known designations mentioned, this tribe had several others. Parkman prefers the form Shawanoes. The French called them *Chauouanons*; the form of spelling sometimes varied. The Iroquois gave

them the name *Satanas*, so noted by Colden in his vocabulary of the names of Indian tribes and places. Schoolcraft states that the term *Satanas* was first applied to the Shawanese in 1747, and that it is expressive, for it means devils. In the comparative tables of 1736, obtained from France and published by Schoolcraft in his "History of the Indian Nations" (Vol. III, p. 553), they are called Chauenons, and are vaguely said to inhabit the south shore of Lake Erie towards Carolina. "To Carolina and Florida, indeed, their own traditions carry them," he proceeds, "and they are never heard of at early periods in the West. They came into the Ohio Valley about 1640 from the Appalachian range, through the Kentucky river (which is claimed to be a Shawnee word), while others of the tribe who were defeated by the Catawbias and Cherokees in Carolina, had settled previously in the hunting grounds of their kindred, the Delawares, in Pennsylvania."¹⁶ In another volume Schoolcraft records:

The Shawnees, friends and relatives of the Delawares, had been from the first a revengeful, warlike, roving people. Originating in the extreme south, they had flitted over half the continent, fighting with every tribe they met until they reached the extreme shores of Lake Erie, where under the ominous name of *Satanas* they were defeated by the Iroquois, and thence fled to the Delaware and subsequently to the Ohio Valley. From an early period they were avowed enemies of the colonies, and this enmity never ceased until after the overthrow in 1814 of the widespread conspiracy of Tecumseh. Both tribes, in lineage as well as language, were Algonquins, and adopted their policy from first to last, being cruel enemies in war; in peace, treacherous friends.¹⁷

Dr. Brinton says of the Shawanese:

The wanderings of the unstable and migratory Shawnees have occupied the attention of several writers, but it cannot be said that either their history or their affiliations have been satisfactorily worked out. Their dialect is more akin to the Mohegan than to the Delaware, and when in 1692 they first appeared in the area of the Eastern Algonquin Confederacy, they came as the relatives and friends of the former.

They were divided into four bands as follows: Piqua—properly, Pikeweu, "he comes from the ashes;" Mecquachake, "a fat man filled." This band had the privilege of the hereditary priesthood; the significance of the name was completion, or perfection; Kiscapocoke and Chilicothe. Of these, the Pennsylvania tribe was the Piqua, who have given their name to a valley in Lancaster county.

The Assiwikales, a band of about fifty families of 300 souls including 100 warriors, are stated to have come from South Carolina to the Potomac in 1731, and settled partly on the Susquehanna and partly on the Upper Ohio or Allegheny. Their chief was named Aqueioma, or Achequeloma. Their name appears to be a compound of assassin—wikwam house, and they were probably Algonquin neighbors of the Shawnees in their southern homes, and united with them in their northern migrations. These Assiwikales find frequent mention in Pennsylvania history. Their chief, Aqueioma, Davenport and LeTort, the traders in 1731, reported "true to the English."

Among a band of strange Indians who came to Maryland in 1692, was a lone Frenchman, Martin Chartier. These Indians proved to be Shawanese who afterwards settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania,

¹⁶"History of the Indian Nations," H. R. Schoolcraft; Vol. IV, p. 225.

¹⁷"History of the Indian Nations," *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 219.

among the Conestogas. Chartiers was an Indian trader at Pequea, whose wife was a Shawanese squaw. Chartiers, whose name appears in the Maryland Archives as "Martin Shortive," and often found spelled without the final "s," was the father of Peter Chartiers, the perfidious half-breed trader once located on the Allegheny and Ohio, whose name has been commemorated in Chartiers creek and Chartiers townships in Allegheny and Washington counties, and in a Pittsburgh street. Martin Chartiers was one of the deserters from La Salle in August, 1680. He seems to have roamed over the whole region from Quebec and Mackinaw, through the Illinois country to the far south, before he came to Pennsylvania with the Shawanese. These Indians were surely driven here, and it was some time prior to 1700. Additional mention of Peter Chartiers will come in the chapter on the traders (Chapter IX). The attempts of the French in their efforts to dissuade the Delawares and Shawanese on the Allegheny, which began as early as 1728, were continuous and persistent for more than a decade, and these also must be narrated in a subsequent chapter.

Bancroft notes the arrival and settlement of the few score families of Shawanese in 1698 who planted themselves on the Susquehanna with the consent of the governor of Pennsylvania at Conestoga. Sad were the fruits of the hospitality of the Pennsylvania authorities. The remainder of the nation followed, so that in 1732, of 700 Indian warriors in the province, one-half were Shawanese emigrants. Some Delawares had come to the Ohio about 1724 for better hunting than the Susquehanna region afforded, and beginning in 1728 the Shawanese gradually followed. Here about the headwaters of the Ohio the Canadian traders found them, led by Joncaire, the sly, crafty half-breed, "an adopted citizen" of the Seneca Nation, and in commemoration M. Joncaire has had his name perpetuated in a Pittsburgh thoroughfare. Proud is authority for the statement that the Indians on the Ohio in those years consisted chiefly of the hunters of the several nations under the "protection or subjection of the Six Nations." However, with their continuous emigration, the Delaware and Shawanese villages arose, and some became noted in Pennsylvania history. Several Delaware villages lay within the territory of municipal Pittsburgh.¹⁸ In the "Critical Notes" communicated to the "Register of Pennsylvania" (Vol. V. page 113) this paragraph occurs:

1755—The date of the settlements of the Shawanese does not correspond with their accounts given by their agents as in the public records at Harrisburg, for the Shawanese came to Pennsylvania previously to the landing of William Penn, for their chiefs held a conference with him under the great tree at Lackawaxen, to which they repeatedly refer in their different talks. They did not remove to Ohio in the year 1728 or 1729, but many remained at their wigwam on the Beaver Pond near the present location of Carlisle. (See Notes of Assembly, Vol. IV. p. 528.)

¹⁸"History of United States," George Bancroft; Vol. III, pp. 240, 297, 314.

The presence of any Shawanese at Shackamaxon is not substantiated. It is apparently mere claim, for the Indians became proud of any participation in historic events. They were on the Conodoguinet, about the site of Carlisle.

C. C. Royce, in the "Magazine of Western History" for May, 1885, has an interesting article regarding this nation, entitled "An Enquiry into the Identity and History of the Shawnee Indians," to which he appended a footnote stating the paper was offered with the understanding that it purported to be nothing but a brief outline of some unfinished investigations. He begins this article thus:

The Shawanees were the Bedouins, and I may almost say the Ishmaelites of the North American tribes. As wanderers they were without rivals among their race, and as fomenters of discord and war between themselves and their neighbors their genius was marked. Their original home is not with any great measure of certainty known. Many theories on the subject have been already advanced, each with a greater or less degree of plausibility. More, doubtless, will from time to time be offered, but after all, the general public will be restricted to a choice of probabilities, and each must accept for himself that which to his mind shall seem the most satisfactory and convincing.

Royce uses the term "Chaouanous," which is sometimes found, and the "u" in the last syllable arouses suspicion that the French term "Chaouanons" may have been distorted, or *vice versa*, though the terminal "ons" is clear enough in most histories.

Craig has something to say of the Shawanoes or Shawanese and other tribes and things about Pittsburgh:

The Shawanese are described as a restless people who constantly engaged in war with some of their neighbors. They were originally from the South; the French say from the Cumberland river.

Mr. Heckewelder was told by other Indians that they were from Florida and Mr. Johnson,¹⁹ United States agent at Piqua, Ohio, states that they came from the Suwanee river, Florida, and that it derived its name from them. He also states, that they, only, of all the Indian tribes, have a tradition that their ancestors crossed the sea. Also that they kept a yearly sacrifice for their safe arrival.

About 1698 they first appeared in Pennsylvania, as Mr. Heckewelder states, at Montour's Island (now Neville Island, six miles below Pittsburgh). Some of them went to Conestoga and others settled at the headwaters of the Susquehanna and Delaware.

In 1728 they were again in motion to the West, and located near the Allegheny and Ohio. In 1732 of 700 warriors in the State, 350 were Shawanese.

They had several villages within the limits of the present counties of Allegheny and Beaver. Post passed through three Shawanese villages between Fort Duquesne and Saucunk, which, we believe, was near the mouth of the Beaver river about where the town of Beaver now stands. Their principal residence was afterwards on the Scioto.

Of the Six Nations the Senecas were the most western. Their homes extended from the headwaters of the Allegheny river some distance down the Ohio, and to this nation belonged Tanacharison, also Guyasutha and Cornplanter.

These various nations strangely mixed together and yet preserving their distinc-

¹⁹Col. John Johnston, see "Historical Collections of Ohio," Henry Howe, pp. 363-365; Schoolcraft "Indian Nations," Vol. I, p. 19; "The Wilderness Trail," Hanna, Vol. II, p. 128.

tive and separate organizations were dwelling here in peace when the white man appeared among them. The Englishman claiming title under a charter from a distant king, strengthened by a treaty with the Iroquois. The Frenchman resting upon the first discovery. (That of LaSalle.)

It is useless now to inquire which had the better or worse title. Certainly it was easy enough for either claimant to find sufficient flaws in his adversary's title to excuse his resistance to it; especially in a case where only a plausible pretext was needed.

France then held extensive possessions in North America, Canada and Louisiana, belonging to her, and she was anxious to strengthen herself and circumscribe her adversary, by establishing a line of posts from her northern to her southern colony. The point at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers; at once became a commanding position in this great scheme.²⁰

In 1749 Captain Celoron came, deposited his leaden plates, only not claiming the country, but taking renewed possession of the River Ohio, "and of all those which fall into it and of all the territories on both sides as far as the source of said rivers as the preceding kings of France have possessed or should possess them." The story could not be better told. From this act of Celoron's began the stirring history of all the region about the Forks of the Ohio, and to quote a writer of our own times, the Rev. Dr. George P. Donehoo of Coudersport, now secretary of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania:

Historic development works out along strange lines. Had there been no migration of the Delawares and Shawanese to the Ohio, there would have been no rivalry between the French and the English traders—no French and Indian war. Had there been no French and Indian war, there would have been no tax on tea. Had there been no tax on tea there would have been no American revolution and no United States.

Consequently, when the first hardy pioneers commenced to build their cabins on the banks of the Conodoguinet Creek (at Carlisle) they were commencing the erection of the greatest empire the world has yet known.

There are no trivial events in history. The migration of a red, feather-crested warrior with his squaw and pappoose from the waters of the Susquehanna was a trivial event in itself. But it meant the closing of one period of human history, and the dawning of a new era for a great continent.

It meant the final destruction of the forest and the wild, free life of the mountains and valleys, and the beginning of the Empire of Cities, threaded by its network of steel highways.

The long silence of centuries which had brooded over the sweeping forest was to be broken by the sound of the woodsman's ax, as he cut down the trees to build his home, and later on the Indian trail was to become a trail of steel over which a nation would send its wealth to the uttermost parts of the earth.

The rhetoric here is both beautiful and appealing. We admit its truth.

This brings us to the consideration of other phases of the subject. History is not built up on hypotheses. The red feathered-crested warriors did come, and prone as we are to speculate, history must in its very definition—a record of past events—human events—pass by the fanciful and the might have been. Too often has the fate of nations hung upon a thread and oftentimes the thread has broken.

²⁰"History of Pittsburgh," Neville B. Craig; new edition with an Introduction and Notes by George T. Fleming; 1917; pp. 3-6.

CHAPTER VII.

Indians in Petticoats.

"Disgraced Indians," our chapter head could have read. It will already have been noted how much the word petticoat has been used in Pennsylvania Indian history as a term of disgrace and as an emblem of subserviency. Whenever the Iroquois spoke of the Delawares they mentioned the bondage of that nation and invariably the taunt, "we conquered you," followed. The metamorphosis story is altogether a Delaware myth. While the petticoat as apparel was not actually worn—it might as well have been. The term is used only figuratively, but frequently. Hanna heads one chapter in his voluminous work, "The Petticoat Indians of Petticoat Land." Alliterative and fanciful, this does very well to call attention to the vassalage of the Pennsylvania Indians which province we may take as the Petticoat Land. The fact that the ascendancy of the Iroquois was acknowledged by the Pennsylvania authorities can be found in the early archives of the province. Thus that veteran soldier and octogenarian, Governor Patrick Gordon, in his instructions to Henry Smith and John Petty, September 1, 1728, wrote:

Tell Shakallamy particularly he is set over the Shawannah Indians. I hope he can give a good account of them. They came to us only as strangers about thirty years ago, they desired leave of this government to settle amongst us as strangers, and the Conestoga Indians became security for their good behaviour. They are also under the protection of the Five Nations, who have set Shakallamy over them. He is a good man and I hope will give a good account of them.¹

Shikellimy was a white man, born of French parents in Montreal, but having been captured by the Iroquois in early childhood, was adopted by the Oneidas and grew up and could not be told from an Indian. He was a man of fine abilities and justly celebrated in the Indian history of Pennsylvania. There is evidence that Shikellimy was set over the Delawares also as vice-regent, overlord or deputy of the Six Nations. On this sachem's monument at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, his name is carved "Shikellamy." He was the father of Logan, of speech fame.

The story of the Lenape having been conquered by stratagem rather than arms, as told by the Lenape themselves, finds a ready belief in Heckewelder and is accepted in good faith by Bishop Loskiel, also a Moravian historian. But these men were missionaries among the Delawares, and Heckewelder, for many years among them, as already remarked, looks at everything through Delaware eyes. Parkman ("Conspiracy of Pontiac," Chap. I) dismisses the story as absurd, that "a people so acute and suspicious, could be the dupes of so palpable a

¹"Penna. Archives;" First Series, Vol. I, p. 228, quoted by Chas. A. Hanna. "Wilderness Trail," Vol. I, p. 149.

trick, and it is equally incredible that a high-spirited tribe could be induced by the most persuasive rhetoric to assume the name of women, which in Indian eyes is the last confession of abject abasement."

Truly so—for the woman was the Indian worker, never a warrior, though oft a mediator. In the words of Schoolcraft:

There was a reserved power in the Iroquois councils which deserves to be mentioned. I allude to the power of the matrons. This was an acknowledged power of a conservative character which might at all times be brought into requisition, whenever policy required it, and it exists today (1846), as incontestably as it did centuries ago. They were entrusted with the power to propose a cessation of arms. They were literally peacemakers. A proposition from the matrons to drop the war-club could be made without compromising the character of the tribe for bravery, and accordingly, we find in the ancient organization there was a male functionary, an acknowledged speaker, who was called the representative, or messenger, of the matrons. These matrons sat in council, but it must needs have been seldom that a female possessed the kind of eloquence suited to public assemblies, and beyond this there was a sentiment of respect due the female class which led the tribes, at their general elections, to create this office.²

The Delaware's version is best presented, with comments by Zeisberger's biographer, Bishop De Schweinitz, who says:

After the Dutch had settled New York and the French Canada, the Iroquois became the friends of the former and the enemies of the latter. Against these they often warred. The Iroquois finding the contest with the Lenape too great for them because they had to cope on the one hand with European arms and on the other with native prowess, excogitated a master stroke of intrigue. They sent an embassy to the Lenape with a message in substance as follows: That it is not well for the Indians to be fighting among themselves at a time when the whites in ever larger numbers were pressing into their country, that the original possessors of the soil must be preserved from total extirpation; that the only way to effect this was a voluntary assuming on the part of some magnanimous nation the position of "women" or umpire; that a weak people in such a position would have no influence, but a powerful one like the Lenape, celebrated for its bravery, and above all suspicion of pusillanimity, might properly take the step; that, therefore, the Iroquois (Aquanoschioni) besought them to lay aside their arms, devote themselves to pacific employments and act as mediators among the tribes, thus putting a stop forever to the fratricidal wars of the Indians. To this proposition the Lenape cheerfully and trustfully assented, for they believed it to be dictated by exalted patriotism and to constitute the language of genuine sincerity. They were, moreover, themselves very anxious to preserve the Indian race. At a great feast prepared for the representatives of the two nations, and amid many ceremonies, they were accordingly made women and a broad belt of peace was entrusted to their keeping.

The Dutch, the tradition continues, were present and had instigated the plot. That it was a plot to break the strength of the Delawares soon became evident. They woke up from their magnanimous dream to find themselves in the power of the Iroquois. From that time they were "cousins" of the Iroquois and these their "uncles."

This tradition is as ingenious and unique as it is fabulous and absurd. It was devised by the Delawares to conceal the fact that they had been conquered, and yet history recognizes and will ever know them as the vassals of the Iroquois, who exercised authority over them, stationed an agent in their country and would not permit their lands to be alienated without the consent of the Confederate Council. The story of the Delawares contradicts itself. Suspicious as Indians are to this day, this nation could not have been so completely duped; and brave as it was, it would never have submitted to such a degradation. The whole character of the Aborigines renders the

²Louis H. Morgan (Skenandoah) can be quoted to the same effect. See "Notes on the Iroquois;" H. R. Schoolcraft, p. 84.

thing impossible. In the figurative language of the natives, the Delawares unquestionably were "women," but they had been reduced to this state by force of arms.

At a council held near Philadelphia in May, 1712, by Governor Gookin of Pennsylvania, the chief speaker of the Delawares declared that many years before they had been made tributaries to the Mingoes, or Five Nations.³

Nevertheless, Charles A. Hanna thinks the date of the submission of the Delawares about March 13, 1677, so that Craig's date may be a typographical error or one in transcribing. Most historians agree that it was prior to the coming of William Penn, but not so early as Craig's date, 1617. Craig has practically the same story in brief both in his "History of Pittsburgh" and in the "Olden Time."⁴ He is clearly in error, for this date cannot be substantiated.

The most plausible date fixed for the complete subjugation of the Delawares is 1727, when Shikellimy took charge at Shamokin. There can be no doubt that Cannassatego knew his ground in 1742, and that as late as 1755 the Delawares acknowledged Iroquois supremacy, for in December of that year the Delawares at Tioga, the few left in that region, answered a message from Sir William Johnson stating they did not know the cause of some recent hostilities against Pennsylvania settlers. In plain words they said: "It is true, Brother, as you say; we are not at our own command, but under the direction of the Six Nations. We are women; Our Uncle must say what we must do; he has the hatchet, and we must do as he says; we are poor women and have got out of temper." Johnson, who was His Majesty's superintendent of Indian affairs in North America, sympathized with the Delawares, and it will be shown how he took away from them the invidious name of women.

The date 1727 is to be given credence only from records made of the Indian affairs in Pennsylvania. In 1732 some Shawanese chiefs on the Allegheny sent a message to Governor Gordon in which they stated that some five years before, the Six Nations had told the Delawares and themselves, that, "Since you have not hearkened to us nor regarded what we have said, now we will put petticoats on you and look upon you as women in the future, and not as men. Thence you Shawanese look back towards the Ohioh, the place from whence you came, and return thitherward, etc."⁵

The Iroquois always maintained that they had conquered the Delawares and Shawanese. In the Lancaster Conference of 1757 this was forcibly enunciated, and at the conferences at Easton about the same

³"Colonial Records;" Vol. II, p. 546.

⁴"History Pittsburgh;" Orig. Edition, p. 16; Edition 1917, edited by Geo. T. Fleming, p. 2; O. T., Vol. I, p. 2. He got it from Heckewelder; see the latter's "Narrative of Missions," p. 139.

⁵"Penna. Archives;" First Series, Vol. I, p. 329.

time, to which subsequent reference will be had. All historians of the Indians tell of the conquest of the Delawares and Shawanese, rightly judging the facts from their submissive condition. The metamorphosis story is surely curious and can now awaken only a broad smile. It is unbelievable.

To quote further authority: "In the rise of the Iroquois power," says Schoolcraft, "the Delawares lost their independence and appear to have been placed under a ban. We have no date for these mutations. They were most kindly treated by William Penn in 1682." We hear of no Iroquois protests to their selling their land at that era. In mentioning the celebrated speech of Cannasatego in 1742, Schoolcraft says that orator upbraided them, speaking in a strain of mixed irony and arrogance, and told them not to reply to his words, but to leave the council in silence. "Whatever may have been the state of submission in which the Delawares felt themselves to be to the confederate power of the Iroquois, it does not appear that the right to control them had been publicly exercised prior to this time. It was, however, with this proud nation, but a word and a blow. They accordingly quitted forever the banks of their native Delaware, the scene of many memories and the resting place of the bones of their ancestors, and turned their faces toward the west."

The Iroquois coil was drawn tight around the Delawares at times. An example is furnished in the minutes of the treaty at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in June and July, 1744. The list of the attending chiefs and warriors was made out by Conrad Weiser, whose notes read in part: "The Delawares were forbid to come by the chiefs of the Six Nations; Shawanos, a chief and eight more of his countrymen; Nanticokes, ten; Conoys, eight; Saponys, late of Virginia, now settled at Shamokin, nine men;" and again this note: "All Six Nations' representatives and Conestogas that speaks the Onayuts language."⁶

This conference is celebrated for the treaty of Lancaster, and was attended by Governor Thomas of Pennsylvania, and deputies from Maryland and Virginia and from the Six Nations. Its proceedings are reported in full in the Colonial Records (Vol. IV, p. 698 et seq.), but Weiser's roster is not included there. Cannasatego was present and chief spokesman.

Schoolcraft attests that the Iroquois policy favored the English. Speaking of the ravishment of the borders after Braddock's defeat, he says, ("Indian Nations," Vol. VI, p. 219):

Foremost on these forays were the Delawares under Shingiss, whose ire appeared to have received an additional stimulus from the recent triumph of the Gallic-Indian forces. The Delawares had long felt the wrong which they had suffered in being driven from the banks of the Delaware and the Susquehanna, although it was primarily owing

⁶"Penna. Archives;" First Series, Vol. I, p. 657.

to their enemies and conquerors, the Iroquois, whose policy had ever been a word and a blow.

Heckewelder is the chief apologist for the Delawares, and fertile and lengthy in explanations. He said:

The Delawares complained that the countenance given the Iroquois by the English accounted for the great preponderance which the Iroquois at last attained. The Delawares said the English had always supported that enemy against them; that the English sanctioned the insolence of the Iroquois, telling them to make use of their authority as men and to bring the women Lenape to their senses; that the English permitted the Iroquois to degrade and insult the Lenape at certain treaties, notably that of July, 1742, in Philadelphia, when the Iroquois were called on to compel the Delawares to give up the land taken from them by the long day's walk. But for these repeated outrages they would not have taken part with the French in the memorable war of 1755. Nor perhaps, would they have done so had they not been seduced into the measure by the perfidious Iroquois. At the commencement of that war they (the Iroquois) brought the war belt, with a piece of tobacco, to the Delawares and told them: "Remember that the English have unjustly deprived you of much of your land, which they took from you by force. Your cause is just; therefore, smoke this tobacco and arise; join us with our fathers, the French, and take your revenge. You are women, it is true, but we will shorten your petticoats and though you may appear by your dress to be women, yet by your conduct and language you will convince your enemies that you are determined not tamely to suffer the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon you."⁷

After the extract above, Heckewelder's text tells of the course of the Delawares in the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars. At the very first of the work above mentioned (Introduction, pp. 25-30) he begins his apologies for the acknowledged condition of the Delaware tribes, that of women in the eyes of the other nations, and the white people who believed much too implicitly, he complains, the story told by the Mingoes of their having conquered the Lenape (Delawares) and made women of them. The whites, therefore, always acted towards the Lenape under the impression that the story was true, and refused to hear the Lenape account of the matter and "shut their ears" against them when the Lenape attempted to inform them of the real facts. This denial of common justice Heckewelder thought one of the principal complaints of the Lenape against the English and made a part of the tradition or history which they preserved for posterity. Heckewelder therefore felt a solemn call to rectify any errors and in our histories not record and thus transmit erroneous statements concerning those Aborigines from whom we received the country we now inhabit—meaning Pennsylvania—bought by Penn from the Delawares. As individuals, the Lenape called all the Iroquois Mingoes, and in documentary matter referred to them as the Five Nations, not recognizing the Tuscaroras as the sixth.

Heckewelder quotes from the "History of the Missions of the United Brethren Church Among the North American Indians," by Bishop Los-

⁷"History, Manners and Customs Indian Nations, etc;" Rev. John Heckewelder. New edition, edited Rev. Wm. C. Reichel, 1876; pp. 67-68.

kiel, his fellow-worker, and ascertained three material points therefrom; "first, the Delawares were too strong for the Iroquois and could not be conquered by them by force of arms, but were subdued by insidious means; second, that the making women of the Delawares was not an act of compulsion, but the result of their own free will and consent; third, that the whites were already in this country at the time this ceremony took place, since they were to hold one end of the great Peace Belt in their hands"—this latter a typical Indian figure of speech. The "Conquest" was one of a singular nature, effected through duplicity and intrigue at a *council fire*, and not in *battle*," is Heckewelder's summing up of the controversy, and he proves it to his own satisfaction at least. Loskiel relied on Zeisberger for his account which he wrote about 1778. It is the complete Delaware version of the conquest. They averred they were always too powerful for the Iroquois, who became convinced that if they continued their warfare their total extirpation was inevitable. It was not profitable for all the Indian nations to be at war with each other, the ruin of the whole race would be the ultimate consequence. They had considered a remedy by which this evil could be averted. "One nation shall be a woman," the Iroquois declared. "We shall place her in the midst and the other nations who make war shall be the man and live around the woman. No one shall touch the woman, and if anyone does we shall immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat this woman?' Then all the men shall fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman shall not go to war, but endeavor to keep peace with all. Therefore, if the men that surround her beat each other and war be carried on with violence, the woman shall have the right of addressing them, 'Ye men, what are ye about? Why do you beat each other? We are most afraid and consider that your wives and children must perish unless you desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves from the face of the earth?' The men shall then hear and obey the *woman*."

This was the proposition. Thereupon the Iroquois appointed the great feast with the Lenape as guests, at which the principal speech contained three points of material interest to the Delawares. The first constituted the Delaware nation to be the "woman in the case" in the following ceremonial words: "We dress you in a woman's long habit, reaching down to your feet, and adorn you with earrings," meaning they should no more take up arms. The second point was thus expressed: "We hang a calabash filled with oil and medicine upon your arm. With the oil you shall cleanse the ears of the other nations that they may attend to good and not to bad words, and with the medicine you shall heal those who are walking in foolish ways that they may return to their senses and incline their hearts to peace." The third point exhorted the Delawares to make agriculture their future employment and means of subsistence. "We deliver into your hands a plant of Indian corn and

a hoe," was the final act with undoubted signification. Each point was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum, and these belts Delaware traditions asserted had been carefully laid up and their meanings frequently repeated.

Loskiel said that whether the different accounts, the Lenape and the Iroquoian, be true or false, it was certain that the Delaware nation had ever since been looked to for preservation of peace, and entrusted with the great belt of peace and chain of friendship, which they must take care to preserve inviolate. According to the figurative explanation of the Indians, the middle of the chain of friendship was placed on the shoulder of the Delaware, the rest of the Indian nations holding one end and the Europeans the other—all of which is very good reading and we may entertain no doubt that when an Iroquois Indian heard it, if in any of their tongues they had a word meaning "balderdash," he promptly uttered it. Heckewelder admitted that the authority exercised by the Six Nations over the Lenape was so great that the missionaries to them found it necessary to obtain the approbation of the Six Nations.

However much Heckewelder explains, the facts of history are that the Pennsylvania Indians were all under the dominion of the Six Nations. The bending of Lenape knees at the command of their masters was constant for at least half a century; sometimes the command was mild, at others peremptory and not to be disobeyed. While the yoke was taken off the Lenape who had remained East, by Sir William Johnson, those who came to Western Pennsylvania cast it off and the story of the yoke and its taking off and casting off is material to our history because of the events that followed. In this connection we may have recourse again to Thomson and quote his remarks:

The peremptory command of Cannassatego the Delawares dared not disobey. They therefore immediately left the Council and soon after removed from the Forks; some to Wyomen, some to Shamokin and some to Ohio. But though they did not then dare to dispute the order, yet when the present troubles began, and they found the French ready to support them, they shewed this province, as well as the Six Nations, how they resented the treatment they met in 1742. They took a severe revenge on the province by laying waste their frontiers and paid so little regard to a menacing message which the Six Nations sent them that they in their turn threatened to turn their arms against them, and, at last forced them to acknowledge they were men; that is, a free and independent nation.⁸

Thomson had opportunity to remember the events, as he came to the Delaware region in 1741, and we are to remember that he wrote of these events some time after Braddock's defeat, as a result of which all the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were left open and unprotected. We of Pittsburgh and vicinity, mindful ever of the ultimate defeat of the French and their expulsion from the region of Western Pennsylvania and the Ohio country before they lost Canada,

⁸"Causes of Alienation," etc., Chas. Thomson, p. 47.

are as greatly unmindful of the distress and horror that came upon the Province of Pennsylvania by reason of the victory of the French on the Monongahela.

The subserviency of the Delawares is referred to in the minutes of a conference at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 15, 1757, where Little Abraham, a Mohawk sachem, spoke. He said in one part to Governor Denny:

Brothers, you desired us to open our hearts and inform you everything we knew that might give rise to the quarrel between you and our nephews and brothers. We must now inform you that in former times our forefathers conquered the Delawares and put petticoats on them. A long time after that they lived among you, our brothers, but upon some difference between you and them we thought proper to remove them, giving them lands to plant and hunt on at Wyoming and Juniata on Susquehanna. But you, covetous of land, made plantations there and spoiled their hunting grounds. Then they complained to us and we looked over those lands and found their complaints to be true. At this time they carried on a correspondence with the French by which means the French became acquainted with all the causes of complaint they had against you and as your people were daily increasing their settlements, by this means you drove them back into the arms of the French and they took the advantage of spiriting them against you by telling them: "Children, you see we have often told you how the English, your brethren, would serve you. They plant all the country and drive you back, so that in a little time you will have no land. It is not so with us. Though we build trading houses on your land we do not plant it. We have our provisions from over the great water."

The speaker advised the governor to send for the dissatisfied Senecas, the Delawares and Shawanese and treat them kindly; rather give them back some part of their fields than differ with them. The governor said he would refer such matters to Sir William Johnson, inviting as many as chose to live at Shamokin.⁹

July 21st a Council was held at Easton and Governor Denny was there and Teedyuscung, and of his company of 159 persons, of whom forty-five were men, the remainder women and children; 119 Senecas and others of the Six Nations also attended. Two were chiefs and principal men, and others of esteem.¹⁰

The Iroquois resented any attempts of the Delawares to assert authority and were prompt to call them to account. They were greatly incensed at the conduct of Teedyuscung at Easton in 1758—October 15th this conference began and it was an important one. The Six Nations chiefs said they thought it proper to have discourse about their Nephew Teedyuscung—"that you all know he gives out he is a great man and chief of ten nations. This is his constant discourse. We do not know him as such. We desire to know who made him so—perhaps you have," said Nichas, a Mohawk, to Governor Denny. "If so, tell us. It may be the French made him so." Other chiefs spoke in similar ironical strain.

Governor Denny answered that Teedyuscung had come only as a

⁹"Register of Pennsylvania," Hazard, Vol. V, p. 343. "Colonial Records," Vol. VII, p. 540.

¹⁰Cf. Hazard's "Register," Vol. V, p. 369. "Colonial Records," Vol. VIII, p. 649

messenger from ten nations; that he had never made Teedyuscung chief over them; nor did Teedyuscung in conferences assume to be; he always called the Iroquois his uncles and superiors. He was sorry that he had at any time assumed to be otherwise. The Governor disclaimed any right to make kings for them; he accepted those they appointed.¹¹

On October 26th, when the deeds were acknowledged, Teedyuscung's request for land at Shamokin and Wyoming was not granted. The Six Nations chiefs said they had no power to grant; they would carry the request home to be considered, and in the meanwhile he might live on the lands, but they desired him to return his English prisoners, which he ought to have done. "It was a shame for one who calls himself a great man to tell lies. He must now fail," they said.

Governor Bernard, of New Jersey, speaking in behalf of Teedyuscung said:

The title of king could not be given him by any English governor for we know very well there is no such person among the Indians as what we call a king, and if we call him so, we mean no more than a sachem or chief. I observe in his treaties which he has held with the governors of Pennsylvania which I have perused since our last meeting, he says he was a woman till you made a man of him by putting a tomahawk in his hand, and among these treaties, especially the last held in this town, he calls you his uncles, and professes that he is dependent on you and I do not know that anything has since happened to alter his relation to you. I therefore consider him to be still your nephew.¹²

Dr. Brinton says of the wearing of the Iroquois yoke:

The close of this condition of subjection was in 1756. In that year Sir William Johnson formally "took off the petticoat" from the Lenape, and "handed them the war belt." The year subsequent they made the public declaration that they would not acknowledge but the Senecas as their superiors.¹³

Thomson ("Alienation, etc.," p. 107) furnishes this testimony, which is the ground of Brinton's remark:

It was brought out at the conference at Lancaster, beginning in May, 1757, that Sir William Johnson had taken a great deal of pains to find out, without success, whence the differences arose between the English and the Delawares and Shawanese, that the Delawares had declared to him that they had thrown off their dependence and would no longer acknowledge any but the Senecas as their uncles and superiors.

George Croghan was foremost in these endeavors at Sir William Johnson's request and worked earnestly to accomplish some good.

Even their supremacy of the Senecas was soon rejected; continues Brinton. At the treaty of Fort Pitt in October, 1778, Captain White Eyes, when reminded by the Senecas that the petticoats were still on his people, scornfully repudiated the imputation and made good his words by leading a war party against them the following year. The Iroquois, however, released their hold unwillingly, and it was not until 1795, shortly after the treaty of Greenville, that their delegates came forward and officially

¹¹"Register of Penna.;" Hazard, Vol. V, 373 *et seq.* "Colonial Records," Vol. VIII, pp. 190-191-192.

¹²"Minutes Provincial Council;" Col. Rec. VIII, p. 193.

¹³"Lenape and Their Legends;" D. G. Brinton, p. 121.

declared that the Lenape were no longer women, but men, and the famous Chief Joseph Brant placed in their hands the war club.¹⁴

The woman story is told at some length by Gordon. ("History of Pennsylvania," pp. 47-49; Appendix Ibid, p. 609).

Neville B. Craig, speaking of the Shawanese relations with the Iroquois, says:

At a treaty at Fort Pitt in May, 1768, a little incident occurred which showed that the Shawanese also submitted very patiently to the rebukes of the Iroquois, and tended to prove that the latter well deserved the name given them by the late DeWitt Clinton—"The Romans of America."

Nymwha, a Shawanese, addressing the Pennsylvania commissioners, George Crogan, Indian agent, Alexander McKee, his deputy, and the officers present, said: "We afterwards desired you to destroy your forts as that would be the way to make all nations of Indians believe you were sincere in your friendship, and we now repeat the same argument to you again. We also desired you not to go down the river, etc."

The next day (May 4, 1768), Keyashuta (Guyasutha), a Seneca chief, (one of the Indians, by the way, who accompanied Washington from Logstown to Le Boef, in 1753, and whom the writer well recollects), arose with a copy of the treaty of 1764 with Colonel Bradstreet, in his hand, and addressing the commissioners, said: "By this treaty we agreed that you had a right to build forts and trading houses where you pleased and to travel the road of peace from the sun rising to the sun setting. At that treaty the Shawanese and Delawares were with me, and know all this well, and I am surprised that they should speak to you as they did yesterday."

Two days afterward, Kassinaughta, a Shawanese chief, arose and said: "You desired us to speak from our hearts, and tell you what gave us uneasiness of mind and we did so. We are very sorry we should have said anything to give offense; and we acknowledge we are wrong."¹⁵

The causes of the complaints of the Indians were not removed. The encroachments of settlers on the Juniata were particularly aggravating, for though the Pennsylvania authorities made efforts to keep settlers off, it was to no avail.

The expanding settlements still kept in advance of the Indian boundary line, and the demand for more room was urgently pressed by the proprietaries. In 1749 a further cession was secured from the Indians the Six Nations uniting with the Shamokin, Delaware and Shawanese occupants. This treaty was made August 22d, and while much of the territory ceded had already been preëmpted by adventurous squatters, west of the Susquehanna the line of settlements was scarcely less advanced, although the purchase line was still marked by the Blue Mountains on the east of the river.

The coming of the Delawares and the Shawanese to the region of the Upper Ohio, driven hither by the dominant Iroquois, boded ill for the white settlers of two colonies. The provincial authorities of Pennsyl-

¹⁴"Lenape and Legends," p. 121. "Hist. Indian Nations;" Heckewelder, p. 70. "Life of Zeisberger;" De Schweinitz, pp. 430, 641. "Old Westmoreland;" E. W. Hasler, pp. 74-75.

¹⁵"History of Pittsburgh;" Orig. Ed., p. 18; Edition 1917, Ed. by Geo. T. Fleming, p. 4. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 6.

vania and Virginia did not rest easy with these tribes under the French influence.

We can readily see how the region about the beautiful Ohio appealed to the red men. Here he found a land to suit every desire.

The Delawares and Shawanese remained here while all the great events of the eighteenth century were happening, and then there came a day when they knew the beautiful valley of the Upper Ohio no more. Before they left they hurled a bold defiance to their overlords.

Tired of the persecutions of the white settlers, for the pioneer was often base; tired of the arrogance and domineering of the Iroquois, their red masters, these tribes refused to leave their villages on La Belle Riviere, and stayed here and helped make history. Here their vassalage had gradually become more nominal and amounted at the end to a quiet submissiveness and an ever recurring and expedient acknowledgment of the superiority of the Iroquois. The truculent spirit of the latter gradually modified, though the overlords of the Six Nations were not withdrawn.

The Delawares and Shawanese became allies of the French nevertheless, and the French without this aid could not have stayed, for when Post withheld it the power of Onontio, as they called the French governor of Canada, went heavenward in the smoke of their burning fort—Duquesne.

Here about our homes they threw off the garments of women and wended the trail back over the Alleghenies, back to their old homes, even to the banks of the Delaware, and when they returned the trail was red with the blood of the innocent, for they spared nothing white. Their vengeance was fully glutted. This throwing off was not done in a formal manner such as by Sir William Johnson, or by a bold defiance in words, but by going on the warpath without the sanction of their masters. The meaning of the word Lenape is men, and the Delawares were themselves again. They were warriors once more and the chain of events that followed proved to the colonists of Pennsylvania how bloody their warfare could be. The spoliation of their lands by the Penns, the unlicensed intrusion of the settlers, especially into the Juniata Valley; the rum traffic and the vile acts of the traders, all combined to keep warm the boding discontent and a long smothered anger burst at last into a consuming flame.

The Iroquois, the Mingoes in the Ohio region especially, had shared in these feelings. Remonstrances to the authorities of the colony were followed by angry complaints, not alone from the Delawares but from the Iroquois, who said they had given the lands on the Juniata which were theirs by right of conquest, to their cousins, the Delawares, for hunting grounds, and by no treaty had they permitted settlements. This was long before the Revolution, but the fire of discontent never died

out, and when it leaped into an appalling fire it was indeed devastating. The Iroquois were the allies of the English because for a century or more they had hated the French who from the days of Champlain had sought to overpower them—not that they loved the English more, but that they loved the French less. The Delawares and Shawanese, driven to the debatable land on the Ohio, came within the French influence during the few years that influence was exerted, and the Shawanese at heart were ever the foes of the Americans. Though there were many Indian villages in our region, there had been vast tracts reserved by the Indians as hunting grounds, game preserves we call them now. Whenever the whites encroached upon these there was trouble.

The subjugated Delawares and Shawanese had not been kept thus by garrisons of Iroquois warriors. The fear of Iroquois vengeance was sufficient and remained sufficient until the day came when the yoke should be lifted. Parkman thinks this was about the beginning of the Revolution. It was in 1778. He states that at this time the Delawares boldly asserted their freedom and in a few years the Six Nations conferred at a public council that the Lenape were no longer women, but men. Ever since they have stood in high repute for bravery, generosity and all the savage virtues and the settlers on the frontier have often found to their cost that the "women" of the Iroquois have been transformed into a race of formidable warriors. At the present day, the small remnant are settled beyond the Mississippi among the brave marauders of the West. Parkman wrote in 1851. There are still a few Delawares on reservations. The fiercer Shawanese have come nearer extermination and no one grieves thereat. It was White Eyes who threw off the ever-galling fetters of the Iroquois, the allies of the English, who considering the Delawares bound to operate with them, commanded their vassals to be in readiness. "I shall do as I please," said White Eyes. "I wear no petticoat as you falsely pretend. I am no woman, but a man, and you shall find me to act as such."

With the coming of the white man into the Ohio country events developed with startling abruptness and left a memory of inexpressible horror. The history of Pittsburgh is the history of Western Pennsylvania and the opening of the West.

The English and German settlers of Pennsylvania wanted land for homes and farms. They regarded all Indians as savages; relentless enemies of the white race. The keen-sighted red man was not alone keen in vision but far reaching in his look ahead. He soon saw in the constant increase of the white settlers the loss of his home country, his hunting grounds and the graves of his ancestors. He distrusted the white man as he knew him, for he found him typified mainly in the base trader or his baser hireling. The Indian looked to the French for friendship and aid. He got both. The French made no settlements

in the Ohio Valley. They were traders, soldiers, hunters and missionaries. They intermarried with the Indians and lived among them. They needed the Indians as allies against the English. They understood Indian nature; they were kind, politic, and liberal. They were vastly different from the Ulstermen of Pennsylvania and Virginia, who made no secret of their adherence to the dictum that the only good Indian possible was one from whom his breath had departed never to come back. The Indian could most truthfully say to the Scotch-Irish settler: "White man, there is an eternal war between thee and me!" This class of settlers was the aggressive, forceful, fighting stock; the Quaker was a non-combatant; the Germans who had come by thousands into Penn's Colony lacked initiative and the vim, energy and cool courage of their Ulster neighbors. They did not show the revengeful spirit, or the dogged, resolute, untiring determination to end the menace of the red race even to extermination. As the settlers increased and the years wore on, this determination became more fixed, and with each new outrage the hatred for the Indian grew stronger. Why not? we may ask. To quote Roosevelt:

"Their silence, their cunning and stealth, their terrible prowess, make it no figure of speech to call them the tigers of the human race. Tireless, careless of all hardships, they came silently out of the unknown forests, robbed and murdered, and then disappeared again into the fathomless depths of the woods. Wrapped in the mantle of the unknown, appealing by their craft, their ferocity, their fiendish cruelty, they seemed to the white settlers, devils, not men."¹⁶

The Pennsylvania Indians knew they were driven to the West by the demand of the Ulstermen of the Province. They recognized their enemies. They knew the land-hungry Penns sold to the settlers the land they had gained by fraud and had held by the power of the Iroquoian master-hand which raised in menacing anger towards the helpless vassals pointed to the trail across the Endless Mountains.

Driven from their first assignments of their masters they spread their towns over Western Pennsylvania. With Logstown arose Saucunk (Beaver), Kushkusking (New Castle), Kittanning, Venango and some smaller towns—Shannopin's Town, Aliquippa's Town, and others of frequent mention in the history of Western Pennsylvania and the West.

Not all were Delaware towns, however, for the Shawanese came, too. The wandering traders, steeped in vice, whose one great commodity was rum, followed in the footsteps of the retreating tribesmen. Rum and land had been the primal causes of the emigration of these tribes. Rum and land continued causes, but the contest for the land lay between white races, but of a different blood.

¹⁶"Winning of the West;" Theodore Roosevelt, Part I, pp. 109-110.

The French traders came, too, and then in the debatable land about the Ohio the great struggle commenced between the Anglo-Saxon—the Teuton, one may say, and the Celt. In the eighteenth century the beautiful Ohio river and its glorious country was the prize. The Anglo-Saxon won, else we may not have been here.

CHAPTER VIII.

Our Indian Nomenclature.

Ye say their cone-like cabins
That clustered o'er the vale
Have fled away like withered leaves
Before the autumn gale;
But their memory liveth on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore,
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore.

Old Massachusetts wears it
Upon her lordly crown,
And broad Ohio bears it
Amid his young renown.

—MRS. SIGOURNEY.

One enduring impress left upon Pennsylvania by the Indians and undoubtedly the most conspicuous is that made by their names of places, and especially of flowing waters. The reason is plain. They are not only beautiful, but sensible and expressive. True, there are some corruptions. The originals retain their beauty, the changed forms are less pleasing. It is a striking remark of Louis H. Morgan ("Skenandoah") in his dissertation on the language of the Iroquois, that through all generations that language will be spoken in our geographical terms. This remark is particularly applicable to Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Sigourney has most beautifully expressed the fact in one of her few poems that are still readable, "Indian Names." Many such terms of designation applied geographically, have lapsed, others have been anglicized and distorted; few have been retained in their original forms. The Seneca name for the Forks of the Ohio, De-un-da-ga, expressing only the idea of forks, is one that did not endure, while the distinctly Delaware names, Monongahela and Youghiogheny, remain as sensible and expressive as when first applied. The whole subject of Indian names in our geographical and Pittsburgh street designations is a wide one, and it is evident from the mention of each that there can be evoked more or less history of varying import. These phases of history can be made to include sketches of the noted and notorious Indian characters who colored this history and the narration of events that happened at many localities. An instance of the first is Shingiss; the second. Kittanning.

The Indian was the child of the forest, a child of nature. He never coined a name that did not have a sensible and fitting meaning. He did not apply names of animals singly in his geographical designations, or his tribal name, or the names of his chiefs. The whites did that. They took away the name Onondaga from the seat of the great council house of

the Six Nations, most worthy of preservation from its historic associations, and applied it to the lake and New York county that we know and dubbed the town that now is nearest the ancient site of the council, Syracuse, the name of a Greek colony in Roman Sicily, a name that means nothing to America. So, too, Rome and Utica in New York, and hundreds of names all over the land from the antiquity of defunct nations.

The Indian would never designate a town Buffalo, Red Oak, Paw Paw, Seneca or Kilbuck, neither would he give us Aliquippa's Cross Roads, or Cornplanter's Corners. He had no *polises*, burgs or villes. He knew no language but his own or an allied one, with the exception of some few French and English words—and these mostly vile ones. When he gave a place a name it was always significant and often entrancing in euphony. It was deserving also.

We have had handed down to us nevertheless many geographical names purely Indian—in this region mainly from the Delaware tongue, some Iroquoian on account of the preponderance of the Senecas hereabouts. We have become so accustomed to some names that we never consider their origin.

We have in the Indian names of our local rivers examples of euphony and changing from the Greek to the Latin adjective derivative we may say mellifluous; sweetly flowing—hence smooth. We have our best instance of this in the word Ohio. Aliquippa is equally as smooth, and the Iroquois tribal names Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga and Tuscarora appeal. They are all smooth and resonant. Mohawk is not. Contrary instances are Kittanning; Shawanese, contracted to Shawnee, and Shingiss, and they are not so bad as some recent creations for street designations. Many Indian names that have come down are those given individuals by white men, notably Kill-buck, which bears its own interpretation. White Eyes, Captain Pipe and the White Mingo. Of these we have Kilbuck prominent in a street and a township in Allegheny county. It may be set down as a fact that Indian names are always full of expression and replete with common-sense interpretations. Thus Ohio is the beautiful river; La Belle Riviere, the French translated and designated it; Monongahela, the river with the falling in banks; Connoquenessing, a long, straight course; Youghiogheny, a stream running a contrary or crooked course; all these meanings we know are characteristic and descriptive. The well-known Indian term, Saukunk, described the town "at the mouth," because its location was at the mouth of the Big Beaver, which name has been translated by the French, Grand Castor. Most of our Indian names in Pennsylvania are of Iroquois origin. We have them in our Pittsburgh streets. Susquehanna, Tioga, etc. We have Delaware names in Kittanning and Sewickley, meaning "at the main mountain stream," and the "place of sweet water trees," respectively.

Spellings of Indian names vary greatly. It is seldom that two authors spell alike. For instance, Parkman always calls them the Shawanoes. Charles A. Hanna gives twenty-one names for this tribe, mainly variations. The French called them the Chaouanons. Our common form is Shawnee. So, too, the Delawares, which suggests itself as a distinctive English term, readily associated with the river on which they once dwelt. In history the English designation has obtained preference and we seldom read of the Lenape otherwise designated. Running over the voluminous list of Pittsburgh street names the impress of the Indians on our history is apparent. The Indian could not spell. He had no written language unless we except sign words exemplified in the rude sketches on the rocks that have been found, the best known now those in the Ohio river near Smith's Ferry, once visible at low water, but now submerged by reason of raising the water in the pools made by the slackwater system of dams and locks.

The early writers hence attempted to spell Indian names phonetically and made queer jumbles. The French were distorters of these names and with the Swedish, Dutch and English forms, there is little wonder antiquarians are puzzled, and there has been built up many an argument upon similarity of Indian words in the various tongues and dialects. Heckewelder, a Delaware, one may say, by adoption, is the most ingenious of this class of writers.

In the commemorating names bestowed upon Pittsburgh streets and some in the larger surrounding towns, there will be found those of Indian nations, tribes, sachems, warriors, localities and other terms. Names of individuals have survived whose deeds make pages of history. Once we shrank in horror from the recital of their shocking records.

In the same manner as in the bestowal of white race commemoration, that of Indian nomenclature as applied to our streets has been haphazard, regardless alike of contiguity or logical connection, and in some instances the commemoration has been unwise, in that it has made to endure the base and the detestable. Names that once caused terror have been perpetuated in our city. Notable instances are Shingiss, Chartiers, Pontiac and Osceola, the latter without local significance and wholly from the standpoint of euphony. The name charms from its richness of vowel sounds. Pontiac and Shingiss made bloody history here. The admiration that attaches to these names simply as names is not an admiration to be commended.

In the list of street names, instances of individual commemoration may be cited in Aliquippa, Hiawatha, Kilbuck, Osceola, Pontiac, Shingiss and Tecumseh—of these, three only, concerned in our local history. Nations and tribes are called to mind in Catawba, Cherokee, Chippewa, Comanche, Dakota, Delaware, Erie, Huron, Iroquois, Miami, Mingo, Mohawk, Modoc, Oneida, Natchez, Ottawa, Pawnee, Seneca, Sioux,

Shawnee, Susquehanna, Tuscarora, Winnebago and Wyandot; localities are brought in view by Itasca, Iowa, Juniata, Kanawha, Kearsarge, Kenesaw, Lehigh, Niagara, Ontario, Ossipee, Penobscot, Pocussett, Sandusky, Sciota, Shamokin, Wichita, and Wyoming; other Indian terms in our streets are Sachem, Tomahawk and Wampum.

Undoubtedly some of these names, especially the geographical ones, have been applied through fancy. It is the old story of the rose and its perfume. Among these are some names that are distinctively family; others both family and tribal; of these latter Dakota and Sioux, Natchez, Huron, Cherokee. In the application of the names to the various streets contiguity of location has never been considered; Natchez street, for instance, is on Mt. Washington; Cherokee street on Herron Hill; Oneida street on Duquesne Heights, and Seneca in the Soho district, several miles away from Oneida. Natchez street's name, however, came from the Mississippi town, once a famous place and well known to Pittsburgh steamboatmen.

It needs no argument to prove that a system that places all Indian names in one section of the city would be a practical and sensible system—a clue always to the location of a street bearing an Indian name. But these names having come singly and at varying periods, it is unwise now to change them; such changing would become complex. The time and opportunity for it have passed.

As one instance how one geographical term evokes no interest from exceedingly great familiarity, we may take "Erie," long applied to an obscure and unimportant street on the North Side of Pittsburgh, once the city of Allegheny. Erie is one of our best known Indian commemoratives and one of smoothest and prettiest. Few think of its origin. Fewer know its history, and that it was the name of an ancient tribe, bestowed on neighboring lake and city, hence not familiar. The Eries passed away more than two centuries ago. Most antiquarians think they were akin to the Iroquois. They were properly of the Wyandot or Huron—Iroquois family. These with the Andastes, although of like blood, were nevertheless exterminated by the Iroquois proper or the Confederacy of the Five Nations.¹ We find the name Wyandot spelled also Wyandott and Wyandotte, the former the accepted spelling, but spelled Wyandotte in our street name. The Hurons and Wyandots are the same tribe. It was in 1649 that the Iroquois subdued and dispersed them in the Huron country. However, they rallied again and were never positively conquered. It is claimed for this tribe that down to the end of the eighteenth century they exercised sovereignty over the Ohio country.

Contradistinguished from the Iroquois, there is to be noted the

¹"Indian Geographical Names;" Russell Errett, in "Magazine of Western History;" Vol. II, No. 3 (Sept., 1885), p. 236.

great Algonquin family comprising twenty-one tribes that figure in the colonial history of America, including the Indians of New England, and of those that ranged about Fort Pitt and gathered there at times, the Mohicans, Delawares (Lenape), Shawanese, Miamis or Twightnees, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies and Ottawas, and Chippewas.

Of the Southern Indian families, the Cherokees, who inhabited the mountainous regions of Tennessee, Georgia, North and South Carolina, most frequently got as far north as the Ohio. These and the Catawbias were usually at war with the more northern tribes, especially the Iroquois. The tribes east of the Mississippi only have been spoken of. Those of the great plains were a distinctive family. Chief among them the Dakotas or Sioux, with whom our history has nothing to do. The Indian of the plains was as distinct from the Indian of the woods as the free negro of the North was from the slave of the cottonfields. These tribal names have been applied locally simply as designations, yet they live and tell much.

Erie is perhaps the best known and most common of our geographical names. The tribe that bore this name ranged along the southern border of that lake, their habitat extending into Northern Pennsylvania. They were also known as Erigas, and the French called them the Cat tribe.

Old French maps, notably De l'Isle's map of Louisiana, 1718; Van Keulen's map of New France, 1720, and Bellin's map of Louisiana, 1744, mark the region of the Eries, as above noted, the earlier maps referring to them as the "Nation du Chat," and all three as "Detruite," or destroyed, the two latter adding "by the Iroquois." This on the face of the map in French.

We have some French accounts of the Eries. As early as 1615 they were visited by Etienne Brule, Champlain's interpreter; at least the claim is made for him in French histories. The Jesuits, who generally worked among all the lake tribes, had no mission among the Eries. Their history is of a shadowy nature and authorities differ, some claiming the Eries were of Algonquin birth; others suggesting they were identical with the Shawanese, whose appearances and disappearances is the one great puzzle in the history of North American Indians. Descriptions agree that the Eries were a large tribe. Some assign them twenty-eight villages with twelve large towns or forts and not less in number than 12,000. The French accounts say they were fierce warriors who used poisoned arrows and were long a terror to the neighboring Iroquois. The nearest approach to the date of their utter defeat by the Iroquois is 1654, and their history, brief as it is, ends then, except for the very brief notes on the French maps. Of a truth the Eries vanished. Charles McKnight, in his lifetime a well known Pittsburgh historian and newspaper publisher, in his book, "Our Western Border," has a fanciful account of the wiping out of this tribe, but he is cautious about ascribing

the sources of his information. Samuel G. Drake, one of the best historians of the Indians, has but brief mention of the Eries. He says: "Among the many tribes or nations wholly or partly destroyed were the Eries, a powerful tribe on the southern shore of the great lake, whose name they bore. In 1653 they were entirely extirpated and no remnant of them has since been heard of in existence." He refers to Charlevoix, the great historian of "New France," in corroboration. Parkman, in the opening chapter of "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," gives much of tribal history. He states that the remnant of the Eries were incorporated with the conquerors or with other tribes. Also that the Iroquois traditions obtained by him from a Cayuga chief do not agree with the Jesuit narratives. Parkman is not satisfied that the Eries were of the Iroquois family, and thinks it possible they were identical with the Shawanese. He, too, refers to Charlevoix. The Andastes' ruin came next in order, but these brave people fought their inexorable foemen for upwards of twenty years. Their end came in 1672, and their history is as little known as the Eries.

In similar manner a chapter could be written of each individual commemoration in Pittsburgh street names—a most notable instance is Shingiss, but that will find place in this volume in proper chronological order with contemporary mention of events. So, too, GUYASUTHA, though he has no street commemoration, his name suggests Pontiac, and that one's history comes in view. Names of localities likewise commemorated have their places in our local history; Shamokin, Wyoming, Sandusky and Juniata in their mention, each evoke thrilling stories, sad stories of war, desolation and waste of human blood—tales of terror that are forgotten by the dwellers and the wayfarers on the streets that carry these historic names, merely as names we may take it. Those responsible for the bestowal of street names have been too often heedless of the historical phases of such designations. Some commemoration has been attempted but many meaningless and absurd terms have been given. In the laying out of the city in 1784 special attention was given to historical commemoration. In consequence a few original names have been retained; Penn, Liberty, Wood, Smithfield and Grant streets, for instance, but most of the original names were changed to numerical ones. This fact will appear in the chapter on the plotting of the town of Pittsburgh in 1784. To follow further the topic of this chapter one may have recourse to Heckewelder and study his etymology as far as applicable to local geographical names. Some annotated extracts from his book, "Names, etc.," are:²

"PITTSBURGH—The Delawares called the site of this city after its occu-

²Names which the Lenni-Lenape gave to the rivers, streams and localities within the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, with their significations, prepared for the transactions of the Moravian Historical Society from a manuscript of John Heckewelder, by Wm. C. Reichel (1872), p. 38, et al.

pation by the French, *Menach-sink*, which signifies 'where there is a fence or an enclosure.' *Menachk* is an enclosed spot of ground; a place secure against entrance, hence equivalent to a fortification."

Heckewelder's editor quotes from Zeisberger's Dictionary of the Delaware Dialects: "*Me-nachk*, a fence; a fort; *Me-nach-gink*, in the fence; *Me-nach-gak*, a fence rail."

The suffix "sink," is common in the Delaware tongue, most familiar in Minnisink, the name signifying "where there are Minsies," that is, the home or country of the Minsies. The settlement of the Minnisink region by the whites prior to the purchase of the Indian claim (ostensibly accomplished by one and a half day's walk in the autumn of 1737), was one of the grievances that alienated the Delawares from the English and provoked the war of 1755. In his treatise on Delaware names, Heckewelder makes this slight mention (See *Ibid*, p. 33). Conoquenessing is a well known local name, according to Heckewelder, a corruption from *Gunachquenesink*, and meaning "for a long ways straight."

"MONONGAHELA—Corrupted from *Menaungehilla*, a word implying high banks or bluffs breaking off and falling down at places." There are various spellings of this word; the form *Monongalia* used in a county name in West Virginia, and *Mon-a-ga-hail* vulgarly. Albert Gallatin tried to dissect the Delaware form *Me-nan-ge-hilla*, but could not find the primitive words.

"YOUGHIOGHENY—A branch of the Monongahela, from *Juh-wiah-hanne*, a stream flowing a contrary direction or in a circuitous course." Among our common geographical names this bears the distinction of having the most distorted of any spellings—*Yoxiogany*, for one instance.³

ALLEGHENY—According to Heckewelder, is a name corrupted from *Alligewi*, the ancient tribe that the Delaware traditions declare once dwelt along the river's bank. The word can have been evolved from the Delaware term *Alligewinink*, signifying all the country west of the Allegheny Mountains drained by the tributaries of the Ohio, and their numerous sources. The Shawanese called this river *Palawu-the-piki*. The French applied the appellation *La Belle Riviere* to this river and subsequently to the Ohio, regarding the Allegheny as not a tributary, but the main stream of the great river of the *Alligewinink*. The Delawares called it *Kit-hanne*, it being the same descriptive appellation by which they had designated the great river from which they took their English tribal name. To the Delawares the term meant that the river was the main stream in the region of country through which it ran. English traders on the river as early as 1731 reported that there dwelt on the Kittanning river mostly Delawares, fifty families, one hundred men with their chief, *Ky-ken-hammo*. *Kit-hanne* is a corruption of the Minsi name *Gicht-hanne*; the other Delawares called the Delaware river *Lenape-wihittuck*.

³"Indian Geographical Names;" Mag. West. History, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 244.

Beaver river is literally a translation from the Delaware *Amockwi-sipu*—or *Amochk-hanne*, the beaver stream. Other Indians called it *Kaskaskie-sipu*, from that Indian town which has been variously spelled. Weiser's spelling is given above and it is followed by Post and Howell, the cartographer. Zeisberger gives *a-mochk* as the Delaware word for beaver. Those of the Delawares, when they took the trail to the West, who did not locate at Kittanning, located along the Big Beaver and the Mahoning, and on the latter stream their villages extended to a salt spring near the site of Youngstown, Ohio. The Wyandots allowed the Delawares to roam the country as far as Sandusky and south to the Hocking region. Comparatively few located at Kittanning, judging from the number of lodge poles the Delawares set up in the Beaver region. Three noted chiefs settled there, *Amockwi* or "the Beaver," sometimes referred to as "King Beaver," Shingiss and Pisquetomen. These were brothers and all have their place in Pittsburgh's Indian history. The chief Delaware town on the Ohio arose at the mouth of the Big Beaver and was called *Saucon*, *Saucunk* or *Saukunk*, and otherwise spelled. Kalm, the Swedish botanist and traveler, in his map of the country he traveled over, marks this town "Shingoe's-town." The French called it *Chiniqué*. Heckewelder defines *Saucon* as a place where a smaller stream empties into a larger one. It will appear that the outlet of the Big Beaver was a point well known to the Ohio Indians and was a place of rendezvous during the French wars. It was on the line of an Indian thoroughfare and a point of observation, consequently the scene of frequent contests and bloodshed and the best known of the many *Saucons*. It was a place of resort for travelers and traders and on its site rose Fort McIntosh, and later the town of Beaver.

The general idea of a stream of flowing water in common use among the Algonquins was expressed by the term *sipu*, but in a mountainous country, such as the Alleghenies, this term did not sufficiently describe a rapid stream roaring down a gorge, or flowing with great swiftness, hence the term *hanne* with that significance.

The Big Beaver had other names. It has been designated *Amockwi-sipu*, *Kas-kas-ki-sipu*, and *Kush-kush-ky*. The Iroquois called it *On-gui-ar-ha*. Weiser in his Journal in 1748 mentions ten warriors who came there by water from Niagara, or the "river of the neutrals" and these men caused him much uneasiness. The French term *Chiniqué* has been handed down Shenango in Pennsylvania and Chenango in New York; and it is claimed that this is the original in the Tuscarora tongue for "beautiful, flowing water," and that the French adapted it to their form. Other well known geographical terms could be likewise analyzed—*Kis-kim-inetas* and *Cone-maugh* among them.

JUNIATA—Is one of our best known and sweetest sounding Indian names. The Delawares said *Juchniada*, and in Pennsylvania Council minutes various spellings occur—*Scokooniady* an odd one. Famous the river—renowned in history and song.

LOYALHANNA—Is a familiar name in Pittsburgh history, one of the branches of the Kiskiminetas. Loyalhanna is a corruption from *Lawell-hanne*—"the middle stream." The suffix, *hanne*, is found also in such terms as Neshannock and Rappahannock, in the sense of a flowing stream, these signifying respectively "two adjoining streams" and "a stream with an ebb and flow." The name Loyalhanna and the fort on the stream at Ligonier find frequent mention in Pittsburgh colonial history.

MAHONING—"Where there is a lick," or "at the lick," is a Delaware term, and Slippery Rock, a branch of the Big Beaver, owes its English name to the literal translation of a long Delaware word with that significance. So, too, "Turtle Creek," (emptying into the Monongahela at Braddock), was translated literally. Celebrated in Braddock's battlefield and in subsequent history, this stream shares with Bushy Run, its tributary, the fame of a crisis in the affairs in Western Pennsylvania during the French regime. General John Forbes bivouacked his army on the banks of Turtle creek November 24, 1758, the night before he marched to the Forks of the Ohio and found Fort Duquesne evacuated.

A good instance of Indian naming occurs in William Penn's name *Onas*, which is a phonetic alteration of *Wonach*, literally a tip or extremity of anything. The Indians had been shown a feather to explain Penn's family name, probably a quill pen, and this a tail feather, gave them the translation *Wonach*, the guttural "ch" having been softened by the English to approach a degree of sibulancy which changed the term to *Onas*; hence "Onas" and "Brother Onas" through pages of Pennsylvania's Indian history.



CHAPTER IX.

The Wilderness Trail and the Wilderness Traders.

Our history is progressing. The first comers to the region of our homes who have left us descriptions of it, tell of the woodland wilderness and its savage inhabitants. Anon, others found many traces of human beings of a long past age—prehistoric man of the science of archæology. In time the wonderful relics of such beings incited industrious explorers and students who strove to penetrate the veil that ages has wrapped about the first inhabitants of the continent. These explorers wrote also, describing their discoveries, and in the course of a century their deductions and conjectures have grown into an extensive bibliography, ethnological and archæological in matter, wide in scope, exhaustive in treatment and comparison, and sometimes deeply technical. All of which is instructive and interesting, but not history. The stirring history of our region began with the coming of the white man—who, why and where, more or less uncertain. The first white man was undoubtedly a trader in Indian goods, if we except an explorer and his company, such as La Salle. The white trader came back again and again, and his success induced others to take upon them the hazards of the wilderness trail and those among the habitations of savages for the sake of gain, and in a few years the trader and his train was an accepted feature of the wilderness trade. The Pennsylvania Indians, driven from east of and along the Susquehanna, had gradually settled along the Allegheny and the Ohio and their tributaries in Western Pennsylvania; hence the Pennsylvania traders who dealt with these tribes naturally followed them. There was another potent cause of this than the tyranny of the Iroquois. With the encroachments of the settlers, their clearings more numerous, and pushing westward, game became scarce; not only game used for food, but more especially the fur-bearing animals. The Indians would have taken the westward trail in any event as a matter of self preservation in their savage tribal state, and as a matter of business, for with two European nations claiming the vast area trans-Allegheny, and the traders of these antagonistic and frequently warring nations circulating among the Western Indians, clashes naturally arose, gradually increasing in virulence and becoming more frequent and leading eventually to war. There arose keen rivalry between these French and English traders affecting barter, for such was the manner of trading, and each class strove earnestly for the good will of their savage customers and the retention of their patronage. In course of a few years after the traders came, storehouses became necessary, for it was a long trail to bases of supply, and, except where

such rivers as the Ohio and Allegheny were available as waterways, a poor road. With the storehouse came the fort for protection. Stocks accumulated in the Indian country to such an extent that when Pontiac struck, Indian goods valued at many thousand pounds were confiscated or destroyed.

It is always to be remembered that the beginning of Pittsburgh's history as a place is in the account of the small fort attempted by Ensign Ward, a subordinate of Washington, at our Point in 1754, and that the French checkmated this attempt and built their fort instead. Ward's fort was to have been a traders' fort. With the destruction of the French fort, Duquesne, and the building of Fort Pitt by the English, a traders' town of rude log cabins arose around it, subsequently destroyed during Pontiac's War and rebuilt much as before. So trade and traders inadvertently laid the foundations of a great city, frail indeed at the beginning, and ere the foundations had fairly settled there came the baptism of blood always attendant upon anything born of war. The fort was rightly located, for in the words of Washington, it had "the absolute command of both rivers." Traders in Indian goods came into the region about the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers as early as 1730—at least, in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania that is the earliest date under which mention of them is found. The region is referred to by the traders in their accounts as "the Ohio" and "On Allegheny;" and the term "Forks of the Ohio," after the confluence literally came to be a well known point, was always used to describe the ground comprising the lower part or peninsula of Pittsburgh. The headwaters of the Ohio had in the course of a score of years become the center of trading operations in the upper Ohio country. The French, from Canada, had an easy waterway via the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie, thence by a few portages either from Presque Isle, via what is now called French creek, to the Allegheny at Venango, its mouth, or via Lake Chautauqua and thence to the Allegheny. Thus the French traders in point of carriage were at a greater advantage than their English competitors who dragged their goods in packsaddles in long trains of horses proceeding in single file and requiring a number of attendants. The story of the wilderness trader is a story of a pioneer who passed with the Indians from our region. It is a story of daring and suffering, of hardihood and energy. Some of the story's pages are stained with dishonor; many are crimson dyed. The trader was most often an explorer. Necessarily he was a man of some education in order to keep his accounts; he wrote of his travels and adventures; he described the geographical features of his field of activities, the availability of the various water routes for transportation; the best roads he found; the condition and environments of the Indians, and always of their affiliations to the French or English cause and the

efforts and designs of the enemy. Hence many journals written and maps made by the early English traders in the Western Country that have been retained, are most valuable historical matter to this day, priceless in money value and carefully guarded.

It is to such sources we must seek recourse in writing the first history of Pittsburgh and its environs. Endeavors long extended have been made by historians of our region in their researches to ascertain who indeed was the first white man to set foot on any part of Western Pennsylvania. Hanna has been one of the most indefatigable. In his researches he found acceptable proofs that the first white men to reach the Ohio Valley were twelve New York traders led by Arnold Viele in 1692. Viele was an interpreter, and had had various adventures in the wilderness, having been captured and held a prisoner by the French in 1687. Many references to Viele can be found in the early records of New York. He was an Albany trader, because he hailed from that Dutch settlement which was the base of supplies for the northern trade, in distinction from the Pennsylvania traders from Paxtang and Conestoga on the Susquehanna and also from Shamokin and Wyoming. Viele had been on a trading expedition to Michillimackinac when captured. In 1692 Governor Fletcher of New York sent him and some other Christians to accompany a small band of Shawanese to their homes in the West. Viele remained among these Indians for fifteen months, but his companions returned to Albany. While on this tour of duty, Viele is presumed to have explored the country between the Susquehanna and the Ohio, and part of the Ohio Valley. No credit is assigned to La Salle in this relation, for there is no documentary evidence that he descended any tributary of the Ohio but the Wabash. La Salle's explorations will find mention in the chapter relating to French claims to the debatable land beyond the Alleghenies.

There is no doubt that Viele led a band of Shawanese back from the Ohio region to the Minnisink Flats in Northeastern Pennsylvania in 1694, and that he was with them from the time he reached their country in the West in the fall of 1682. To endeavor to trace Viele further among the nomadic Shawanese seems futile, but that he became familiar with the region of the Upper Ohio is indisputable. It was most essential that any woodsman know the region through which he traveled and where he sojourned. The long journals of Gist, Croghan, Washington, Hutchins and De Lery, describing the country through which they passed, are sufficient evidence that due notice was taken of geographical details and topographical features. These are the well known journals—others could be cited in corroboration.

Viele's route from Albany on his way west was by way of Esopus on the Hudson to the Minnisink region of Pennsylvania, thence through the Wyoming Valley and along the west branch of the Susquehanna as

far as he could go by water; thence overland to the headwaters of the Allegheny and on down to the Forks of the Ohio and thence down the main stream. The Shawanese were known to have had habitations between the Cumberland and the Ohio as late as 1684. The Shawanese came back to Pennsylvania, for there are Pennsylvania records in 1732 that the Five Nations (Iroquois) had told the Shawanese "to look back towards Ohio, the place from whence you came."¹

A French attestation of Viele's presence in the Ohio country is cited by Hanna, in addition to the published and manuscript records of New York State. This was a letter written by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, founder of the French colony of Louisiana, to the French minister, dated Rochelle, France, August 30, 1699, in which Iberville says: "I am well aware that some men, twelve in number, and some Maheingans, who are savages whom we call Loups, started some seven years ago to ascend the River Andaste, in the Province of Pennsylvania, as far as the River Ohio, which is said to join the Oabache, emptying together into the Mississippi. This is the opinion given by all the Frenchmen who have traveled in these quarters. To their opinion I give no credence, I never having been able to approach the Ohio enough to know this river which the savages call a very beautiful one, and where the Sonnontouans go often hunting."²

The Loups were the Delawares and the Sonnontouans, Senecas, in French designations. The Andaste was the Susquehanna. Iberville was referring to a map of the Mississippi sent him by the minister. This letter is in a manner informative of the direction Viele traveled after leaving the Minnisink region.

Our Pittsburgh historian, William M. Darlington, tells of some later voyagers of white blood. He says: "By 1728-29 the Shawanese were settled along the Allegheny, to which region they were drawn chiefly by the measures adopted by the Marquis Vaudreuil in 1724. The way being now open, in 1729 M. de Lery, chief engineer in Canada, with a detachment of troops, crossed from Lake Erie to Chautauqua Lake and to Conewango creek and the Allegheny river, descending it and the Ohio. They made a careful topographical survey of the course of the rivers with observations of the latitude and distances as far as the Great Miami."³

The fort at Niagara on the Lake had been reconstructed by the French with the consent of the Iroquois. It had been abandoned by the French in 1688. Its reconstruction made the way to the Ohio open. The new fort was built by De Lery. On this expedition he went below the mouth of the Miami, and records of his voyage, although meager, are extant. Hanna quotes these and illustrates with a reproduction

¹"Penna. Archives;" First Series, Vol. I, p. 329.

²"Wilderness Trail;" Hanna, Vol. II, p. 124.

³"Gist's Journals;" Introductory Memoir; p. 27.

of Bellin's map of Louisiana, published in 1744 and preserved in Charlevoix's "History of New France."⁴

Still we are without definite history of our region other than that some white men passed the site of Pittsburgh, and other white men explored the Ohio. It was left for halfbreeds and traders to make our first history. That good old Pennsylvania historian, Isaac D. Rupp, tells of the "early settlements west of the Alleghenies—on the headwaters of the Ohio;" we may read him with interest on this point—(indeed at any point). He says:

Western Pennsylvania was untrodden by the foot of the white man before the year 1700. As early as 1715 and 1720 an occasional trader would venture west of the Allegheny mountain, and of these the first was James LeTort, who resided in 1700 east of Susquehanna, but took up his residence west of it, at LeTort Spring, Carlisle, in 1720. Peter Cheaver, John Evans, Henry DeVoy, Owen Nicholson, Alex. Magenty, Patrick Burns, George Hutchinson, all of Cumberland county; Barnaby Currin, John McQuire, a Mr. Frazier, the latter of whom had at an early day a trading house at Venango, but afterwards at the Monongahela, at the mouth of Turtle creek, were all traders among the Indians. But no attempts had been made by the whites at settlements in the region now occupied by the several counties west of the Alleghenies before 1748, when the Ohio Company was formed. This company sent out the undaunted Christopher Gist, in 1750, to explore the country and make a report.⁵

Gist's report is to be found in his Journal of 1750, "For the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie, Governor and Commander of Virginia," together with his instructions given by the Committee of the Ohio Company.⁶

Gist crossed the Allegheny on this journey about two miles above the "Forks," or our "Point," and proceeding on foot across the flat country on the north side of the Allegheny, went down the Ohio river to a point below the Big Beaver and thence to the Muskingum country. He fell in with "Barney Curran," a trader for the Ohio Company, below the mouth of the Big Beaver, and they continued together to the Muskingum. Both Curran and McQuire (McGuire) accompanied Washington and Gist on their mission to the French forts in 1753. Gist on his trip in 1750 did not get nearer the "Point" than the present Thirty-second street in Pittsburgh, for he records setting his compass there at Shannopin's town, a Delaware village on that site. Gist himself was the first permanent settler within the limits of Fayette county, Pennsylvania, made on a tract of land on which the town of Mount Braddock stands, the tract known by the same name. This town is on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad between Connellsville and Uniontown. In the colonial history the tract is referred to always as Gist's plantation, and located "West of the Youghiogheny River." Gist induced eleven

⁴Q. v. Also "The Wilderness Trail;" Hanna, Vol. II, pp. 87-126, and authorities there quoted.

⁵"History of Western Pennsylvania and the West," by a "Gentleman of the Bar" (I. D. Rupp), p. 40.

⁶"Christopher Gist's Journals;" Darlington, p. 31, *et seq.*

families to settle around him on lands presumed to have been within the Ohio Company's grant.

Rupp, writing in 1846, his history published that year in Pittsburgh and Harrisburg simultaneously, had not the information concerning De Lery's expedition, and did not go into any extended research, for it was always believed that the traders broke the way into the Indian country. It is plain also that Rupp had no knowledge of Arnold Viele, though he might have secured it. The traders he lists as frequenters of the Allegheny region were all noted men in the history of the Pennsylvania traders, and several enumerated by him have frequent mention in the State's Archives and Colonial Records. Le Tort and Frazier (also found spelled Fraser) are historical characters in the history of the West of our colonial years. Hanna has traced the records of all the Pennsylvania traders and located the documents and books wherein each has mention. From his researches it appears that John Evans was taken by French Indians in 1752, "beyond the Ohio," and sent to France. He was one of five English prisoners captured at the Pickawillany fort on the Miami, three others, most likely George Henry, James Devoy and Owen Nicholson. These prisoners were released by the intervention of the English ambassador to France and eventually reached their homes in Cumberland county, almost penniless, and on petition to the Pennsylvania Assembly were given recompense to the amount of sixteen pounds each. Alexander McGinty, or Magenty, as Rupp has it in his "History of Western Pennsylvania" and in the "History of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania," was also a noted trader, traveling with his pack-train into Kentucky, where he was taken prisoner by the French Indians in 1753. He is accredited by Lewis Evans in his "Analysis," etc., with Joseph Dobson and Alexander Lowry as furnishing certain information concerning the Ohio river for Evans' celebrated map of the Middle British Colonies printed with Evans' "Analysis" in Philadelphia by B. Franklin and D. Hall in 1755. Peter Cheaver, properly, Shaver, a variation of Shafer, was a noted borderer and trader. His name is preserved in Shaver's creek, Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania.

Rupp has named but a few of the many traders who came to Western Pennsylvania and passed on to the Kentucky region, the Scioto and Muskingum towns of the Western Indians, and even to the Illinois country. He omits mention of George Croghan, "King of the Traders," though he has much concerning Croghan's official career as deputy Indian agent of the Crown at Fort Pitt, and he is voluminous with extracts from the minutes of conferences held at Pittsburgh prior to the Revolution. Nor does Rupp mention the great trading firms of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan; Baynton & Wharton; and Baynton, Wharton & Company, composed of John Baynton, Thomas Wharton and George Morgan, the latter succeeding Colonel Richard Butler as

Indian agent at Fort Pitt in 1776. Butler, famous as the eldest and best known of the five Butler brothers of Revolutionary service and in great degree identified with Pittsburgh history, was himself a trader at Fort Pitt with his brother William. Richard Butler, second in command with the rank of major-general, perished in St. Clair's disastrous battle in 1791. Richard, William and Thomas Butler resided in Pittsburgh after the Revolution. Their family name is commemorated widely; Butler, city and county, Pennsylvania, and Butler street in Pittsburgh, are the best known locally in the Pittsburgh region.

There were many of these daring and energetic pioneers of the trading class who should have mention in Pittsburgh's history, among them Henry Bailey, who died in 1745 and who was a trader on the Allegheny as early as 1737, and prominent among the Western traders, 1730-1734. James Brown was another, who was at Logstown in 1751, where Washington met him in 1753, and who is supposed to have been the trader named Brown who acted as guide for Colonel Henry Bouquet and assisted in building Forbes' road when that officer hewed his way to Fort Duquesne in 1758. Thomas Burke, a trader's employe, is another; captured by the French in the Sandusky region in 1750, who fought with Washington at the Great Meadows in 1754 and was one of General John Armstrong's guides to Kittanning in 1756. Burke, with Luke Arowin, Joseph Fortiner and John Patten, all prisoners of the French, captured while trading in the Indian country claimed by the French, were examined at length before Jonquiere, admiral and lieutenant-governor of all New France; De Longueuil, governor of Montreal, and M. Varin, a director of affairs in Montreal, at Vaudreuil's Castle in Montreal, June 19, 1751. Much information regarding the English trade among the Indians was obtained then from the prisoners, for they thought it great wisdom to answer unreservedly. The name "Arowin" is supposed by Craig, and with good reason, to be meant for Irwin—Arowin being the broad Irish form of pronunciation. Irwin was an employee of Croghan's, and Fortiner (or Faulkner) was an employee of Michael Taafe, spelled by Craig, "Teaf," who was an early trader, with a base at Logstown in partnership with Robert Callender. John Patten was a native of Pennsylvania and a trader on his own account. All the prisoners were young men. Irwin, the oldest, was twenty-eight. It appears that they were imprisoned at least a year, and Patten longer, and all returned to Pennsylvania, for there are subsequent notices of them in border history, such as the one given above in the case of Thomas Burke. These traders maintained innocence before their French inquisitors, asserting that they relied for protection on their licenses from the governor of Pennsylvania, for which they paid fifty shillings each, and claimed that this license permitted them to trade everywhere with friendly Indians in general. They denied in plain

terms and dignified manner that these licenses were obtained to trade in French territory in order that they might act as spies, whose business it was to give presents to the Indians there residing, and to stir them up to war against the French.

Irwin, who was the first examined, gave definite information concerning methods of trade among the distant Indians. Irwin, whose home was in Philadelphia, testified he had left that place in August, 1750; he had been in the company of two others, English traders, and six servants, also English, with the design of trading among the Indians, having for that purpose goods that suited them, which they proposed to sell soon to the Indians in order to return home laden with skins. Their traders' licenses were signed by James Hamilton, Esq., governor of Pennsylvania.

Being asked whether he had not sold goods to those Indians settled on the Ohio, Rock river and round about, at a low rate, endeavoring to persuade these Indians that his goods were much cheaper and better than those sold by the French, Irwin answered that he had sold goods in the region specified and wherever he could see Indians and that he had sold goods very cheap in exchange for skins, but that he had never undervalued the French goods, but the Indians themselves made a vast difference between them and the English goods.

Some of the questions put to the prisoners were long; the fourth reading:

It is not true that some years before, You, at the order of the Governor of Pennsylvania and at the expense of that province, carried messages, wampum, English ducks for tents, and hatchets to the said Indians, as also considerable presents and abundance of rum, in order to induce them to acknowledge no other than the English and to animate them against the French, and to engage them to destroy the French, promising them for that purpose a sum of money for every French scalp? And continuing: Can you not speak the Shawanese language or any of the languages spoken by the Indians on the River Blanche, or elsewhere, and has not the said Governor sent you on this account to the River Ohio, Rock River, and to other parts to accomplish his views?

In reply, Irwin admitted carrying all the goods specified, but denied that he had ever carried anything from or by the order of the governor, and never any messages; that Governor Hamilton employed for that purpose one George Croghan, a trader, whom he sent with all his messages to those Indians and who had continually a native of Canada with him named Andrew Montour (as he had been informed), who understood the Indian languages perfectly well. Irwin did not know whether Croghan was in the Indian country at that time, but when Irwin left Pennsylvania, Croghan had orders from the governor to proceed in the quality of an express to the Miamis and several other Indian nations for the reason that some Miamis had come the last spring to Veskak or Oghwick (Auchwick) to pay Croghan a visit, as Croghan was settled there with sixteen other traders, and that the

Miamis had entreated Croghan to receive them; whereupon Montour went to the Miamis to assure them in the name of Governor Hamilton that the English would receive them well. Irwin could not admit that Hamilton had given orders to stir up these Indians to destroy the French, for the Miamis had not yet arrived in Philadelphia when he left and nothing had come to pass. Irwin acknowledged that he spoke Shawanese and other Indian languages, but the governor had never chosen him as an express to the Indians.

The prisoners were all asked the same questions, and made depositions to their testimony as a whole. Patten's contradicts Irwin's excuse for Croghan's mission to the Miamis. In Irwin's evidence is the first mention of Andrew Montour in the history of the Pittsburgh region, the name preserved in a Pittsburgh thoroughfare, Montour Way, an alley immediately above Smithfield street, extending from Sixth to Seventh avenues. The name is also familiar in Montour run and the Montour Valley in Allegheny county on the south side of the Ohio river, and was the first name applied to Neville Island, for Andrew Montour once owned it. The history of the Montours, especially Andrew, also called Henry, runs through many pages of Pennsylvania's colonial history prior to the Revolution, for Andrew was most frequently the interpreter at Croghan's many conferences at Fort Pitt, and at other conferences with the Pennsylvania Indians, as attested by frequent mention in the Colonial Records and the Pennsylvania Archives.

Irwin was asked further if he had not been on the Ohio in 1749 with a number of English traders when M. de Celoron, a major and commandant at Fort Detroit, was there, who had orders from the Marquis de la Galissonnierre, commander-in-chief of all New France and the territories thereon depending, to summon them to withdraw forthwith from the territories of the King, Our Master? and whether these traders had not been strictly forbidden to return there any more, and whether M. de Celoron had not written to the governor of Pennsylvania to acquaint him thereof and to give notice that if any more English traders ever appeared on the territories of His Majesty, he (Celoron), would not be answerable to the governor for what might happen? To all of which Irwin answered affirmatively; however, he had the governor's license, and he considered that sufficient to indemnify him without regard to any orders to the contrary.

From Fortiner's evidence some information relative to a trader's life in the then Far West can be obtained. Fortiner, a native of "the Jerseys (a place belonging to the Province of New York," he said), testified that he was a hired servant and a traveler, that he had been away from his home for four years and had lived most of the time in the woods, but in the winter commonly retired to a village in the

Province of Pennsylvania, called Scanaris; that he traded with the Shawanese on the Ohio and wherever he could see any Indians; that he had been hired by Taafe for no other purpose than to trade with the Indians and to help him with his horses and goods; that he and the other prisoners had burnt their invoices and they could not tell the value of what goods they had. Fortiner had a license from the governor of Pennsylvania which he had left in his cabin at an Indian town called by the English Vendack, adjoining the Shawanese. He sold to all the nations settled on the Ohio and adjacent parts; he never despised the French goods, but the Indians themselves had told him that they preferred to trade with the English, knowing the English goods to be better and cheaper than those the French sold them. He was on the Susquehanna in 1749, and had heard that M. de Celoron was at the Ohio.

Fortiner's name is presumed to be a French corruption of Faulkner. The interpreter at the hearing was one Maddox, an Englishman, who was sworn to interpret truly. The prisoners were examined separately. When arraigned, each laid his hand upon his breast, according to the laws and customs of Great Britain, and in that manner each promised and swore to tell the truth. No information is given by Craig or Hanna in regard to the situation of Scanaris or Vendack, so that we are left without knowledge of Fortiner's retiring places.

Burke was a traveler also, who had been in America eight years, and ten months out from his base on the Susquehanna; he was the hired servant of John Martin, an English trader on the Ohio. Burke had set out with two other servants in order to trade near Otsandusket (Sandusky), and from there intended to return to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Burke knew more than the others regarding the information sought by his inquisitors' third question; he had no other company than the two English servants; all his effects, including his horses, he had left at a small river in care of these two servants, who as soon as they heard warrants had been issued for them, had left everything and fled. The goods belonged to Martin and were worth 1,500 livres (francs), who had purchased them from two merchants in Philadelphia; one named Shippen. Burke had a Pennsylvania license, which he had left with his effects. He had heard of M. de Celoron having been at the Ohio, and of the letter sent by Celoron to the governor of Pennsylvania, but it had been entrusted to the hired servants of George Croghan, the chief interpreter. Burke could not tell whether the letter had been delivered or not.

John Patten had been in the Indian country from the preceding August, trading with the Miamis settled on Rock river. This was the Big Miami of the English, called by the French, La Roche. The name Blanche was applied by the French to several rivers, and probably referred in this connection to the Cuyahoga. Patten had with him

two hired servants and had been in company with an English trader who had five more; they all came together at Rock river, where they found upwards of fifty traders, including servants, lodging in cabins belonging to the Miamis, the name of their chief La Demoiselle; the traders' cabins were in a fort. The value of Patten's goods was about 7,000 livres. Patten had a Pennsylvania license which he had left shut up in a little box in the cabin provided for him by the Miamis. He had sold goods to the Indians settled on the Ohio, Rock river and adjacent parts; however, it was the first time of his coming to the Rock River; the only way he traded with the Indians was by showing them his goods and agreeing as to the price; he had never undervalued the French goods.

Patten testified further that he had only heard that the governor of Pennsylvania had entrusted George Croghan, head Indian interpreter, with goods to the value of a thousand pistoles (\$3,640), who went up and down the woods with Montour, a French Canadian, in order to distribute the said goods among the Indians who were settled on the Ohio and Rock rivers, particularly the Miamis. Patten denied knowing any Indian language. He had gone to the Miami fort because the Indians told him the French wished to see him, and he was greatly surprised when arrested; he had had occasion to buy, in the fort, muskets and some tobacco, and had taken five silk caps, a piece of coarse holland, and twelve silk handkerchiefs, for the purpose, and all had been seized by M. de Villiers, as also his horse; his boots and portmanteau, in which were his clothes, had been left in an Indian cabin and were to have been sent to him at Detroit, but he had never had any tidings of them since; that another horse had been taken from him, whereon an Indian, his guide, was riding. He denied that presents had been made to the Indians on the Ohio and Rock rivers in order to obtain their assistance against the French in case the French attacked the English.

Patten had left his goods at a place called by the French, La Croix, and by the English, "The Cross," twenty leagues from the fort of the Miamis, and he was satisfied that the goods mentioned in the verbal process of a French officer, M. de Montigny, dated December 2, 1750, were the same sort as his, but in much less quantity. Patten could not tell what became of the rest; perhaps his servants had carried them away when they fled. He was not at the Ohio in 1749; he was told of M. Celoron being there at that time, and what orders Celoron had enjoined on the English traders; he had also been told of the letter which M. Celoron had written to the governor of Pennsylvania on that account, but had been informed that the governor had never received it; that Croghan had torn it, that the governor might not know its contents, lest the governor should act agreeable to it.

As in the case of the others, Patten's examination was written out and

read to him, word for word, question and answer, and, as the others, he was asked if he was inclined to add to or extenuate his answers, to which Patten replied that all he had said was true, and furthermore, that Croghan had at all times persuaded the Indians to destroy the French, and had so far prevailed on them by the presents he had made them that five French had been killed by the Indians in the upper part of the country; that self-interest was Croghan's sole motive for everything he did; that his views were to engross the whole trade and scare the French from trading with the Indians, and as to the letters which M. Celoron had written to the governor of Pennsylvania, three of them had been intercepted by Croghan lest the governor being acquainted with his deeds should forbid him to go amongst them again. This last clause, Craig explains, was added by Patten to justify the governor, for Patten had testified previously that the governor had given Croghan goods to the value of one thousand pistoles to be distributed among the Indians. Patten was required to set his hand to every page of his testimony, as did also the French officials and Maddox, the interpreter. Craig's account closes: "Thus signed John Patten, D. J. Maddox, La Jonquiere, Longueuil, Varin, and Saint Sauveur, secretary."

Craig explains the question of licenses; they were criminal against the laws of trade founded on treaties; the Indians having no territories of their own could freely trade in any part of the country, whether belonging to the English or French; but as to European nations, none could trade with any Indians except those in their own territories. Letters of license granted traders by the English governors in order to permit them to trade on land possessed by the French, were so many enterprises or usurpations. The English traders, properly speaking, kept up a contraband trade with their governor's permission.

Patten was taken first to Detroit, where he was held for four months; thence via Lake Erie and Niagara to Montreal, thence to Quebec, and after some months in prison, harshly treated, and in bad health, was sent to France and again put in jail for three months, but having been granted his liberty, went to Paris to solicit the restitution of his goods, but in vain. He was told that he would be given nothing; his goods had been confiscated, for he had been found trading within the limits of French territory. Patten alleged in his petition to the Pennsylvania Assembly that he was totally ruined, and that the Pennsylvania trade must at length be quite discouraged and lost to this province.

The journal of the Pennsylvania Assembly for October 16, 1752, shows that Patten, "an Indian trader lately returned from England and now in town, etc.," was cited by the clerk in obedience to the orders of the Assembly to be in attendance the succeeding day and appeared. The clerk was instructed to take down in writing the account which he gave of the manner of his being taken, and the places in Canada through

which he passed in his captivity. This was done, and in the following January the clerk reported this to the House, together with a map of Canada made by the said Patten. His account is very interesting. He was captured near the headwaters of the Miami river, two hundred miles by water from the mouth of that stream and one hundred by land. La Croix or "The Cross" is plainly shown on Evans' map of 1755 under that name, and situated on the St. Mary's river, a branch of the Maumee—once known as the Miami of the Lake. La Croix was a literal designation, a large cross having been set up there. On this same map, "Fort du Quesne, Shannopin's T. and Loggs T.," appear. Patten was taken at a Twightwee town, as he states, about four hundred and fifty miles from Logstown. There were, he estimated, two hundred fighting men in the town, all of that nation, who had left the French seven or eight years ago to trade with the English. Albach, in his admirable chronological table⁷ for the year 1750, records these items:

English traders, it is said, were made prisoners at Great Miami.

Twightwee or Miami Indians killed by French soldiers. Both time and place are uncertain.

English driven from their station on Miami by the French.

Twightwee, or Miami Indians defend the English and are killed.

Albach's account in his text (page 106), states that the French party with their Ottawa and Chippewa allies demanded the English traders of the Miamis as unauthorized intruders on French land, and on being refused by the Miamis, a battle ensued in which fourteen Miamis were killed and the traders were taken and carried to Canada, or, as one account says, burned. It is probable those traders were Pennsylvanians, as that province made "a gift of condolence to the Miamis for those slain in their defense." Albach had not been thorough in his researches, it will be noted.

This was actually the first blood shed in the long contest that ensued for the trans-Allegheny region—or the Cis-Mississippi, if one wants to reckon eastward. The effects of this collision were widely felt and led to immediate action by both nation claimants, though warfare was not begun until Washington's affair, May 28, 1754, with Jumonville, in which the latter was killed, a source of sorrow to Washington ever after.

Gist was in the Indian country in December, 1750, and there heard of the capture of the traders, for he records in his Journal that he came "to Muskingum, to a town of the Wyendotts, Dec. 14th, who were divided between the French and the English." This town was where Coshocton now stands. Gist saw the English colors hoisted on the King's house (the chief's) and on Croghan's, and was told that Croghan had ordered all the traders to assemble there. Two trader helpers belonging to Croghan arrived December 17th, who reported that two

⁷"Annals of the West," xviii.

of Croghan's men had been captured by forty French and twenty Indians, who had carried them and seven horse loads of skins to a new fort that the French were building on one of the branches of Lake Erie. These men were Irwin and Fortiner, or Faulkner. The fort was at Sandusky.⁸

Michael Taafe, described by Gist as "One Teafe (an Indian trader)," came to the same town of the Wyandots, January 4, 1751, from Lake Erie, and informed the other traders that the Wyandots had advised him to keep clear of the Ottawas. "These," says Gist in parenthesis, "are a nation of Indians firmly attached to the French and inhabit near the lakes. The Wyandots said the branches of the lakes were claimed by the French but that all the branches of the Ohio belonged to them and their brothers, the English, and that the French had no business there and that it was expected that the other part of the Wyandot nation would desert the French and come over to the English interest, etc." January 9th, two English traders came in from the Twightwees town and reported the capture of Patten. Two days later an Indian from the lakes came in and confirmed all the news Gist had heard. Croghan and Montour were there and held a council on the 14th. They were actively engaged, as Gist records, in what is now known as propaganda work among the Ohio Indians, seeking by every means to draw them away from the French interest and they were successful at the time.⁹

Of the early traders on the Allegheny, and that meant to the Ohio region also, there must be mentioned Thomas McKee, whose family name has been preserved in McKees Rocks. Thomas McKee was the father of Alexander McKee, a notorious Tory leader at Fort Pitt during the Revolution, who fled to the British in 1778 in company with Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty and some others. Thomas McKee was a licensed trader on the Susquehanna as early as 1742, and "at Allegheny" in 1753. He served as a captain in the French and Indian War. He has frequent mention in Pennsylvania Colonial Records and Archives and other Pennsylvania histories and in Dr. Egle's "Notes and Queries." In 1764 Alexander McKee received the grant of 1,400 acres at the mouth of Chartiers creek. On the lower side of the creek is the famous rock that has given name to a great industrial town, the "Petit Rocher" of De Lery's and the "Written Rock" of Celoron's mention.

Thomas McKee's adventures and perils would more than fill a chapter. He was one of the best known of the traders on the Susquehanna, having had a trading post on Big Island, now Haldeman's Island, at the mouth of the Juniata, and was also of the class of traders

⁸"Christopher Gist's Jouranls;" W. M. Darlington, p. 37.

⁹"Gist's Journals;" W. M. Darlington, pp. 41, 44-45, 161. Cited by Hanna, "Wilderness Trail;" Vol. II, p. 145, *et seq.* "History Western Penna., etc.," p. 39. "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal;" Vol. I, p. 417.

called in history the Shamokin traders, and one of the most noted; others, John Fisher, John Hart, James Le Tort, Antony Sadowsky, and John (or Jack) Armstrong, who was murdered by a revengeful Delaware in 1744 at the gorge in the Juniata, since known as Jack's Narrows. Darlington calls Thomas McKee the chief Indian trader on the Susquehanna for many years, and states that he built Fort McKee, a border outpost on the Susquehanna, in 1756. Some accounts make McKee's wife a Shawanese woman; others a white woman captured by that nation on one of their raids in the Carolinas and adopted and reared among them. Hanna draws the deduction that this explains why the son Alexander should have inherited a half savage nature, which he thinks was developed by the long residence of his father among the savages as a trader, and Alexander's own lifelong association with savages. This latter fact would be more striking if his mother had been a Shawanese. The Rev. David Jones found Alexander in 1773 living near Chillicothe, Ohio, and added a line in his "Journal:" "Here the captain's Indian relatives live." Thomas McKee had another son, James, who remained on the McKees Rocks tract, and he became the ancestor of the many descendants in and about Pittsburgh. James' name is found on the "List of Persons well disposed to His Majesty's Government," which was furnished that government by Lord Dunmore in 1775, and thought to have been prepared by the notorious Dr. Connolly, Dunmore's tool at Fort Pitt. However, there was nothing *prima facie* particularly obnoxious in that, for this list contains the names of Colonel William Crawford, his brother Valentine, his half-brother, John Stephenson, and his nephew, William Harrison, Thomas Gist and others, subsequently proven patriots. These were, however, Virginia adherents prior to the Revolution, in opposition to the Pennsylvania party headed by Arthur St. Clair, Devereaux Smith, Æneas Mackay and Andrew McFarlane.

Alexander McKee was the Tory leader at Pittsburgh. He was a man of some education and wide influence on the border. He, too, was a trader among the Indians, and for twelve years prior to the Revolution had been the King's deputy agent for Indian affairs at Fort Pitt. For a short time he had served as a justice of the peace in Westmoreland county. He was intimately acquainted with most of the Indian chiefs of the Ohio Valley, and spoke their tongues. As the Rev. Jones attests, he had an Indian family among the Shawanese. He divided his time between his Pittsburgh cabin and his farm at McKees Rocks. Both Thomas and Alexander took part in many conferences with the Western Indians at Fort Pitt, the first, July 4, 1759, where there were present, according to the minutes, "George Croghan, Deputy Agent to the Hon. Sir William Johnson, Baronet; Col. Hugh Mercer, Commandant at Pittsburgh; a number of officers of the Garrison; Capt.

William Trent and Capt. Thomas McKee, assistants to G. Croghan, Esq., and Capt. Henry Montour, Interpreter." Most likely Thomas McKee was also at the conference at the same place, October 25, 1759, as the records read: "Present His Excellency, Brigadier Gen. Stanwix, with sundry other gentlemen of the army; George Croghan, Esq., and sundry assistants."

Alexander McKee's name first appears in the minutes of a conference held with the chiefs of the Senecas living on the Ohio, the Delawares and Shawanese, October 17, 1764; present, "Col. Henry Bouquet, Commanding His Majesty's forces in the Southern District, etc." Alexander McKee is set down as assistant agent for Indian affairs, and doubtless at all of Bouquet's conferences at that time, though not always recorded as present. He is recorded as present at Dunmore's council with the Delawares and Mingoes in the fall of 1774, and still "Deputy Agent, etc." Washington dined with Alexander McKee on his journey down the Ohio to the Kanawha region, as he records in his Journal, October 20, 1770; however, he spells the name "Magee." McKee, Croghan and Lieutenant Hamilton of the garrison at Fort Pitt, had set out from Pittsburgh with Washington's party, and continued with them to Logstown. Alexander McKee was during the Revolution a British agent among the Shawanese on the Miami river. More concerning him will be noted in the chapter detailing events at Pittsburgh during the Revolution.

James McKee died in 1836 at his home in McKees Rocks, leaving two sons, Thomas and Alexander McKee. He also left three granddaughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Sarah, wife of David McGunnegle. The descendants of these and those of Thomas McKee's daughters were the owners by right of inheritance of most of the original grant to Captain Alexander McKee in 1764. On this land today there stands the large borough of McKees Rocks, with its adjoining great manufacturing plants, and the shops, yards and tracks of the Pittsburgh & Lake railroad. Within the borough are the historic Rocks, now mostly quarried away, and on them was the celebrated Indian mound which was owned jointly by the McGunnegle heirs and Mrs. Nettie McKee Graham, *nee* Nettie Adelia McKee, daughter of Thomas McKee.¹⁰

There are other historic names in this locality, for it is a historic locality, as will be acknowledged as the story of Pittsburgh and its environs unfolds in its length and breadth. Chartiers is the name given to the large creek that empties into the Ohio just above the famous Rocks, at the head of Brunot's Island, the Rocks almost opposite the foot of the island.

The history of the Chartiers, father and son, must be given a page

¹⁰See Will Book, Vol. 4, p. 137, Office of the Register of Wills, Allegheny county, Pa., and 77 Penna. Reports, p. 80.

in the story of the traders. Chartiers is one of the best commemorated names in the Pittsburgh region, coming down from the earliest whites trading in the region. Though distinctively a pioneer name, it is not worthily bestowed and brings up no pleasant memories. Peter Chartier's name is found more frequently in our history. He was a halfbreed, a rogue and bandit. If he had any redeeming traits, they have not been revealed in any of the old documents in which his history has been fragmentarily preserved. Dwellers in the Chartiers Valley have no reason to be proud of the individual who left his name to the historic stream therein, and its beautiful region. Peter was the son of Martin Chartier, who became a renegade from civilization. There was a bad mixture in Peter's blood—vagabond French and savage Shawanese. When this nation moved up from the South, one of their bands came to Pequea creek in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. Pequea was the name of a Shawanese tribe, or clan, and the name was given this place from their having lived there; also found as "Piqua" in Ohio.

The French pronunciation of the name Chartiers is "Cart-e-a," the final "a" long as in fate. Among the early settlers the creek was called "Shertee's creek." Even Washington, who owned land on a tributary of this stream, in Washington county, Pennsylvania, refers to it as "Shurtee's creek."¹¹ In the grant of land along it made in 1764 to Alexander McKee, a Pennsylvania trader, by Colonel Henry Bouquet, commander at Fort Pitt, the stream is called "Shertee's creek." The final "r" was not sounded for many years after. Then people began pronouncing the name as the English spelling indicates, regardless of its French form and undoubted French origin. The name was doubtless "Chartier's," and gradually the apostrophe dropped out, leaving the form as we now have it. This is the commonly accepted version. On the contrary, after the analogy of Thiers and like names, the name may have been Chartiers. There has been a marked tendency among modern geographers to omit possessive signs in proper names. McKees Rocks, the large manufacturing town at the mouth of Chartiers creek, built on the original grant to Alexander McKee, is now always found printed without the possessive sign.

Martin Chartier established himself at Pequea, where he married a Shawanese squaw. He built a storehouse there and carried on trade between the white settlers and the Shawanese. He learned the Shawanese and Delaware tongues, in addition to two with which he already knew and was of some service to the Pennsylvania authorities as an interpreter in the frequent councils held at Pequea and Conestoga. His fidelity to the English cause was doubted during Queen Anne's War, and, having been summoned before the Pennsylvania Council in Philadelphia, he pledged himself to the English sovereign and engaged to

¹¹"Journal" of 1770; October 21st.

act as a spy among the several savage tribes on the Susquehanna. He moved from Pequea creek to the eastern bank of the river, a short distance above the mouth of Conestoga creek, where he built another trading post, and made a farm clearing. In 1717 he secured a provincial warrant for his farm of three hundred acres. The warrant was written in the name of Peter Chartier, the only son of Martin and the Shawanese woman. The father agreed to pay for the farm, but it is doubtful if he completed the contract, as he died in April, 1718.

Peter, or Pierre Chartier was more an Indian than a Frenchman, and more savage than civilized. He was born among the Shawanese and raised among them, married a squaw of the tribe, and lived on the Susquehanna until that tribe, dissatisfied with the gradually increasing number of white settlers in the vicinity of Pequea creek, moved westward, when he sold his farm and followed the savages. For a time he lived on Yellow Breeches creek in the Cumberland Valley, and later on the Conococheague creek, a tributary of the Potomac and a noted stream in Pennsylvania history. He still held, or pretended to hold allegiance to the English authorities, and in 1730 obtained a license from the Lancaster County Court to trade with the Indians. At the same term of this court similar licenses were granted to John Harris, father of the founder of Harrisburg, and to John Wilkins, grandfather of Judge William Wilkins, of Pittsburgh, a famous man in his day, locally and nationally. Chartier obtained a strong influence among the Shawanese, and over a part of the Pequea clan he appeared to have had more control than its chiefs. The Shawanese were a restless, passionate and warlike people, as their story in Chapter VI attests.

These Indians distrusted the white settlers near their villages and hunting grounds, and, as squatters began to build cabins in the Cumberland Valley the Shawanese moved to the upper waters of the Juniata, thence over the mountains to the Conemaugh, and following that stream came to the Kiskiminetas and the Allegheny. Peter Chartier and his band of Pequeas came after the main body, and building their bark huts on the right bank of the Allegheny at the mouth of Bull creek, established a town there known in colonial border history as "Chartier's Old Town." This was on part of the site of Tarentum, Allegheny county. A small stream on the opposite side was called Chartiers run. For many years there was a station on the Allegheny Valley railroad at this point, called Chartiers. For several years, in his capacity as a trader, Peter Chartier journeyed from the Allegheny to Philadelphia, and continued to command the confidence of the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania. While he was located at Bull creek the French agents came among the Indians on the Allegheny, endeavoring to attach them permanently to the French cause. To counteract these influences the Pennsylvania authorities sought to persuade the Delawares and Shaw-

anese to return to the Susquehanna region. A direct appeal was made to Chartier to assist in this effort, but he did nothing, and in this fact lay strong presumption that he was in sympathy with the French and desired an alliance of the Indians and the French. This was natural enough, but he most hypocritically endeavored all the while to make the English believe he was on their side. He was not only a French spy but covertly working in their interest.¹²

In 1732 Governor Gordon, of Pennsylvania, sent Edmund Cartledge, a Quaker and a trader of some influence, on a mission to the Allegheny Indians to persuade them to return to Central Pennsylvania, within the range of English control—mostly Quaker control. Cartledge went to Kittanning and held conferences with the Delawares and Shawanese there, and on his return reported that Chartier had been of great service to him, and that he considered Chartier to be well inclined to the Pennsylvania interests. Neither of the tribes returned eastward, nor did they intend to. Chartier was only deceiving Cartledge. Chartier was a French spy and wanted to remain one. French agents were circulating freely among the Indians in the Allegheny region. There was an annual visit of officials direct from Montreal, and these were warmly welcomed by the Shawanese. In the fall, when these officials returned, they would take some Shawanese chiefs with them, who were treated with great consideration by the wily French Canadian officers. Chartier is presumed to have made visits to Montreal on such occasions, and, if so, was a grateful recipient of the gifts and flatteries from his father's countrymen. It is not positively known that he did, however. The Pennsylvania authorities naturally depended on the Iroquois to combat these growing French intrigues. The Iroquois were asked to compel the Delawares and Shawanese to return to the Susquehanna. The Iroquois attempted to execute this request. An Iroquois embassy came to the Allegheny, but they were treated with contempt. One of them was murdered. Chartier arose to the occasion and attempted to arouse the Shawanese nation to make open war against the Iroquois. The murderers of the Iroquois chief fled down the Ohio, but Chartier was checked by the intervention of the New York and Pennsylvania authorities. Chartier's conduct, probably in order to appease him, was condoned by the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, for in 1744 his trader's license was renewed.

England and France were then at war; King George's, or the Third Intercolonial War, settled by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748. The Pennsylvanians seemed to have been thoroughly hoodwinked by Chartier and wished to retain his influence. They were disappointed, for as soon as Chartier knew of the war he openly espoused

¹²"History Western Penna. and the West," pp. 33-34. *Ibid.*, App. 12, 23. "Annals of the West;" J. R. Albach, Pittsburgh, 1856, p. 98. "The Olden Time;" N. B. Craig, Vol. I, p. 8. "Wilderness Trail," Vol. I, 311-312.

the French cause. In the spring of 1745 he received from the Canadian authorities a commission as captain in the French-Canadian army. He raised a band of marauders which the French armed well, and began his guerilla warfare. In April, 1745, he surprised two Pennsylvania traders on the Allegheny—James Dinnen (Dunning) and Peter Tostee, and robbed them of their horses and goods, valued at £1,600, and turned the traders loose in the defenseless woody wilderness.¹³

There are no records that Chartier did any other damage in 1745 in the Allegheny Valley. Some of the Shawanese chiefs were unwilling to follow him in a war on the Pennsylvania people. Therefore Chartier persuaded a number of Shawanese to accompany him to Montreal, where they might more easily be brought under French influences. Again Chartier was foiled, for he succeeded in creating a schism among the Shawanese which threatened dire results. The French advised Chartier to move farther west and to take his band where it would be altogether within the sphere of French influence. This he did, and voyaged via the Allegheny and Ohio, settling on the Vermillion river, an affluent of the Wabash, where he was within the jurisdiction of the French commander at Fort Vincennes. The date was either late in 1745 or early in 1746, for there are no records of Chartier in Pennsylvania after that time.

Celoron, in the journal of his voyage, mentions Chartier. This was in the summer of 1749, under date August 6th, Celoron recorded: "Soon after leaving Attique I passed the old village of the Shawanese which had been abandoned since the departure of Chartier and his band, who were removed from this place by the orders of the Marquis of Beauharnais and conducted to the River Vermillion, in the Wabash, in 1745."¹⁴

The French, however, had a task put on them, for they soon found Chartier and his Shawanese cutthroats as troublesome as had the Pennsylvania authorities. The Vermillion settlement was not long maintained. The French commander on the Illinois reported in 1747 that Chartier had made a raid into the Cherokee country and was living on the Cherokee river, now the Tennessee river. There is no mention of Chartier after this. He either died, or was slain soon after, for his followers, without him, took refuge with other Shawanese at the mouth of the Scioto river in Ohio. A report made by Vaudreuil in 1760 states that "forty cabins" of what was known as Chartier's band were removed by the French from the Scioto to a reservation near Fort Massac on the Ohio, in Illinois. "They are more useful and less dangerous there," Vaudreuil said in forceful truth.

¹³"The Wilderness Trail," Hanna, Vol. I, pp. 287, 311, et al.

¹⁴See also Bonnecamp's Journal in the "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 69 (Thwaites' Ed.), pp. 170-171.

No records or documents inform us that Chartier ever lived on or near the stream that bears his name, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh; the presumption is strong that he did, from the fact that his name is associated with this creek from the earliest mention of it by the whites, and the weight of this presumption must be accepted under the rules of evidence. It is most probable that before he removed to the Vermilion he lived on the south shore of the Ohio, opposite Brunot's Island, or at or near the mouth of Chartiers creek, or possibly upon the island, for when the whites came this island was called Chartier's Island. It is undisputed that he lived on the Allegheny at the mouth of Bull creek, for the name "Chartier's Old Town" and the locality have frequent mention in Pennsylvania records. This town is marked "Village Chouanon" on Bellin's map of Louisiana (1744). Conrad Weiser records that it was sixty miles by water and but thirty-five or forty by land from the town of Queen Aliquippa, on the Ohio, about opposite McKees Rocks, but he was far off in his estimates. Bull creek is about twenty-two miles from the Point in Pittsburgh. There was a good fording at Chartier's Old Town. Weiser left the goods intended for the Indians there in August, 1748, when on his mission to the Ohio.¹⁵

Among the many hundreds traders licensed in Pennsylvania and bartering among the Western Indians on the Allegheny and the tributaries of the Ohio, may be mentioned Peter Allen on the Allegheny in 1732; Jacob Arentz, one of Washington's guides, in 1754; Henry Bailey, one of the earliest in the region, 1727, or even earlier; Thomas Burney, a blacksmith, a noted pioneer and soldier serving in Captain Andrew Lewis' company, at the battle at Great Meadows in July, 1754, and known to and mentioned by Gist and Trent in their Journals. Burney was killed at Braddock's defeat, July 9, 1775.¹⁶

Thomas Calhoun was a historic character and trader and one of those who brought the news of Pontiac's outbreak to Fort Pitt about June 1, 1763, one of the few who escaped the ambush at the mouth of the Big Beaver. Robert Callender, of Carlisle, a partner of Michael Taafe on the Ohio, 1750-53, was likewise noted and a heavy loser in confiscated goods in 1763. Joseph Campbell, an unlicensed trader and of shady character, killed by an Indian in 1754, and mentioned by Washington in his Journal of 1753 (December 23rd); Edmund Cartledge, a Quaker, at Allegheny, 1727-34, one of the most frequently mentioned in Pennsylvania Archives as giving information to the provincial authorities regarding affairs among the Indians on the frontiers and the Allegheny; James Chalmers, General Armstrong's guide to Kittanning in 1756; Samuel Cozzens at Logstown in 1751; Jonas Davenport, a

¹⁵Weiser's Journal, Aug. 27-29, 1748.

¹⁶Darlington's Edition, p. 125 and footnotes there. See also "Colonial Records," Vol. V, pp. 634-635.

Conestoga trader as early as 1718 and on the Allegheny 1727-34, perhaps later, and with Cartledge in frequent communication with the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania; John Davison, one of Washington's interpreters in 1753, and at Logstown in the same capacity in 1754, and one of those who furnished information to Lewis Evans for his map of the Middle British Colonies in America in 1755; Joseph Dobson, another relied on by Evans and mentioned by him in his "Analysis" of the Map;¹⁷ Arthur Dunlap, with Braddock, and furnishing that general with information about supposed French sympathizers in 1755; William Dunlap, an old trader in 1730, on the Allegheny in 1734; James Dunning, the name found variously spelled, often "Denning," on the Allegheny as early as 1734 and remaining in the region for twenty years until the French ascendancy in 1754. Dunning was robbed by Peter Chartier and the Shawanese on the Allegheny in April, 1745. Dunning was a guide for Forbes in 1758, and for Bouquet the same year. He was one of the most noted of the traders on the Allegheny, but not one of the best. John Finley, 1744-48, was another such trader among the Shawanese and Miamis prior to 1753 and at Logstown the same year after various vicissitudes. Finley was one of the most celebrated pioneers of the Great West, for he piloted Boone into Kentucky by way of the Cumberland Gap in 1769.¹⁸

Then there were various traders on the Allegheny who have but slight mention in the Archives of Pennsylvania: John Fisher and Timothy Fitzpatrick; John Hart, killed on the Allegheny in 1729; two John Kellys, one from Donegal, and the other from Paxtang, both on the river, 1732-1734; Ralph Kilgore, an employe of John Frazer, captured by the French in 1750; Alexander Lowry, on the river after 1744, one of those furnishing information to Evans for his map; Lazarus Lowry, father of Alexander, and three other sons, Daniel, James and John, the latter killed by a Frenchman or Indian on the Allegheny in 1749. Lazarus was one of the earlier traders on the river, there in 1734. Andrew McBryar was one of Lowry's traders taken by the French at Gist's in 1754; James McLaughlin, captured at Venango by the French in 1752, mentioned by Washington in his Journal of 1753; John Madden, an Ohio trader in 1750.¹⁹

Thomas Mitchel and Thomas Mitchel, Jr., were on the river in 1753, both subsequently killed by Indians in Ohio; John Owens, one of Croghan's traders at Aughwick in 1754, and said to have been one of Bouquet's guides in 1758; David Owens, son of John, also a guide for Bouquet in 1758, and his interpreter in 1764. David Owens is alleged to have killed his Indian wife and their children and carried their scalps

¹⁷Gist's Journals; Darlington, p. 271.

¹⁸"History of Kentucky;" Collins, Vol. II, p. 495. "The Wilderness Trail;" Hanna, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

¹⁹"The Olden Time;" Craig, Vol. II, p. 184.

to the English for a reward. David has wide mention in our Western history.²⁰

Anthony Sadowsky, a Shamokin trader in 1728, is recorded in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania as in Allegheny in 1729. His name occurs in the Pennsylvania Archives curiously spelled—"Zadousky" and "Sadowsk" are instances. Henry Smith, also from Shamokin, was "on the river Allegheny 1729-1732," with more mention than Sadowsky, and especially noted in "A letter from Ye Chieffs of Ye Delawares att Allegaeening on the main road" as "being there with rum where the Indians gott Drunk etc," resulting in a murder.²¹ Francis Stevens was at Allegheny in 1734; for him was named Frankstown, an Indian town as early as 1734, the site on the Juniata in Huntingdon county, and hence the Frankstown branch of the Juniata and the Frankstown road, the name Frankstown enduring in Pittsburgh in that well known thoroughfare in the East End, Frankstown avenue. Peter Tostee was one of the traders robbed by Chartier and his Shawanese outlaws in 1745. An account of this affair, which is alluded to frequently, will be found in the Pennsylvania Colonial Records (Vol. IV; pp. 776-780).²² Morris Turner, an employee of John Frazier, was one of those captured by the Indians on the Miami in 1750; John Walker, who came to the Allegheny before 1753, was a guide for Bouquet in 1758 and has mention in the "Bouquet Papers." Other traders with but slight mention in Pennsylvania Records and Archives were: Thomas Ward at Logstown in 1751; Edward Warren on the Allegheny in 1732, an employee of Peter Allen; William West in 1732; Charles Williams, a companion of Thomas McKee in 1747-48; John Wray, the first settler at Raystown, later and yet Bedford, and the name retained in the Raystown branch of the Juniata. Wray, as attested, was one of attendants of the Potomac Shawanese who went to Philadelphia from the Allegheny in 1732. (Col. Records, Vol. III). John Young was an early Allegheny trader in 1734, and James Young in 1750.

There are others than those above enumerated who are deserving of extended mention, some names running with the history of the West, especially in the region about the Forks of the Ohio for many years and participants in the stirring events of the eighteenth century. George Croghan was one, and in this work has been accorded a special chapter; Edward Ward, Croghan's half-brother, left by William Trent in charge of the fort ordered by Washington to be built at the Forks in April, 1754, and under construction when surprised by the large French force under

²⁰"Conspiracy of Pontiac;" Parkman, p. 482. "Old Glade Road;" A. B. Hulbert, p. 100. Also Rev. David Jones' "Journal," p. 18; and Loudon's "Indian Wars." Both such rare books that access will be impossible to them by most readers.

²¹"Penna. Archives;" First Series, Vol. I, p. 254.

²²See also History Washington County, Pa.;" Crumrine, p. 18, and "History Western Pennsylvania and the West;" Rupp, App., p. 23.

Contrecoeur, who immediately built a larger and more formidable work and named Fort Duquesne. Ward was distinctly a Pittsburgh pioneer, and much concerning him will appear in subsequent pages in this work.

William Trent, a partner of George Croghan, and a subordinate of Washington, will obtain as frequent mention, for he, too, was one of the most noted of the pioneers of the region, a participant in many of the events that were international in scope. Trent served as captain in the French War of 1745-47; was a trader on the Miami in 1752, and at Logstown the next year. He figures largely in all the history of the ensuing decade, kept journals of his journeys, and was one of the most dependable and constant of those traders among the Indians who kept the Pennsylvania authorities informed of the relations of the Western tribes with the French and of the happenings of the Pennsylvania traders in the Ohio region. This is readily attested by the mention of him in the Colonial Records and the Pennsylvania Archives. Trent was a defender of Pittsburgh, for he was one of the garrison of Fort Pitt during the siege of that work in 1763, during Pontiac's War. Egle and Darlington are full concerning Trent. Gist, who was with him in Kentucky and on the Muskingum, has given many particulars of a trader's life and perils among the savages of the Ohio region. Trent and Ward's names have been commemorated in two of Pittsburgh's streets. More concerning Trent will necessarily be written herein.

Hugh Crawford is another historic name, that of a wilderness trader who came to the West perhaps in 1739. There is a record of him as a licensed trader in 1747, but none the next year. He was one of Croghan's most efficient servitors; was among the Shawanese in Ohio for several years, 1750-52, and before 1755 took up land about Standing Stone, now the site of Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. He was one of the unfortunates captured by Pontiac's Indians at the mouth of the Maumee in 1763, but most luckily escaped with his life. Crawford sometimes traded for Thomas Smallman, another name prominent in all of Pittsburgh's Colonial and Revolutionary history. Crawford was in the employ of Smallman when captured, and made a return of the value of Smallman's goods confiscated by his captors, totalling £3,805 10s. Crawford must be accorded more extended mention in the story of events between 1750 and 1770, when he died. Smallman, who attained the rank of major during the Revolution, became a resident of Pittsburgh and has numerous descendants here, and his name is most familiar in Smallman street. Crawford, too, lived awhile at Fort Pitt, for Bouquet enumerated him in 1760, when he took the first census of Pittsburgh. Crawford's greatest fame, however, was that obtained from his services as interpreter for Mason and Dixon, when they ran that famous boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1767. Crawford gave his name to "Crawford's Sleeping Place" on the Youghiogeny, twenty

miles above Fort Pitt. Veech says it was on one of Gist's tracts in the present county of Fayette, hence the distance assigned is erroneous. This tract, or "Sleeping place," was a "Grant of Preference" given by Governor John Penn in 1768 for Crawford's services with Mason and Dixon, and was five hundred acres in extent. Both Smallman and Hugh Crawford served as officers in Colonel Weiser's battalion of Pennsylvania militia in 1756, and Crawford in Forbes' campaign of 1758, as an ensign in Captain Hance Hamilton's company from Pennsylvania.

A tragedy of the wilderness trail was noted by Weiser, for he recorded under date August 24, 1748, after passing the Shawanese cabins: "Found a dead man in the road who had killed himself by drinking too much whisky. The place being very stony, we could not dig a grave. He smelling very strong, we covered him with stones and wood and went on our journey." This man was Thomas Quinn.²³ He was an Allegheny trader, and from the circumstances of his death most likely of that class described by Judge Veech and M. S. Lytle, and aptly by Pitkin.²⁴

In the list of merchants trading at Fort Pitt in 1763, signed to a memorial presented to the Hon. Col. Henry Bouquet, commanding his Majesty's Troops, both Trent and Crawford's names appear, Trent heading the signers. The others were Ephraim Blaine, Thomas Mitchel, Thomas Welsh, John McClure and James Harris.

Blaine's name is spelled Blane, and the same way in Bouquet's Census of July 22, 1760, which was an enumeration of the inhabitants of the village at Fort Pitt not belonging to the army. At that time nearly all such male inhabitants were traders in Indian goods. The total, men, women and children, then was 149. A similar census was taken the following April, but of house owners only. Seventy-two names were added, and twenty-eight who were enumerated in the July preceding. Hugh Crawford, Ephraim Blane, John Finley, and William Trent, occur on both lists; James Harris, Lazarus Lowry, Edward Ward, John McClure and Thomas Welsh on the first; George Croghan, John Campbell, John Ormsby, Thomas Mitchel and John Owens on the second. This shows that there were some inhabitants absent at each enumeration, doubtless on trading trips.

Nothing is recorded of James Harris at this time. He was a resident of Cumberland county, and after 1785 well known as a surveyor in Bedford and Huntington counties. Thomas Mitchell was a bad one. In Isaac Craig's annotated list of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh in 1761, there are to be found the names of many traders among the 253 inhabitants living outside the garrison, and the number of houses and the names of the owners. John Langdale's name appears first on this

²³"The Wilderness Trail," Vol. II, p. 339, quoting there Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," Vol. I, p. 44.

²⁴"History U. S.," Vol. I, p. 132.

list as an Indian trader, and he with Josiah (Jonas) Davenport and Robert Burchan were nominated and recommended to the governor as suitable persons for agents at Pittsburgh by the commissioners under the Act for Preventing Abuses in the Indian Trade, passed April 8, 1758; reenacted April 2, 1763. John Barklit is mentioned as an Indian trader as late as 1792; this name is likely a misprint for Barkley. Alexander Ewing is mentioned as a trader as late as 1772. Joseph Spear was another of the later traders, 1775. In Pittsburgh he resided near John Ormsby. Spear was prominent in Pittsburgh during Connolly's regime in 1774, and will be noted later in consequence. The list contains the name Robert Paris, doubtless meant for Richard Paris, a celebrated trader frequently mentioned by General John Armstrong, and especially recommended by Armstrong in a letter to the governor, dated Carlisle, May 5, 1757. John Graham was known to have been in the Indian trade as late as 1772. John McClure was coroner of Cumberland county, 1754-58. He was an uncle of Ebenezer Denny, the first mayor of Pittsburgh, and is recorded by Denny as residing "nine miles above Fort Pitt on the Monongahela," which would be about or opposite Braddock. McClure was the ancestor of all the McClures in that neighborhood.²⁵ John Coleman is thought to have been a dealer and manufacturer in rifles and packsaddles, as well as a trader among the Indians, of a well known Lancaster family.

Of all the names on the list, that of Ephraim Blaine is the most familiar. He was the great-grandfather of James G. Blaine, and commissary-general of the middle department during the Revolution.²⁶

John Campbell's is a most important name in the annals of Pittsburgh, for he laid out the first plan of lots in the village about Fort Pitt in 1764, this plan still referred to, and not changed by Woods and Vickroy in their plotting of the town in 1784. Campbell's plan is known as the "Military Plan of Pittsburgh," and as the "Plan of Lots in Pittsburgh in 1764 by Col. John Campbell." Campbell emigrated to Kentucky and founded Louisville, first called Campbelltown. In that State his name has been commemorated in Campbell county. While at Fort Pitt, Campbell worked as a surveyor, but his principal employment was as clerk for George Croghan. During Connolly's usurpation, Campbell was allied with the Virginia party. In 1767-68, Campbell was in the employ of the extensive trading firm of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan. He is mentioned in Croghan's will as "My friend, formerly my clerk, John Campbell of Pittsburgh." He was one of the witnesses to the treaty of alliance with the Delawares in 1778, with General McIntosh, Colonel Brodhead, Colonel William Crawford, Colonel John

²⁵"Military Journal:" Ebenezer Denny, p. 92.

²⁶"History Pittsburgh;" S. H. Killikelly, pp. 67-72. See also "Penn. Mag. Hist.;" Vol. II, pp. 303, 469. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 344-347.

Gibson, and other noted men of the region during the Revolutionary period. Campbell's name is second on the list of the Augusta county committee at Fort Pitt, May, 1775, Croghan's name preceding. Campbell's was prominent in the affairs of the committee.²⁷

Colonel William Crawford was for a time an Indian trader; however, the story of this celebrated borderer and his most terrible death at the stake will find its proper place in this work, and will include a brief biography.

Barnaby Curran, one of the traders with Washington on his mission in 1753, is found mentioned as Barny Currant. In 1747-48 he was a hired servant of Hugh Parker. When Gist met Curran on the Muskingum in 1750, Curran was a trader for the Ohio Company. There is slight mention of John McGuire, the other trader with Washington, and none of Stewart and Jenkins, servants of the two traders.

The statement has been made that many of the traders were dissolute characters. This applies more particularly to their helpers. In the language of Judge Veech:

About the time the boundary troubles began between Pennsylvania and Virginia, two very different classes of people had come into this region, and as these contributed in very diverse ways to the stirring events which center so largely in our history during the last quarter of the last century (eighteenth century), they may now be introduced.

Almost from the first plantation of Virginia up to the outbreak of the Revolution, Great Britain had enforced the policy of sending over to the middle and southern American Colonies from England, Scotland, and Ireland, many of the very worst and meanest convicted felons. James I. began it by ordering "dissolute persons to be sent to Virginia." In a statute of fourth George I. (1718), among the reasons assigned for this shameless policy was, that "in many of his Majesty's colonies and plantations there was a great want of servants, who, by their labor and industry, might be the means of improving and making the said colonies and plantations more useful to his Majesty." It was calculated that about the year 1750 not less than from three to four hundred felons were annually brought into Maryland. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania repeatedly passed laws in restraint of this influx of a vicious population; but they were disallowed by the King in Council, as being derogatory to the supremacy of the Crown and Parliament. Of course, after being landed, they had the run of the colonies. It is known that many of them were from southern and western provinces of Ireland, some even from Ulster. Naturally, they would drift to the further shores of civilization, as far as possible beyond the reach of law, ready for participation in any tumults that might arise. Many of them are said to have congregated in and around Pittsburgh, and especially along the borders of the Monongahela and upper Ohio—hangers-on upon the Indian trade, or retainers of men who aimed at prominence around them. All of these went by the general name of Irish, and were too easily confounded with the better class of Scotch-Irish.²⁸

Historians of Huntingdon county have much to tell of the traders, naturally, for the trail went across the county, passing the Standing

²⁷Cf. "History of Kentucky;" Collins, Vol. II, pp. 356-357, 360. "History of Pittsburgh;" Craig, Orig. Ed., pp. 128, 132; Ed. 1917, pp. 115-118. "Old Westmoreland;" Hassler, pp. 10, 79.

²⁸Judge Veech refers to Pitkin's "Hist. U. S.," Vol. I, 132; Judge Chambers' "Tribute," 35; "Col. Rec. of Pa.," V, 499, 550. "Centenary Memorial of the Planting and Growth of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania and Parts Adjacent," etc.; "Secular History;" James Veech, p. 309. See also "Alienation, etc.;" Thomson, p. 56.

Stone, a natural curiosity that was destroyed, that stood on the site of the town of Huntingdon. Milton S. Lytle says:

The traders did not belong to that class of persons who reduce to writing the events of their daily lives. It does not appear that anything transpired with them which they deemed worthy of remembrance. They did not penetrate the new country in the spirit of explorers, seeking discoveries of value to the world and benefit to themselves. Even a passage of hundreds of miles through an unbroken forest made no impression on their unappreciative senses. Intent upon traffic, they transported their wares on pack-horses from one end of the province to the other, with a view to profitable commerce with the Indians, whose innocence of mercantile transactions, at that early day, rendered them an easy prey to cupidity and avarice. In later years when, with the utmost vigilance, it was impossible to prevent the French on the Ohio from obtaining information which the interests of the English required they should not possess, it was said of these traders by Governor Morris that they were "mostly a low sort of people, generally too ignorant to be employed as spies, but not at all too virtuous." He was speaking of George Croghan when he made this remark, but rather excepted him from the sweeping assertion. As we become more familiar with the life and character of the latter, as developed in his connection with the affairs of this county from the time which we write until 1756, we will be better able to judge wherein he differed from his fellow-traders. It is not strange that men of the qualities ascribed to them by Governor Morris, should have perpetuated so little concerning themselves and should be so soon forgotten.

The route taken by these commercial travelers of the olden time was along the old Indian warpath, coming from the eastward through the Tuscarora Valley, Shade Gap, Black Log, Aughwick, Woodcock Valley, Hart's Log Valley, Water Street, Franks-town, Holidaysburg, and crossing the Allegheny mountains at or near Kittanning Point. It was this trail that gave Huntingdon county its early importance. It was the great highway between the East and the West, and continued to be so for many years. The traders, the agents of the government, and the pioneers, as they moved westward, followed it. In 1754, when there was a pressing necessity for military operations against the French on the Ohio, and the ways and means of moving troops and conveying supplies were under consideration, there was no other road to the Ohio than this path, which Governor Morris described as "only a horseway through the woods and over mountains, not passable with any carriage." Travel was not diverted from this route until 1755, when the road was made to enable Braddock and his army to march against Fort Du Quesne.²⁹

From Kittanning Point the Wilderness Trail led across Cambria county to the "head of navigation" on the Susquehanna, at what is now the town of Cherrytree, thence across Indiana county to the Kiskiminetas, near Saltsburg, and along that stream to its mouth and thence by canoe down the Allegheny to the Ohio, passing two Indian towns on the Kiskiminetas, and Chartier's Old Town and Shannopin's Town on the Allegheny, thence to Logstown on the Ohio, passing Aliquippa's Town on the north shore and Shingoe's Town (Shingiss' town) at the mouth of Chartiers creek. All these were places of importance in the days of the traders, and all have mention in the journals of the early travelers of the middle of the eighteenth century, Celoron, Weiser and Washington's especially to be told of, and Gist's and Croghan's mention *passim*. Logstown, a rude village that passed away forever, was for more than two decades a place for history making, and its story will

²⁹"History Huntingdon County, Pa.;" M. S. Lytle; pp. 18, 19.

be told in later pages. It was a place of resort for traders, and some important treaties were made there. One is noted in Croghan's Journal for 1751, May 28th that year, when Andrew Montour was the interpreter and there were present deputies from the Six Nations,—the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots and Twightwees or Miamis, and the following traders: Thomas Kinton, Samuel Cuzzens, Jacob Pyatt, John Owens, Thomas Ward, Joseph Nellson, James Brown, Dennis Sullivan, Paul Pearce and Caleb Lamb. The proceedings at this conference will be mentioned in the chapter on Logstown.

The traders also went to Attique, the French name for the Delaware town, Kittanning. The expression "On the Allegheny" meant as applied to trade, that the traders along this stream visited the Indian towns that have been named above. Some had storehouses—Croghan one on the river at Pine creek. The traders were makers of history. Many were outlaws; many drunken and dissolute; many vile morally. Nevertheless, they were intrepid men, and the day came when they suffered and died, and that was when the great Pontiac gave the signal.



CHAPTER X.

Conrad Weiser, Ambassador Extraordinary.

It will have become apparent that almost all Pennsylvania's Colonial history deals with the Indians; and the French and Indians from about 1730 to the taking of Fort Duquesne in 1758, and that the inability of the English to secure the friendship and retain the trade of the Indians shaped the whole course of that history. We have been told how the French quickly adapted themselves to the Indians' customs, learned their languages and used their metaphors, and thereby gained the friendship and consequently the trade of the Indians, especially the Western tribes. The English despised the Indians and their ways, and the record of the English intercourse is mainly that of misfortune and disaster. Different indeed the relations of the Germans and the Dutch, for these people were signally successful in dealing with the Indians, because they were honest and because they, too, mastered the Indian tongues and idioms and entered fully into the spirit of their language. Hence there came a day when the Pennsylvania authorities needed an ambassador among the Indians of the province and the neighboring province of New York. They sought and found him in a German from the Palatinate who had lived among the Mohawks. For a score of years this tactful emigrant was the champion of the English among the Indians with whom the Pennsylvania authorities had to deal. This was Conrad Weiser. No other excelled Weiser; none more dependable. He enlarged the trade facilities of the Province, and the traders of Virginia and Maryland took note of his skill and finesse and profited accordingly. Weiser ever strove against the encroachments of the French and was most loyal to the interests of the English.

When Weiser first came into the service of Penn's Colony, a radical change was taking place. The Delaware tribes had lost their former prestige and the powerful Six Nations—the Six United Nations, they called themselves—were claiming more and more the attention of the Pennsylvania authorities. From the first dealings with Pennsylvania Indians by William Penn the rule had been placation. A broad belt of purchased land had been kept between the frontier settlements and the Indians' eastern claims. Penn's heirs were indifferent in this matter and misunderstandings arose between the Indians and the settlers and between the proprietaries and the governors of their appointment, and the records of the time are depressing with tales of trouble. One of these governors, Sir William Keith, learned while at Albany of the sufferings of the Germans in the Schoharie Valley, and sympathizing with them, offered them a home in Pennsylvania where they could have clear titles and hold their land free of Indian claims. Many came, led

by John Conrad Weiser, father of Conrad; cutting their way through the forests to the headwaters of the Susquehanna and then finding navigable streams, finally locating in the Tulpehocken Valley, now in Berks county. Of course their settlements made trouble with the Indians almost immediately, for these settlers were not free from Indian claims. A decade almost passed before the controversy was settled, when the purchase of 1732 quieted matters for five years until the walking purchase made the great trouble with the Delawares.¹

The immigration of these Schoharie Germans gave the first notice to the Six Nations that the Pennsylvania lands of the Delawares, their vassals, were valuable, and immediately the Confederacy denied the right of the Delawares to sell lands in Pennsylvania. With great skill and vigor the Six Nations pressed their own claims, and there was no denying them by the Penns and their agents and authorities. The Six Nations had quickly learned that the English and French were rival nations and claimants for the vast areas each intended for colonization. The Iroquois foresaw that their Confederacy, skillfully used, could be made the balance of power between the warring European powers. We are concerned in this history only because the Penns claimed and ultimately obtained the region about Pittsburgh, of which the present history is written, and because it brings to our notice the career of Conrad Weiser, and the value of his services and the story of his mission to the Indians on the Ohio at a critical time. Though Weiser did not come to Pennsylvania with his father's people, he followed with his own family nine years later, and thenceforth was a Pennsylvanian. Two years afterward his public life began, and he had little rest thereafter. His life was one of exceeding hardship and that he did not attain an extreme age is not strange. Weiser's close relations with the great Iroquois sachem, Shikellimy, overlord, or vicegerent of the Six Nations at Shamokin, were such as to become exceedingly valuable to the Pennsylvania interests.

Our Pennsylvania historian, Isaac D. Rupp, has given us a brief biography of Weiser:

Conrad Weiser, whose name is intimately associated with the early history of Pennsylvania, and from whom descended some of the most useful men of the country (the Mühlenbergs), was a native of Herrenberg, Germany. He was born November 2, 1696. His father, John Conrad Weiser, with ten of his children, immigrated to America, arrived at New York in June, 1710, and shortly afterwards settled in Schoharie, where he was repeatedly visited by Quagnant, a chief of the Mohawk Nation. At the urgent solicitation of Quagnant, young Conrad went with the chief to his country to acquire knowledge of the Mohawk language. During his stay he endured many hardships and suffered great privations. Having mastered the language he returned to his father's house and was occasionally employed as interpreter. In 1729, then married, he came with his wife and five children to Pennsylvania, settled in the Tulpehocken Valley, located half a mile east of the present site of Womelsdorf, Berks county.

¹"Penna. Archives;" First Series, Vol. I, pp. 344-347.

Conrad Weiser, as occasion demanded it, acted in various capacities, both private and public. Determined, on his arrival in Pennsylvania, to spend the remaining days of his eventful life on his farm, his talents, however, soon attracted attention. Governor Gordon as early as 1731 required his services in the capacity of an interpreter. Soon afterwards Governor Thomas appointed him justice of the peace, and when the French War commenced, Governor Morris commissioned him as colonel of a regiment of volunteers of Berks county. He spent more than a quarter of a century in the service of his country. He closed his eventful life July 13, 1760.²

However, since Rupp's day a competent biographer of Weiser has appeared in Joseph S. Walton, his extensive work suggested by Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, long superintendent of public schools of Pennsylvania. From this biography it is possible to obtain readily additional details of Weiser's public career, whose skill in guiding and controlling the Indian policy of Pennsylvania postponed the threatened rupture with the Six Nations and gave the English colonies time for preparation for the inevitable war with the French.

Some additional facts pertinent to Weiser's biography, are obtained from Walton's book.³ When young Conrad went to live with Quagnant, the Mohawk, he did so at his father's request. Conrad's own story is that he endured great cold and hunger in his situation, but after eight months returned to his father's house. He did good service by acting as interpreter between the Dutch and the Iroquois. There was plenty of this work, but no recompense. Perhaps Conrad was a stubborn boy; at least there is ample evidence that his father was stern and cruel in discipline. The boy was continuously chastised by his father and determined to run away, but was tied with cord to prevent him from carrying out his resolution. However, after a severe beating, Conrad left home and went among the Indians, where he continued for fifteen years. Thus he became well versed in Indian habits and languages. His education, Walton notes, was an education of the woods; a daily contact with men and things, much like Lincoln's. In 1720, during the absence of his father in Europe, Conrad married his "Anna Eve" at his father's home in Schoharie. Previous to 1731 all the negotiations with the Iroquois had been conducted at Albany. With his coming, treaties began on Pennsylvania soil.

Conrad Weiser in our Colonial history has been properly called an ambassador. He was an ideal ambassador, for he had, as has been indicated, admirable qualifications for the post. He was master of the Iroquoian and other tribal dialects, and by his long residence among and association with the Indians, had gained complete knowledge of the customs, habits, conditions and political contentions of the tribes with which the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Vir-

²"History of Western Pennsylvania," etc.; App. II, p. 10. See also "History Berks and Lebanon Counties," by the same author.

³"Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Pennsylvania;" Joseph S. Walton, Philadelphia, 1900; Chapter I.

ginia had to deal. When he came to Logstown he had been for seventeen years an official interpreter by appointment of the Pennsylvania Council, and during that period had participated in almost every important negotiation with the Indians. To native ability he added tact, and his loyalty to the interests of the colonies was unswerving.

With the story of the diplomatic Weiser there runs parallel and contemporaneous that of Colonel George Croghan, likewise a diplomat and interpreter, well suited by his alert mind and pugnacious temperament to push his way anywhere, despite obstacles that would appall one of less strength of will. We shall learn more of this product of Ireland, who came to Pennsylvania in 1741, in his youth, and whose name runs through hundreds of pages of our State's history. He is first heard of when licensed in Pennsylvania as a trader, and, as Weiser tells us in his Journal of 1748, then lived on the west side of the Susquehanna, near Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg. Croghan's daring courage and keen business instincts stood him in good place always. Embarking in the Indian trade, he soon had a long string of packhorses and many hired men attendant upon them, who then found their way to the Indians on the Ohio river and in the Lake Erie region and among the Indian towns on the interior streams of Ohio. He became a great trader, readily acquiring the Indian languages, and he has gone down into history as the "King of the Traders." Weiser introduced him to the Pennsylvania Council, vouching for him as prudent and faithful, and hence Croghan was acceptable and was soon employed by the Council as the official almoner to the tribes of the Ohio and Lake Erie regions. He, too, became a favorite interpreter, and his long career at Fort Pitt and his intimate connection with Pittsburgh's early history entitles him to a separate chapter in that history. He had a trading post at Logstown—one of many throughout the West. He became most influential among the tribesmen, and after Weiser's death was the one most relied on by the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania in the political transactions between them and the Western Indians. It was in Croghan's Logstown storehouse that Weiser lodged while there in 1748.

It was Croghan who brought the information to the Council at Philadelphia that some of the tribes in the Ohio and Lake Erie were waning in their affiliations with the French and some tribes had lost all amity for them, and that these tribes desired an alliance with the English. The Pennsylvania Council on receipt of this news voted £1,000 as a fund for the purchase of presents for the Indians. Virginia and Maryland were requested to coöperate. Virginia responded with an appropriation of £200. Croghan was dispatched as a forerunner to announce the coming of Weiser as the ambassador of peace and the dispenser of bounty. We shall learn in the story of Logstown that it was the most important trading post in the Upper Ohio country and

that many chiefs of influence and authority made it a temporary residence, among these Tanacharison, the Half King, and his successor, Monacatoocha, or as frequently called, Scarrooyady, both overlords of the Iroquoian Confederacy, to whom they acknowledged fealty. At Logstown, it will develop, Weiser met Andrew Montour, a picturesque and romantic character of more than ordinary renown, whose history will appear later, for the name Montour has endured in the geographical nomenclature of Pennsylvania and of the Pittsburgh region, and is common today in several localities near the city as well as in a small local thoroughfare. What Weiser, assisted by Croghan and Montour, did at Logstown, will be set forth here as Weiser himself recorded at the time, and that this trio paved the way for propitiation by extending an invitation to the various tribesmen in the neighborhood, will readily be apparent, for all that could be reached were invited to Logstown, where on arrival, in modern parlance, "the glad hand" was extended to them, along with sundry drams of rum and rolls of tobacco. How many different tribesmen responded, Weiser has told us, and their number, and the distance of some from their home country is most surprising. The Indian orators recited their grievances and emphasized their demands. Weiser in reply extolled the power and advised the protection of the English, and deprecated the ability of the French to advance the interests of the Indians. Weiser was liberal in the dispensation of the liquids provided for the occasion, and delivered the donated goods, consisting of blankets, clothing, weapons and trinkets, distributing the articles among the tribal delegates with proper discrimination.

While Weiser and his assistants were executing the purposes of the Pennsylvania Council at Logstown on the Ohio, another project of greater importance and wider scope was in progress. This was the organization of the "Ohio Company," sometimes referred to as the "Ohio Land Company," whose history will follow in a more relevant chapter.

It is well to preface Weiser's Journal with the matter which Rupp has used in that manner, and with the instructions given Weiser by the Pennsylvania Council. These Rupp has obtained from the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, as well as Weiser's Journal, which he has inserted in full.⁴ It is well also to quote our well revered Pittsburgh historian, Father Lambing, in a few paragraphs taken from a rapid resumé of the secular history of our region in his great work on the history of the Roman Catholic church in the Diocese of Pittsburgh. He said:

Forebodings of the coming inevitable struggle between the French and English could no longer be concealed or disregarded, and they began to watch each other's move-

⁴"History Western Pennsylvania and the West;" App. II, pp. 10-13. "Col. Records;" Vol. V, pp. 290-293.

ments more closely. In this struggle the Six Nations and the remnants of the other tribes occupying the western part of our State, and the adjacent country, must necessarily be an important factor; and it was of the very first importance to each party to have their support, if possible, and if that could not be had, at least their good-will. Perfect neutrality was, in the nature of things, out of the question. To the attainment of this end both nations, accordingly, addressed themselves; the English having in their favor the greater facility in supplying the natives with articles of trade on account of the short distance they had to carry them; but having the equally great disadvantage, the unmistakable evidence which their movements gave, of their intention to occupy the hunting grounds of the savages and ultimately driving them out. With the disadvantage under which the French labored in the matter of supplying articles of trade, they were well known to possess greater tact in dealing with the Indians, while they did not as yet manifest any desire for robbing them of their ancestral domain, but only of occupying certain points for the purposes of trade and defense against the English. Thus matters stood in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The English took the initiative, the Executive Council of Pennsylvania sending Conrad Weiser, their official Indian interpreter, a man of remarkable integrity of character, and one in whom the Indians had unbounded confidence, with message and presents to the Indian village of Logstown, which lay on the northern bank of the Ohio about eighteen miles below the Forks.⁵

Rupp, rehearsing the treachery of Peter Chartier and the consequences of his overt acts four years previously, cites Governor Thomas' message to the Assembly and the various references to Chartier's treachery, and his actions, in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, and includes them in his Appendix III. He spells the name of one of the traders "Dinnew." This was James Dunning, an old trader on the Allegheny whose family name has endured in the geographical nomenclature of Pennsylvania. Under the heading, "Weiser's Mission to Logstown, 1748," Rupp proceeds:

The Delaware and Shawanese Indians had settled on the Ohio prior to 1730, among whom the French emissaries, and persons disaffected with the English rule, had been for several years endeavoring to detach them from the English interest. Among them was one Peter Chartier. He owned at one time a tract of land, the present site of New Cumberland, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania. At this place the Shawanese Indians had a town about 1700-20. It was for many years the landing place of Peter, an Indian agent, and an individual of some notoriety. He owned at one time six hundred acres of land, bounded by the Yellow Beeches creek and the Susquehanna river. April 18, 1744, at the head of four hundred Shawanese well armed with guns, pistols, and cutlasses, he surprised and took prisoner two Indian traders, James Dinnew and Peter Tostec, on the Allegheny river, robbed them of all their effects to the amount of 1600 pounds. Some time afterwards a few of the seduced Shawanese returned again to the English, and acknowledged that they had been misled, and had carried on a private correspondence with the French.

Governor George Thomas, in his message to the Assembly, April 25, 1745, says: "I have just received information that Peter Chartier, after disposing his effects in this Government, is gone to the enemy (French). His conduct for some years past had rendered him generally suspected: and it seems my reprimanding him for some very exceptional parts of it, is made use of amongst other things to excuse his infidelity. Had he been punished as he deserved, for the villainous report he spread among the black inhabitants, two years ago, in order to spirit them up against such of the Six Nations as should happen to travel through those parts of the country, he would not

⁵"Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese;" Rev. A. A. Lambing, D. D., Vol. I, pp. 23, 24.

have been at this time with the enemy; but an apprehension that the Shawanese, whose perfidious blood partly runs in Chartier's veins, might resent upon our traders any severities to him, restrained me from making use of such, and induced me to use the gentle method of reproof, which his brutish disposition had construed into an affront.

"I am likewise informed, that he has persuaded a considerable number of the Shawanese to remove from their old town, to a greater distance upon another river, and it is not to be doubted that a savage person of his temper, will do us all the mischief he can. If you think it worth while, I will send a special messenger to persuade those Shawanese to return to their former place of abode, or I will take any other method you shall advise; though it is my opinion, the advantages of the trade excepted, the further these people remove from our borders, the better it will be for us. I have written letters from time to time to the Shawanese chiefs, inviting them down to Philadelphia, and particularly a very kind one last fall, which Peter Shaver tells me he delivered; but that I have of late received no answer, may be imputed to Chartier's influence over them; and it is too probable that he will make use of it to defeat any further attempts we shall make to revive their friendship with us."

The Delawares and the Shawanese were connected with the Six Nations. In 1747 some of them on the banks of the Ohio visited Philadelphia, "to tender their homage to the English, and to invite the province to send commissioners to a Council Fire," at Logstown, in the present county of Beaver, at which the neighboring nations were to be present. Impressed with the importance of such a conference, the Council at Philadelphia invited the governments of Maryland and Virginia to send their agents, and to unite in preparing a suitable present. On the part of Pennsylvania, goods were provided to the value of a thousand pounds, and Conrad Weiser, the Provincial Interpreter and Indian Agent was sent, with the instructions given from the Governor. Weiser, in obedience to his instructions, proceeded to Logstown, and executed with his wonted fidelity, the object of his mission.⁶

It is plain from the specific instructions given Weiser, that the Pennsylvania authorities were uneasy regarding matters on the Ohio. The frontier settlers were greatly disturbed. King George's War was over, but the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle concluding it was only a truce. It is well to read Weiser's instructions carefully.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CONRAD WEISER.

Sir:—This Government having promised the Indians, who came here from Ohio in November last (1747), to send you to them early in the spring, and having provided a present of a considerable value, you are to proceed thither with all the convenient dispatch. Mr. George Croghan, the Indian trader, who is well acquainted in the Indian country and the best roads to Ohio, has undertaken to this convoy of you and the goods with his own men and horses at the public expense; and as it cannot be foreseen how long the journey will take him, nor what trouble may attend it so as to enter contracts before hand with him, all affairs relating thereto are entirely left to you, wherein we recommend all the frugality that can consistently with the nature of your business, the treasury being low and a large sum expended in the purchase of the present, be practiced.

As soon as you come to the place of rendezvous, you are to notify your arrival in a speech to all the tribes, wherein you are to deal in generals, reserving all particular matters to your closing speech.

You are to use the utmost diligence to acquire a perfect knowledge of the number, situation, disposition and strength of all the Indians in or near those parts, whether they be friends, neutrals or enemies, and be very particular in knowing the temper and influence of the tribes of Indians who send deputies to receive you; for by the knowledge of these matters you are to regulate the distribution of the goods which are to be divided amongst them in as equal and just manner as possible, that all may go away satisfied, and none receive the least cause of disgust at any undue preference given to others.

⁶"Hist. West. Penna.," etc.; Rupp, App. III, p. 23.

You cannot be at a loss for matter whence to form your speeches. The ancient enmity of the French to the Indian Nations, their perfidy upon all occasions, of which, if any reliance can be had on the articles of news in the public papers, you may give some late instances in the death of Taghananty, the Black Prince, who perished in a jail at Montreal, and in the cruel treatment of the Indians in general in Canada, who are confined to loathsome prisons without proper or wholesome sustenance.

The inability of the French to protect the Indians or to supply them with such necessities as they stand in need of for their subsistence. These observations are what cannot but occur to you. You may further enlarge on the constant and ancient friendship of the English, and their readiness at all times to assist them against the attempts of the French, who have ever been for destroying or enslaving them.

And an ample field will be furnished to you in doing justice to this Province, which has ever shown the greatest readiness to supply the Indians in the most pressing necessities, mentioning the several valuable presents made them from time to time, particularly since the commencement of the present war, instancing the Government's presents at Philadelphia, over and above the price of their lands in the year 1742; the large presents at Lancaster and at Albany; and then the present occasion will bear a particular enlargement: this Government having no sooner heard of the distress of the Indians, and that abundance of families and young warriors had for the convenience of hunting removed to the waters of Ohio and Lake Erie, than they determined to send them a supply of goods and powder, which, in this time of scarcity, they could have from no other place. This tenderness for those, who, out of every Nation had come and fixed their habitation in these parts, must needs make deep impressions on their affections, and especially on the minds of their young people, to the advantage of the kindness of this Province for all the Indians.

By the treaties subsisting between his Majesty's subjects and the Indian Nations, they are laid under the strongest obligations to give each other the earliest intelligence of whatever may affect their persons or their properties. In discharge of our duty, you are to inform the Indians that the management of the war being committed to the Governors of New York and Boston, the operations of this year are concerted by them; that they have received orders from his Majesty, exceedingly favorable to the Indians, and in pursuance thereof, they will prosecute the war against the French and their adherents with the utmost vigor; that his Majesty, in token of his regard to the Indian Nations has sent a large present to the Governor of New York, to be distributed at Albany; but, that as their distance from this place, the Indians in Ohio and Lake Erie, may be supposed not to receive much benefit from the Albany present. This is an additional consideration why this government chooses to be kind to those Indians and assist them readier when they are in distress, because they cannot, without extreme difficulties, get supplies from other places.

On the other hand, you are to use all means in your power to get from them all kind of intelligence, as to what the French are doing, or design to do, in these parts, and indeed, all other parts. You are not to satisfy yourself with the generals; but to inform yourself, truly and fully of the real disposition of these Indians, and what dependence can be had of them for the security of this province, and for the total prevention of all hostilities within our limits. You are to make particular inquiry into the number and situation of the Indian Nations, between these people's settlements on the Ohio and the river Mississippi, and to the west of Lake Erie, since it is said, there are several Indian Nations within these limits, and on the lakes Huron and Illinois, who are disobliged with the French, and might easy be brought into the amity of the English.

You will see by the Assembly's answer to the Council's message, a copy whereof will be given you herewith, what sentiments they entertain about us; and, as they have the disposal of the public money, it would be wrong to urge the Indians to war, since no dependence could be had on the Assembly to support them in such an undertaking; and, consequently, and in the end might prove extremely hurtful. This considered, nothing of the kind must be urged by you; and if the Indians mention it themselves, you need not be explicit. You are to tell them that this point is not in your instructions, that your business was to make them a visit, and to be truly informed of their situation, and to bring them a valuable present, the most substantial mark that can be given of the great affection which this province bears to their friends, the Indians; and if they insist any

further, you are to tell them, that at their instance you will make a faithful relation of everything given you, by them, in charge to the government, and transmit to the Indians their resolves. But whatever you do on this head, as a good deal must be left to your discretion and judgment, on such information as shall be given you, you are to take special care not to disoblige the Indians, or in any wise diminish their heartiness for his Majesty's cause against the French.

You are to make particular inquiry into the behavior of the Shawanese, since the commencement of the war, and in relation to the countenance they gave to Peter Chartier. It is proper to tell you that they relented, made acknowledgments to the government of their error in being seduced by Peter Chartier, and prayed they might be permitted to favor of the government; and though the Governor gave them assurances that all past misbehavior should be pardoned, on their sending deputies to Philadelphia, to acknowledge their fault, yet they contented themselves with the loose letters by Indian traders, some of which have been delivered, and some not; but had they all been delivered, this was not a becoming manner of addressing the government, nor could they expect anything from it.

You will, therefore, speak to them by themselves, and give them such a quantity of goods, as upon their present temper, and the frankness of their submissions, you shall think they deserve.

Given in Council, under my hand and the lesser seal of the said Province, at Philadelphia, the 23rd day of June, Anno Domini, 1748.⁷

ANTHONY PALMER.

Anthony Palmer, president of the Council, 1747-48, was a man of great wealth, who had come to Pennsylvania from the West Indies in 1708. He lived in Philadelphia in royal style. His death took place in 1749. These instructions had been drawn up in March preceding the date given but there had been some delay in getting away with the goods. An invoice to George Croghan for them amounting to £224 5s. is recorded in the Colonial Records.⁸ Some additional instructions were given Weiser in regard to two men "carried into slavery from South Carolina." These instructions were dated July 26, 1748. Weiser was to mention the affair and make the inquiry and intercede for the prisoners who had been carried off in April, 1748, by some Northern Indians raiding in the Carolinas, and not denied by them when Weiser brought this matter to their attention. In the Records these prisoners are named Captain Haig and one Brown.⁹ How successful Weiser was is gleaned from his Journal entry of September 12, 1748.

Weiser's route to the Ohio is of great interest. There were several itineraries of the "Main Path to Allegheny" and three, at least, have been preserved which were made by persons traveling from Harris' Ferry, later Harrisburg, to Logstown on the Ohio. Weiser was one—
 • his Journal written five years before that of John Harris, founder of Harrisburg. Other paths were the Juniata, otherwise called the Franks-town Path, and the more southerly path via Raystown, later Bedford, changed in 1758 by General Forbes into his celebrated military road in the expedition against Fort Duquesne that year. Some story of these

⁷"Colonial Records;" Vol. V, pp. 290-293. "Hist. West. Penna.," etc.; Rupp, App. II, pp. 10-13.

⁸Vol. V, pp. 294-295.

⁹Vol. V, p. 304.

historic highways is essential to this history, for they have much place in our Colonial history. At this point the story will be confined to Weiser's itinerary. Weiser's home was about one mile east of Womelsdorf, in what is now Berks county, then in Lancaster. Weiser was on horseback and made the forty-five miles to Croghan's on the second day. From Harris' Journal it is established that Croghan's home was west of the Susquehanna, for Harris wrote: "From my Ferry to George Croghan's, five miles." This location was in Pennsboro township, now Silver Spring township, Cumberland county. Robert Dunning's place was below Le Tort's Spring, now Carlisle. August 14th, Weiser came to the Tuscarora Path, now Path Valley, in Franklin county, crossing the Blue Ridge through McAllister's Gap, thence through the valley and through the Tuscarora mountain to the Black Log, a sleeping place, a point at the gap of the same name east of the present town of Orbisonia, in Huntingdon county; thence within two miles of the Standing Stone, now the town of Huntingdon; thence to Frankstown, following the Water street or Frankstown branch of the Juniata for thirty-eight miles. The Allegheny hill was fourteen miles farther. Here the trail ascended the mountain by way of Burgoon's Run Gap to the mouth of Kittanning run, thence by way of that gap to the west side of the mountains. This locality is well known to thousands as Kittanning Point on the Pennsylvania railroad, Kittanning run flowing under the tracks in the center of the Horseshoe Curve and joining the waters of Burgoon's run, filling the large basins in the valley south of the railroad, that furnish the water supply for the city of Altoona.

From Kittanning Point to the Clear Fields the distance is six miles, the trail having passed somewhat west of the village of Ashville, in Cambria county, and proceeded diagonally across that county to what is now the town of Cherry Tree, on the Susquehanna, in Indiana county. The term "Clear Fields" designated an open meadow space in the woods with which the top of the mountain was covered. It might have been cleared by a forest fire, or by the hands of Indians at some remote period. This locality was near the line between the townships of Allegheny and Clearfield in Cambria county, a slight distance east of the village of Chest Springs. From the Clear Fields to the head of the Susquehanna (West Branch), or Canoe place, now Cherry Tree, the distance is eighteen miles. This point marked the head of canoe navigation on the Susquehanna. It is a historic point in Pennsylvania history, an important point on the trail. The Shawanese cabins mentioned by Weiser were on a branch of Two Lick creek, in Indiana county, about a mile southwest of the site of Cookport. The route Weiser traveled passed close to the sites of Diamondville and Greenville (Penn Run P. O.), Indiana county, and to Shaver's Spring and within what is now the town of Indiana and on to the Kiskiminetas river at about the site

of Apollo, perhaps at the mouth of Carnahan's run. From the stopping place at Ten Mile Lick or the Round Hole, to the Kiskiminetas was about twelve miles. The Lick was thirty-two miles from the cabins. From the crossing of the Kiskiminetas to the Ohio, or the Allegheny, was twenty-six miles. This distance as given by Weiser fixes adequately the point at which he crossed the Kiskiminetas. From the mouth of this stream there was canoe navigation as far as the voyager desired to go down the Ohio or up its tributaries. Chartier's Landing on the Allegheny was almost due west from the Kiskiminetas town and about eight miles below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas river. It is shown on Lewis Evans' map of 1755; and on Father Bonnecamps' map of 1749 as "an old town of the Shawanese."¹⁰

Weiser, like most chroniclers of his years, was a phonetic speller, hence he has twisted some of the Indian names. Scaiohady is Scarrooyady, the successor of Tanacharison, the Half King whom Washington met on his journey to the French forts in 1753, so called on account of his authority as vicegerent of the Iroquois over their subjugated tribes about the head of the Ohio. Tanacharison was ever a good friend of the English. His death in 1754 was a serious loss to the Provinces of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Weiser calls him "Tanughrisson," some times simply the "Half King." He was a Seneca of the Mingo section of that nation. Scarrooyady was an Oneida. Much will be heard of the Half King in the history of Washington's first operations in Western Pennsylvania, and of Scarrooyady, under his other name, Monacattoocho, in the relation of Braddock's expedition. "Olomipes" was Allumapees, a Delaware sachem better known in Pennsylvania history as Sassoonan, who will be remembered as one of the leading Delawares humbled by Cannassatego at Philadelphia in 1742, when the Delawares were told they were women and to remove instantly. (See Chapter VII).

The Tisagechroanu were the Mississagas from Lake Huron, a large tribe and French Indians, or under French influences. The name Tisagechroanu here is probably a misprint, for it is most often found Zisaugeghroanu.¹¹ The curious spellings and the care that Weiser took to enumerate the chiefs he met in order that the provincial authorities might be informed of their friendship, must impress the readers of his Journal in these late years. Certain names referring to Colonial and French officials also require explanation. The French governor-general is always referred to as Onontio, sometimes spelled Onondio. Corlær was the governor of New York, and Assaragoa, or Assaraqua, the governor of Virginia. William Penn and the governors of Pennsylvania are always Onas—the Iroquois word. The Delawares called him Miquon.

¹⁰"The Wilderness Trail," C. A. Hanna, Vol. I, pp. 250, 252-263, 266-270.

¹¹"Col. Rec.," Vol. IV, p. 586. "Zisaugegh-roanu, who live on the east side of Huron's Lake," three large towns, etc

The Indians had no written language, but they kept the records of their Councils in a peculiar manner. They made pictures with beads strung together in a belt. The famous treaty with William Penn was commemorated by a belt of "wampum," as the strings were called. The Penn treaty belt represented an Indian and a white man clasping each other by the hand in token of friendship. Independent of any picture, the arrangement of the beads and their colors had meanings. When a "Council" was held, a fire was lit and the Indians were all seated around it; hence the word "fire" used frequently by the Indian speakers metaphorically referred to a council. Every tribe had its wampum interpreters. By examination of a belt these could tell what action had been taken at a past Council. The beads of these wampum belts served also for money. Originally the beads were made of white or colored shells strung on strings. When the Europeans came they furnished glass beads. A certain number of beads represented a fixed value. The Indians seldom had use for money. Nevertheless, Weiser recorded that at Chartier's Old Town he gave a string of wampum to enforce his request.

That Weiser traveled a rough road we may well believe, and we have testimony to its character furnished twenty-three years afterwards.

The Rev. David McClure, who with companions made a missionary journey to the Ohio country in 1772, describes their passage through McAllister's Gap:

We passed through the Gap. The road was dismal. It was hollow through the mountains about six miles, rough, rocky and narrow. It was a bed of stones and rocks which, probably, the waters falling from each side had washed bare. In about two hours we passed through the Gap, having walked almost the whole way. On the western side, the descent into Path Valley was steep and stony, and so continued for more than a mile. Leading our horses down they came near falling upon us several times.¹²

At the meeting of the Council held in Philadelphia, October 15, 1748, "The Secretary was ordered to lay before the House Weiser's Journal of his proceedings at Ohio."¹³

Weiser's Journal of 1748, as recorded in the Colonial Records, is as follows:

THE JOURNAL OF CONRAD WEISER, ESQ., INDIAN INTERPRETER.¹⁴

August 11, 1748—Set out from my house. (Heidelberg township, Berks county, Pa.)	
and came to James Galbreath's that day.	30 miles.
August 12th.—Came to George Croghan's.	15 "
August 13th.—To Robert Dunning's.	20 "
August 14th.—To Tuscarora Path.	30 "
August 15th and 16th—Lay by, on account of the men coming back sick, and some other affairs hindering us.	
August 17th—Crossed the Tuscarora Hill, and came to the sleeping place, called The Black Log.	20 miles.

¹²"Diary of David McClure;" August 12, 1772.

¹³See "Minutes Provincial Council," in "Col. Records;" Vol. V, p. 347.

¹⁴"Hist. West. Penna.;" Rupp, App. III.

August 18th—Had a great rain on the afternoon—came within two miles of the Standing Stone. Huntingdon County. 24 miles

August 19th—We traveled but twelve miles—were obliged to dry our things in the afternoon. 12 miles

August 20th—Came to Franks Town, but saw no houses or cabin. Here we overtook the goods, because four of George Croghan's hands fell sick. 26 miles

August 22d—Crossed the Allegheny hills, and came to the Clear Fields. 16 "

August 23d—Came to the Shawanese Cabbins. 34 "

August 24th—Found a dead man on the road, who had killed himself by drinking too much whiskey.—This place being very stony, we could not dig a grave. He smelling very strong, we covered him with stones and wood and went on in our journey—came to the Ten Mile Lick. 32 miles

August 25th—Crossed Kiskeminetoes Creek, and came to Ohio¹⁵ that day. 26 "

August 26th—Hired a canoe—paid 1000 black wampum for the loan of it to Logs Town. Our horses being all tired, we went by water, and came that night to a Delaware town—the Indians used us very kindly.

August 27th—Set off again in the morning early—rainy weather. We dined in a Seneca Town, where an old Seneca woman reigns with great authority. We dined at her house, and they all used us very well at this and the last mentioned Delaware town. They received us by firing a great many guns. We saluted the town by firing four pairs of pistols. Arrived that evening at Logs Town and saluted the town as before. The Indians returned about one hundred guns. Great joy appeared in their countenances.

From the place where we took water; i. e., from the Old Shawanese-Town commonly called Chartiers-Town, to this place is about one hundred and sixty miles by water, and but thirty-five or forty by land.

The Indian council met this evening to shake hands with me, and to show their satisfaction at my safe arrival. I desired on them to send a couple of canoes to fetch down the goods from Chartiers-Old-Town, where we had been obliged to leave them on account of our horses being all tired. I gave them a string of wampum, to enforce my request.

August 28th.—Lay still.

August 29th—The Indians set off in their canoes to fetch the goods. I expected the goods would be all at Chartiers-Old-Town, by the time the canoes would get there, as we met about twenty horses of George Croghan's at the Shawanese Cabbins, in order to fetch the goods, that were then at Frank's-Town.

This day, news came to town, that the Six Nations were on the point of declaring war against the French, for the reason that the French had imprisoned some of the Indian deputies. A council was held, and all the Indians made acquainted with the news; and, it was said, the Indian messenger was, by the way, to give all the Indians notice to make ready to fight the French.

This day my companions went to Coscosky, a large Indian Town about thirty miles off.¹⁶

August 30th.—I went to Beaver Creek, an Indian town, eight miles off; chiefly Delaware; the rest Mohawks, to have some belts of wampum made. This afternoon rainy weather set in, which lasted above a week. Andrew Montour came back from Coscosky, with a message from the Indians there, to desire me, that the ensuing council might be held in their town. We both lodged at this town, at George Croghan's Trading House.

August 31st—Sent Andrew Montour back to Coscosky, with a string of wampum, to let the Indians know that it was an act of their own; that the ensuing Council must be held at Logs Town: they had ordered it so last spring, when George Croghan was up; and at the last treaty at Lancaster the Shawanese and Twightwees had been told so, and they staid accordingly for the purpose; and both would be offended if the Council was

¹⁵Rupp's footnote: "Allegheny river, this being then called 'Ohio.'"

¹⁶Rupp's footnote: "This town is placed in Hutchin's map, on the west side of Big Beaver, about one mile below where the Shenango and Mahoning unite." It has many spellings in Pennsylvania records. Christian Frederick Post calls it "Kushkushing." A common form is "Kuskuskies."

to be held at Coscosky; besides my instructions bind me to Logs-Town, and could no further go without giving offence.

September 1st.—The Indians in Logs Town having heard of the message from Coscosky, sent for me to know what I was resolved to do and told me that the Indians at Coscosky were no more chiefs than themselves, that last spring they had nothing to eat, and expecting that they should have nothing to eat at our arrival; ordered that the Council should be held here. Now their corn is ripe, they want to remove the Council; but they ought to stand by their own word; we have kept the Twightwees from below on that account. As I told them about the message that I had sent by Andrew Montour, they were content.

September 2d.—The rain continued. The Indians brought in a good deal of venison.

September 3d.—Set up the Union Flag on a long pole. Treated all the company with a dram of rum. The King's health was drunk by the Indians and white men. Towards night a great many Indians arrived to attend the Council. There was a great firing on both sides.—The strangers first saluted the town at a quarter of a mile distance; and at their entry the town's people returned the fire, also the English traders, of whom there were about twenty. At night, being very sick of the cholic, I got bled.

September 4th.—Was obliged to keep my bed all day, being very weak.

September 5th.—Found myself better. Scaiohady¹⁷ came to see me. I had some discourse with him about the ensuing Council.

September 6th.—Had a council with the Wandats [Wyandots], otherwise called Inontady-Hagas; they made a fine speech to me, to make me welcome, and appeared on the whole very friendly. Rainy weather continued.

September 7th.—Being informed that the Wandats had a mind to go back again to the French, and had endeavored to take the Delawares with them to recommend them to the French, I send Andrew Montour to Beaver Creek with a string of wampum to inform himself of the truth of the matter. They sent a string in answer to let me know that they had no correspondence that way with the Wandats, and that the aforesaid report was false.

September 8th.—Had a council with the Chief of the Wandats; inquired into their number, and what occasioned them to come away from the French; what correspondence they had with the Six Nations, and whether or not they had ever any correspondence with the government of New York. They informed me their coming away from the French was because of the hard usage they received from them; that they would always get their young men to go to war against the enemies, and would use them as their own people, that is, like slaves; and their goods were so dear that they, the Indians, could not buy them. That there were one hundred fighting men that came over to join the English, seventy were left behind at another town, a good distance off, and they hoped they would follow them; that they had a very good correspondence with the Six Nations for many years, and were one people with them; that they could wish the Six Nations would act more briskly against the French. That above fifty years ago they made a Treaty of Friendship with the Governor of New York at Albany; and they showed me a large belt of wampum they received there from the Governor, as from the King of Great Britain. The belt was twenty-five grains wide and two hundred and sixty-five long, very curiously wrought. There were seven images of men holding one another by the hand. The first signifying the Governor of New York; or, rather as they said, the King of Great Britain. The second, the Mohawks. The third, the Oneidos. The fourth, the Cajugas. The fifth, the Onongagers. The sixth, the Senekas. The seventh, the Owandats;¹⁸ and two rows of black wampum under their feet, through the whole length of the belt, to signify the road from Albany through the Five Nations to the Owandats. That six years ago they had sent deputies with the same belt to Albany to renew the Friendship.

I treated them with a quart of whiskey and a roll of tobacco. They expressed their good wishes to King George and all his people, and were mighty pleased that I looked upon them as brethren of the English.

This day I desired the Deputies of all the Nations of Indians settled on the waters

¹⁷Scarrooyady—better known as Monacatoocha—an Oneida sachem.

¹⁸The Wyandots or Hurons. Weiser sometimes shortens the name to "Wandats."

of the Ohio, to give me a list of their fighting men, which they promised to do. A great many of the Indians went away this day, because the goods did not come, and the people in the town could not find provision enough, the number was so great.

The following is the number of every Nation given to me by their several Deputies in Council in so many little sticks tied up in a bundle: The Senekas, one hundred and sixty-three. The Shawanese, one hundred and sixty-two. The Owandats, one hundred. The Tisagechroanu, forty. The Mohawks, seventy-four. The Mohickons, fifteen. The Onondagers, thirty-five. The Cajugas, twenty. The Oneidos, fifteen. The Delawares, one hundred and sixty-five—in all seven hundred and eighty-nine.

Sept 9th.—I held a Council with the Senekas and gave them a large string of wampum, black and white, to acquaint them I had it in charge from the President and Council in Philadelphia, to enquire who it is that lately took the people prisoners in Carolina; one thereof being a great man, and that by what discovery I had already made, I found it was some of the Senekas did it; I therefore desired them to give me the reasons for doing this; and as they had struck their hatchet into their brethren's body, they could not expect that I could deliver them my message with a good heart, before they gave me satisfaction in that respect; for they must consider the English, though living in several Provinces, are all one people; and doing mischief to the one, is doing to the other. Let me have a plain and direct answer.

September 10th.—A great many of the Indians got drunk. One Henry Noland had brought near thirty gallons of whiskey to the town this day. I made a present to the old Shawanese Chief, Cackawatcheky, of a stroud,¹⁹ a blanket, a match coat, a shirt, a pair of stockings, and a large twist of tobacco; and told him that the President and Council of Philadelphia remembered their love to him, as to their old and true friend, and would clothe his body once more, and wished he might wear them out so as to give them the opportunity to clothe him again. There were a great many Indians present, two of which were the Big-Hominy and the Pride; those who went off with Chartier, but protested against his proceedings against our Indian traders. Cackawatcheky returned thanks; and, some of the Six Nations did the same; and expressed to see a true man taken notice of, although he was now grown childish.

September 11th.—George Croghan and myself staved an eight gallon keg of liquor belonging to the aforesaid Henry Noland, who could not be prevailed to hide it in the woods, but would sell it and get drunk himself. I desired some the Indians in council to send me some of their young men to meet our people with the goods and not to come back before they heard of or saw them. I began to be afraid they had fallen into the hands of the enemy; so did the Indians. Ten warriors came to town, by water from Niagara. We suspected then very much, and feared that some of their parties went to meet our people by hearing of them.

September 12th.—Two Indians and a white man went out to meet our people, and had orders not to come back before they saw them, or to go to Franks Town where we left the goods. The same day the Indians made answer to my requests, concerning the prisoners taken in Carolina. Thanagieson, a speaker of the Senekas, spoke to the following purpose, in the presence of all the deputies of the other Nations: "We went out door, brethren, you came a great way to visit us, and many sorts of evil might have befallen you by the way, which might have been hurtful to your eyes and your inward parts; for the woods are full of evil spirits. We give you this string of wampum to clear up your eyes and minds, and to remove all bitterness of your spirit, that you may hear us speak a good cheer."

Then the speaker took his belt in his hand, and said: "Brethren—When we and you first saw one another at your first arrival at Albany, we shook hands together, and became brethren, and we tied your ship to the bushes; and after we had more acquaintance with you, we loved you more and more, and perceived that a bush would not hold your vessel, we then tied her to a large tree and ever after good friendship continued between us; afterwards, you, our brethren told us, that a tree might happen to fall down, and the rope rot where with the ship was tied; you then proposed to make a silver chain, and tie your ship to the great mountains in the Five Nation's country; and that

¹⁹ Strouds—woolen goods, made in Gloucestershire, England, on the banks of Stroud Water—these goods much used in Indian trade.

chain was called the CHAIN OF FRIENDSHIP; and we were all tied by our arms together with it; and we, the Indians of the Five Nations, heartily agreed to it and ever since a very good correspondence has been kept up between us; but, we are very sorry that at your coming here, we are obliged to talk of the accident that lately befel you in Carolina, where some of our warriors by the instigation of the evil spirit, struck their hatchets into our own body like; for our brethren, the English, and we are of one body; and what was done, we utterly abhor as a thing done by the evil spirit himself: we never expected any of our people would ever do so to our brethren. We, therefore, remove the hatchet, which by the influence of the evil spirit, was struck into your body, and we desire that our brother, the Governor of New York, and Onas, may use their utmost endeavors that the thing may be buried in the bottomless pit; that it may never be seen again; that the chain of friendship, which is of so long standing, may be preserved bright and unhurt." Gave a belt.

The speaker then took up a string of wampum, mostly black, and said: "Brethren—As we have removed our hatchet out of your body, or properly speaking, out of our own, we now desire that the air may be cleared up again, and the wound given may be healed, and everything put in good understanding, as it was before; and we desire you will assist us to make up everything with the Governor of Carolina; the man that has been brought to us prisoner, we now deliver up to you; he is yours." Then laid down the string, and took the prisoner by the hand, and delivered him to me. By way of discourse the speaker said: "The Six Nation warriors often met Englishmen trading to the Catawbias, and often found that the Englishmen betrayed them to their enemies and some of the English traders had been spoken to by the Indian speaker last year in the Cherrykees country, and were told not to do so; that the speaker and many others of the Six Nations, had been afraid a long time, that such a thing would be done by some of their warriors, at one time or other."

September 13th—Had a council with the Senekas and Onontagers about the Wandots to receive them into our Union. I gave a large belt of wampum; and the Indians gave two; and everything was agreed upon about what should be said to the Wandots. The same day a full Council was appointed, and met accordingly, and a speech was made to the Wandots by Asserhaztuz, a Seneka, as follows: "Brethren, the Inonontady-Hagas; last Spring you sent this belt of wampum to us (having the belt then in his hand) to desire us and our brethren the Shawanese, and our cousins the Delawares, to come to meet you in your retreat from the French; we accordingly came to your assistance, and brought you here, and received you as our own flesh. We desire, you will think, you now join us and our brethren, the English; and to become our people with us." Then he laid that belt by, and gave a very long string of wampum.

The speaker took up the belt, I gave, and said: "Brethren—The English, our brothers, bid you welcome, and are glad you escaped as it were, out of captivity. You have been kept as slaves by the Onontio, notwithstanding he called you all along his children; but now you have broken the rope wherewith you have been tied, and became freemen; and we, the united Six Nations receive you to our Council Fire, and make you members thereof; and we will secure your dwelling place to you against all manner of danger." Gave the belt.

"Brethren—We the Six United Nations, and all our Indian allies, with our Brethren the English, look upon you as our children, though you are our brethren; we desire you will give no ear to the Evil Spirit that spreads lies and wickedness; let your mind be easy and clear, and be of the same mind with us, whatever you may hear, nothing shall befall you, but what of necessity must befall us at the same time.

"Brethren—We are extremely pleased to see you here, as it happened just as the same time when our brother Onas is with us. We desire you to be strong in your minds and hearts; let nothing alter your minds, but live and die with us."

Gave belt of wampum. The Council broke up.

September 14th—A full Council was summoned, and everything repeated by me to all the Indians, what passed in Lancaster at the last Treaty with the Twightwees. The news was confirmed by a belt of wampum from the Six Nations, that the French had imprisoned some of the Six Nation's Deputies, and thirty of the Wandots including women and children. The Indians that were sent to meet our people with the goods came

back, and had not seen anything of them, but they had been no further than the old Shawanese Town.

September 15th—I let the Indians know that I would deliver my message to-morrow, and the goods; and that they must send deputies with me on my return homewards; and wherever we should meet the rest of the goods, I would send them to them, if they were not taken by the enemy. To which they agreed. The same day the Delawares made a speech to me, and presented a beaver coat, and a string of wampum, and said: "Brethren—We let the President and Council of Philadelphia know, that after the death of our chief man, Olomipees, our grandchildren, the Shawanese, came to our town to condole with us over the loss of our good king, your brother, and they wiped off our tears, and comforted our minds; and as the Delawares are the same people with the Pennsylvanians, and born in one and the same country, we gave some of the present to our grandchildren, given us by the President and Council in Philadelphia, because of the death of their good friend and brother, must have affected them as well as us." Gave the Beaver coat and a string of wampum.

The same day, the Wandots sent for me and Andrew Montour, and presented us with seven beaver skins, about ten pounds weight, and said, they gave us that to buy some refreshments for us after our arrival in Pennsylvania, and wished that we might get home safe, and lifted up their hands and said, they would pray to God to protect us—and guide us the way home. I desired to know their names—they behaved like people of good sense and sincerity. The most of them were gray headed. Their names are as follows: Totoznihiades, Tapanayesy, Ionachquad, Wandupy, Tazuchionzas, their speaker. The chiefs of the Delawares that made the above speech are Shawanasson and Achamanatainn.

September 16th—I made answer to the Delawares and said: "Brethren, the Delawares—It is true what you said, that the people of Pennsylvania are your brethren and countrymen; we are very well pleased with what your children the Shawanese, did to you—this is the first time we had public notice given us of the death of our good friend and brother, Olomipees. I take this opportunity to remove the remainder of your trouble from your hearts, to enable you to attend the ensuing treaty, and I assure you, the President and Council of Pennsylvania condole with you over the loss of your king, our good friend and brother." Gave them five strouds.

The two aforesaid chiefs gave a string of wampum, and desired me to let their brethren, the President and Council know, that they intended a journey next spring to Philadelphia, to consult with the brethren on some affairs of moment; since they are now like orphan children, they hoped their brethren would let them have their good advice and assistance, as the people of Pennsylvania and the Delawares were like one family. The same day, the rest of the goods arrived; the men said they had nine days' rain, and the creeks had risen, and that they had been obliged to send a sick man back from Frankstown to the inhabitants with another to attend him. The neighboring Indians being sent for again, the council was appointed to meet to-morrow—it rained again.

September 17th—It rained very hard; but in the afternoon, it held up for about three hours. The deputies of the several nations met in council, and I delivered there what I had to say from the President and Council of Pennsylvania, by Andrew Montour.

"Brethren—You that live on the Ohio, I am sent to you by the President and Council of Pennsylvania, and am now going to speak to you on their behalf. I desire you will take notice, and hear what I shall say." Gave a string of wampum.

"Brethren—Some of you had been in Philadelphia last fall, and acquainted us that you had taken up the English hatchet, and that you had already made use of it against the French; and that the French had very hard heads, and your country afforded nothing but sticks and hickorys, which were not sufficient to break them. You desired your brethren would assist you with some weapons, sufficient to do it. Your brethren, the President and Council, promised you then to send something next spring by Tazachiawagon, but as some other affairs prevented this journey to Ohio, you received a supply by George Croghan, sent you by your said brethren, but before George Croghan came back from Ohio, news came from over the Great Lake that the king of Great Britain and the French king, had agreed upon a cessation of arms for six months, and that a

peace was very likely to follow. Your brethren, the President and Council, were then, in a manner, at a loss what to do. It did not become them to act contrary to the command of the king; and it was out of their power to encourage you in the war against the French; but as your brethren never missed fulfilling their promises, they have, upon a second consideration, thought proper to turn the intended supply into a civil and brotherly present, and have, accordingly, sent me with it; and here are the goods before your eyes, which I have, by your brethren's order, divided into five shares, and laid in five different heaps; one heap whereof, your brother Assaraquoa sent to you, to remember his friendship and unity with you; and as you are all of the same nations, with whom we, the English have been in league of friendship, nothing need be said more than this, that the President and Council, and Assaraquoa, have sent this present, to serve to strengthening the chain of friendship between us, the English, and several nations of Indians to which you belong.

"A French peace is a very uncertain one; they keep it no longer than their interest permits; then they break it without provocation given them. The French king's people have been almost starved in old France for want of provision, which made them wish and seek for peace; but our wise people are of the opinion that after their bellies are full, they will quarrel again and raise a war. All nations in Europe know that their friendship is mixed with poison, and many that trusted too much on their friendship have been ruined. I now conclude, and say that we, the English, are your true brethren at all events. In token whereof, receive this present."

The goods then being uncovered, I proceeded: "Brethren—You have of late settled on the river of Ohio for the sake of hunting, and our traders followed you, for the sake of hunting, too. You have invited them yourself. Your brethren, the President and Council, desire you will look upon them as your brethren, and see that they have justice done them. Some of your young men have robbed our traders, but you will be so honest as to compel them to make satisfaction. You are now become a people of note, and are grown very numerous of late years; and there are no doubt, some wise men among you; it therefore becomes you to act the part of wise men; and, for the future, be more regular than you have been for some years past, when only a few young hunters lived here." Gave a belt.

"Brethren—You have of late made frequent complaints against the traders bringing so much rum into your towns, and desire it might be stopped, and your brethren, the President and Council, made an act accordingly, and put a stop to it, and no trader was to bring any rum or strong drink liquor to your towns. I have the act here with me, and shall explain it to you before I leave you. But it seems it is out of your brethren's power to stop it entirely. You send down your own skins by the traders to buy rum for you. You go yourselves and fetch horse loads of strong liquors; only, the other day, an Indian came to this town out of Maryland, with three horses loads of liquor; so that it appears that you love it so well that you cannot be without. You know very well that the country near the Endless Mountains affords strong liquor and the moment the traders buy it, they are gone out of the inhabited parts, and are traveling to this place without being discovered; besides this, you never agree about it; one will have it, the other won't; a third says he will have it cheaper; this last, we believe is spoken from your hearts. (Here they laughed). Your Brethren, therefore, have ordered that every * * * of whiskey shall be sold to you for five bucks in your town, and if a trader offers to sell whiskey to you, and will not let you have it at that price, you may take it from him, and drink it for nothing." Gave a belt.

"Brethren—Here is one of the traders, who you know to be a very sober and honest man; he has been robbed of the value of three hundred bucks, and you all know by whom; let, therefore, satisfaction be made to the trader." Gave a string of wampum.

"Brethren—I have no more to say." I delivered the goods to them, having first divided them into five shares. A share to Senekas; another to the Cajukas, Oneidas, the Onontagers and Mohawks; another to the Delawares; another to the Owandots, Zisagechroann and Mohickons; and another to the Shawanese. The Indians signified great satisfaction and were well pleased with the cessation of arms. The rainy weather hastened them away with the goods into the houses.

September 18th—The speech delivered to the Delawares in their own language and also to the Shawanese in theirs, by Andrew Montour, in the presence of the gentle-

man that accompanied me. I acquainted the Indians that I was determined to leave them to-morrow, and return homeward.

September 19th—Scaiohady, Tanughrisson and Oniadagarehra, with a few more, came to my lodging and spoke as follows: "Brother Onas—We desire that you will hear what we are going to say to you, in behalf of all the Indians on the Ohio, their deputies have sent us to you. We have heard what you have said, and we return you many thanks for your kindness in informing us of what passed between the King of Great Britain and the French King; and in particular, we return you many thanks for the large presents; we do the same to our brother Assaraquoa, who joined our brother Onas in making us a present. Our brethren have indeed tied our hearts to theirs; we at present can but return thanks with an empty hand, till another opportunity serves to do it sufficiently. We must call a great council, and do everything regular; in the mean time, look upon us as your true brothers.

"Brother—You said the other day, in council, if anything befel us from the French, we must let you know it. We will let you know if we hear of anything from the French, be it against us or yourself. You will have peace; but it is most certain that the Six Nations and their allies are upon the point of declaring war against the French. Let us keep up the correspondence, and always hear of one another."—They gave a belt.

Scaiohady and the Half-King, with two others, had informed me that they often send messengers to Indian Towns and Nations, and had nothing in their council bag, as they were now beginners, either to recompense a messenger or to get wampum to do the business, and begged I would assist them with something. I had saved a piece of stroud, and half barrel of powder, 100 pounds of lead, ten shirts, six knives, and one pound of vermillion, and gave them it for the aforesaid use. They returned many thanks and were mightily pleased.

The same day I set out for Pennsylvania, in rainy weather, and arrived at George Croghan's on the 28th instant.

CONRAD WEISER.

Pennsburg, September 29, 1748.

Provincial Record Book L, pp. 420-438.²⁰

A most interesting biography of Conrad Weiser is that of I. D. Rupp's, from which the sketch in his "History of Western Pennsylvania" has been extracted.²¹

At one time Weiser closely coöperated with the Moravians, but after 1743 not so efficiently, says Rupp. His descendants included many persons prominent in Pennsylvania history, for in 1743 his daughter Maria became the wife of the celebrated Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Lutheran divine, who was the father of Henry A. Muhlenberg, of Reading, noted in the State's early political history. Weiser in 1750 built a house in what is now Reading, and opened the first store in the settlement. His initials and the date were carved in a round stone inset between the second story front windows. He died at his country seat at Womelsdorf, July 13, 1760, having gone there from Reading the day before in his usual health. His death was caused by a violent colic. He was sixty-three years and eight months old. He was the father of fifteen children, of whom seven and his widow survived him.

This extraordinary man was for a while commemorated in Pittsburgh by a street name given one of those forming the North Diamond

²⁰Rupp's references are to an old series. Weiser's "Journal" in the series of "Colonial Records," now available, is in Vol. V, pp. 348-358. Pennsburg as a name has been changed to Pennsboro.

²¹"History of Berks and Lebanon Counties," 1845; pp. 195 *et seq.* See also "History Berks County," M. L. Montgomery, Vol. I, pp. 330, 331.

square in former Allegheny City after the annexation to Pittsburgh. Recently the name has fallen into disuse, and the directories record only the word Diamond, prefixed by the names of the points of the compass. In 1912 Weiser street was the East Diamond.

"Tradition has it," wrote Rupp in 1844, "that from a high regard for his character, the Indians for many years after his death were in the habit of making visits of affectionate remembrance to his grave."



CHAPTER XI.

New France in America.

La Nouvelle France, as they called it, was a vast domain. Its extent is clearly shown on the maps of the period, portraying also the English settlements along the Atlantic, a pitiable and insignificant strip in comparison. That the region of our homes, Pittsburgh and its Environs, was once included in this French territory; that the site of our home city was a French outpost in the wilderness; that the fleur-de-lis of Louis XV. floated in short-lived triumph over the French fort at the famous Forks of the Ohio, significant of French sovereignty, is all well known history. Yet we are prone to forget the French regime here, its tragedies and its lessons. We are prone, also, to forget that the beautiful old standard of France was the symbol of the first sovereignty of the region, giving way by right of conquest to the royal standard of St. George, and then the flag of free America, our loved Stars and Stripes, came to stay. Three sovereignties have been our allotment, in manner more tragic than New York's, St. Louis' and New Orleans'; more also than that of our French contemporary, Detroit, a famous place in American history. Evidences of French dominion in and about Pittsburgh are not lacking in commemorated names, both geographical and municipal. Close to the street bearing the name of doughty Governor Dinwiddie, whose acts began the struggle for the continent of North America, there are yet two streets with unmistakably French names, those of Coulon de Villiers and his slain brother, Jumonville. Once that gallant soldier of France, Legardeur St. Pierre, was likewise commemorated, but his name has passed. Then there are the names of the French merchants who came to the site of Fort Duquesne—Berthoud, partner of the Tarascons, shipbuilders of Pittsburgh, and Claire Aimee Francois de Rouaud, the eccentric Vendean, emigre and semi-recluse, whose life story, only partly brought to light, overshadows any romance yet written. Hyerome Bonnett, his partner, must have mention also.

Then the French princes came and stood on the site of Fort Duquesne—the Duke of Orleans, subsequently Louis Phillipe of France, and his brothers. They meet the Chevalier Dubac and Jean Marie. They find also humbler countrymen who loved France, though many were descendants of the *coureurs de bois*, born under the golden lilies in New France in America. We have one immortalized by Morgan Neville, by name Pierre Cabot, locally known as "French Peter," a typical emigre from Old France, dressed in blanket capot with hood in place of a hat, in the manner of all Canadian boatmen, and wearing moccasins. No Jacobin was honest Peter, who had left his native land long before the philosophic Robespierre and his colleagues arose to fame. Hailed by Dubac on the bank of the Monongahela, Peter was presented to a scion of *le Grande Monarque* in exile. With all the love and veneration for the princes which Frenchmen under the old regime never failed to cherish

and with tears in his eyes, Peter, in his inimitable patois, told Neville of the meeting: "Savez vous mon enfant ce que m'est arrive. J'ai de causer avec monseigneur en pleine rue. Ah, bon Dieu! quelle chose a affreuse que la revolution."¹

Ah, yes! the French regime here was that which existed under the Grand Monarchy. The revolution took away the fleur-de-lis and gave in its stead the tricolor. It was only the lilies that waved here in the river breezes—the lillies of Louis XV., grandson of the great Louis.

There are other *emigres* to have mention in Pittsburgh history: The friend and companion en voyage of La Fayette, Dr. Felix Brunot, who has left his name in the island at the head of the Ohio where once stood his palatial home, described by F. Cuming and other voyagers. John B. C. Lucas also, trader, lawyer, legislator, congressman and judge, potent enough in the councils of the Jeffersonian party to secure Alexander Addison's impeachment and removal from the bench of the Fifth Judicial District of Pennsylvania, which included Allegheny county. Lucas became famous and wealthy years later in St. Louis, where his eldest son fell in a duel with Thomas H. Benton in 1817.

La Fayette came too, on triumphal tour in 1825; he learns the true story of Braddock's battle; he sleeps in the Wallace mansion, still standing on the spot where the first volleys poured from the hidden foe. The little city that grew up around the English fort that took the place of their Fort Duquesne seems to have had a fascination for the French, for in the early days of this city, in its making, so to speak, the French Colony here was considerable, respectable, and influential in the affairs of the community. The boatmen who manned the oars and poled the keel-boats on the rivers between Pittsburgh and New Orleans, and Pittsburgh and St. Louis, and the French towns on the Mississippi—Kaskaskia, St. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau—were mainly the descendants of the crusaders of New France, their sires followers of the famous explorers who had traversed the western wilderness and made New France what it was. Some of the history of the French dominion in North America, especially as it applies to Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania, is not only pertinent, but of absorbing interest. A brief resumé:

France was first in the field of exploration in North America. As early as 1506 hardy fishermen from Brittany discovered and named Cape Breton for their home province. They made rude charts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They maintained the link between the North American coast and Europe for almost a century with their fishing vessels of Newfoundland. Beginning in 1524, under Francis I., with the voyage of Verrazzano, there came to the shores of this continent Cartier in 1534, Robervale, 1540-1543, and Champlain in 1608. Robervale's attempt to establish a colony in Canada failed, though Cartier aided. Demont's failed in 1603, but Poutrincourt in 1607 succeeded in establishing the first permanent settlement at Port Royal in Nova Scotia. Samuel

¹"Learn my child what has happened. I have the honor to talk with my lord in the open street. Ah! Good God! What a terrible thing is the revolution." "Annals of Philadelphia," Watson, Vol. II, p. 133.

de Champlain the next year, by founding Quebec, became the father of New France in North America.

It is a fact of the history of those years that not until the religious wars in Europe had been brought to a close by Henry IV., the French began to colonize in the territory belonging to them by right of discovery according to the laws of nations. The northwestern fur trade became more alluring than the Newfoundland fisheries. France must colonize if she would maintain her new lands. The years passed until the coming of Champlain, whom Fiske justly calls the most remarkable Frenchman of his day; "A beautiful character, devout and high-minded, brave and tender; a man of scientific attainments, a naturalist and historian." An explorer whose fame has been perpetuated in our geography in the beautiful lake that bears his name. Champlain's settlement at Quebec was the feeble beginning of the rival power in America that was a century and a half later to dispute the right of Great Britain to possess any part of the country claimed by France by right of discovery.

So the French rovers, when the fur trade assumed large dimensions, formed alliances with the Indians throughout the region of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. These nations were with the exceptions of the Hurons, Algonquins. The French got on well with their savage allies. Had they not, the history of Western Pennsylvania had been vastly different. When the wars came, the Algonquins were with the French, and their ancient enemies, the Iroquois, with the English. When Champlain courted the friendship of the Algonquins he courted well. "New France was not equivalent in extent to our British America, but embraced all the territory from the Atlantic Ocean with its coast islands to the western extremity of Lake Superior and from Hudson's Bay to a line running through the northern part of the United States from Maine to Minnesota, but none of the boundaries were accurately defined."²

Father Lambing was referring to the boundaries of the French possessions acknowledged by the English. This in the North. The French territory in the South figures in history as Louisiana.

Garneau and Lescarbot have asserted boundaries for New France, the latter claiming virtually the continent. Garneau's are much as we have learned them. It will be sufficient to call attention to his records as they place the trans-Allegheny region within the confines of the French.³

"Pittsburgh, Canada," is unthinkable as a geographical term. Not so Fort du Quesne, Canada, for that was a reality. With the English conquest came the name, Pittsburgh. In like manner one may cite Port Royal, changed to Annapolis; Frontenac to Kingston, and Presq'

²"Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania," principally Catholic, by Rev. A. A. Lambing, in "American Catholic Researches," Vol. I, p. 17. A paper read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, December 13, 1883; revised and annotated by Father Lambing and published in Vol. I, No. 1, *supra*.

³"L'Histoire du Canada;" "Description, etc.;" F. X. Garneau, English Edition, by Andrew Bell, Montreal, 1862. Cf. pp. 112-113. See bibliography as given by William Bennett Monroe, "Crusaders of New France," 1918, pp. 229-231. Charlevoix, "Histoire et Description, etc." (Shea's translation), most applicable, Cf. also Parkman's works.

Isle to Erie, and remember that hundreds of French names have remained, chief among these, Detroit, St. Louis and New Orleans.

While La Salle was foremost among the pioneers in the Far Country and the most conspicuous of the pathfinders of his era; he was not the only one, yet of all the most intimately connected with the history of the Upper Ohio region and that of the Great Lakes. What he accomplished was due altogether to Frontenac's vigorous support, for without the Iron Governor's friendship, as that great Frenchman has been called, La Salle's feats of daring and endurance had not been possible. Upon La Salle's explorations was founded securely the French claims to our region, for it is watered by the tributary streams of the great rivers he discovered.

So we must give space as all historians do to the intrepid martyr, Rene-Robert Cavalier, the Sieur de la Salle, the cultured, aristocratic, domineering nobleman, sacrificing ease and wealth, bearing with marvellous patience repeated and overwhelming misfortunes, enduring extreme physical hardships in forest travel and on lake and river so much so that he at times exhausted his Indian guides—why?—that he might accomplish his single purpose of extending the name and power of France in the Western World. So he labored for twelve years in the face of jealousy and detraction at home, treachery in his own ranks, bankruptcy, shipwreck and massacre, before his canoes were fairly out of the Illinois river into the long desired Mississippi in February, 1682. True, Marquette, the priest, and Joliet, the trader, had preceded him nine years, sailing down the great river to the mouth of the Arkansas, and returning satisfied that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle was stimulated by a greater purpose than the discovery of a passage to China. He was adding a continent to the dominion of France. Through him alone the lilies of France floated triumphantly on the shores of the Gulf, April 9, 1682, and the immense Valley of the Mississippi was indisputably French soil, named by him Louisiana in honor of his sovereign, Louis XIV. It was a proud day for La Salle and the redoubtable Tonti, his lieutenant—yea, and for France, when with their followers they reached the spot where the great river debouches through three channels into the Gulf. In thorough Gaul manner they set up the insignia of their country and took possession in the name of their King, chanting in deep solemnity the *Te Deum* and the *Exaudiat*, and in the name of God raising their banners. "Louis le Grand; Roi de France et Navarre! Vive le Roi."

La Salle himself did not live to develop and govern the new domain of Louisiana. But the line of posts down the Illinois and the Mississippi which united the French possessions in Canada and Louisiana; the fortification of Detroit (1701) with its control of Lake Erie and the portages to the Ohio tributaries; the prosperous colony of seven thousand inhabitants in the lower Mississippi Valley, which grew up with New Orleans (founded in 1718) as its capital,—all were the outcome of La Salle's vast labors. If Champlain was the father of New France, La Salle was its elder brother. These two, together with the energetic, farseeing governor of Canada, the Count Frontenac (1672-1682, reap-

pointed 1689-1698), form the trio who created the French power in the New World, and whose plan the empire building, had it not been thwarted by the narrow and bigoted policy of the court of Versailles, might have made not only the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Valleys but all of America above the tropics an enduring colony of France.

Champlain, the acknowledged "Father of New France," had early advocated expansion westward. He himself was an explorer and discoverer. Nicolet and St. Luson followed him, and between them the frozen shores of Hudson Bay and those of the unsalted sea, Superior, there floated the golden fleur-de-lis of their country. With pomp and pageant, and no one to oppose, those men claimed the vast Northwest for their sovereign, Louis XIV. It was vastly different in the region of the Ohio. There the French explorer and his retinue, the armed forces of the Louisies, ran counter to a virile race, a distinct race and an enemy. We shall see the course of empire develop, but it was not Gallic.

The chief purpose of the French in the part of America they settled was trade. The most profitable article of trade was furs, especially the skins of the beaver. The unbroken forests of Northern America were teeming with animals, large and small, all protected by rich fur coats. In their own country and on the European continent, the people were eager to trim their coats and mantles with fur, and to wear fur hats. Fur was in great demand; fur traders were needed. The Indians of America were the fur hunters. In the course of a century after the first settlements the traders among the Indians were numbered by the thousands. Champlain and the French pioneers thought it best to have the Indians meet the whites once a year, generally at Montreal, where they held an annual fair. The first was in 1611, only three years after the settlement of Quebec. The story of the early French traders is pertinent to the history of Pittsburgh, because these traders and their attendants came into our region as they penetrated farther and farther into the vast extent of wilderness claimed by France, their "New France in America."

It was not long until the fur dealers went to the Indians, instead of having the Indians come to them. They took liquor with them in large quantities, and naturally secured good terms when the Indians were off their guard. Indeed, the French ceased to depend upon the Indians, and trapped the beavers and hunted the moose for themselves. As the demand for beaver skins increased in Europe, the number of French settlers who shouldered their guns and took to the forest life likewise increased. These were called *coureurs de bois*, "forest rangers." They grew rapidly in number and ranged as far as the Mississippi and even to the Rocky Mountains. The Colonial government fixed a price and ordered the dealers to buy all skins offered for sale, thus each ranger felt sure of a market. Two motives called the trapper into the wild. One was the desire to make money; the other was the love of adventure, the lure of the unknown that lurked in the shades of the forest and the courting of danger. But the rulers and the priests did not approve of this rush to the greenwood, prairies and mountains. At one time, when the number of people in the colony was 10,000, fully 800 men had become

coureurs de bois. The evils were serious. The colony lost its young and strong men; families lost fathers or sons and often fell into want; farms were uncultivated, and became again part of the wilderness. The *coureurs de bois* themselves changed in character. They became like the Indians of whom they saw so much. They grew vain and lazy. They decked themselves in finery and strutted around the towns on their return home. They would do no work themselves and they looked down on all who toiled with their hands. Letters to France said: "From the moment a boy can carry a gun, off to the woods he goes. The father cannot restrain him and dares not offend him."

The king tried to stop the Canadian colonists from turning traders by passing strict laws; one, that no one could enter the forests as a trader without a permit, and only twenty-five permits were to be given each year. But the voice of their king seemed far away to the ears of the dwellers of New France. The call of the wild was near and persistent, and hundreds obeyed it. The *coureur de bois* usually dressed like the Indian by whose side he tramped through the wilderness. He wore leggins and moccasins of deerskin, and an eagle's feather in his cap. His skin was as sun-tanned as the red man's. Sometimes the *coureur de bois* preferred French fashions to the Indian. Then he wore a faded velvet coat with lace ruffles, somewhat the worse for wear. At all times he loved to cut a gallant figure.

Two great evils grew out of the fur trade, one a matter of money. The beaver market became overstocked. The trading company in France that handled the skins could not sell them, so fast they came, and fell into financial difficulties. The colony of New France was heavily in debt. Beaver skins answered as money, and there were far too many. The overstock must be reduced, so three-quarters of all the skins stored in the warehouses were taken out and burned and this helped money matters in some degree. Alas for the useless sacrifice of all those harmless little creatures of the forest!

The other evil was the sale of brandy that was bound up with it. Brandy was the pay the Indians demanded. If the French traders refused them liquor, they would sell their peltries to the Dutch or the English and get the beloved drink from them. This the French knew, and so the bartering of brandy for beaver went on. A drunken Indian was a very dangerous creature. He often rushed along, killing whoever happened in his way. Thus it came to pass that the wilderness trading posts often became the centers of much crime.

The soldiers in Canada entered into the fur trade. Their pay was so small that they were anxious to add to it in every way possible. So brandy was freely sold to the Indians at all military posts. These garrison posts should have been noted for law and order. Yet several of them, on account of the drunken revels of the Indians, became as places of wild disorder. In the early days of the colony a man who sold liquor to an Indian was whipped; later the evil trade went on unchecked.

During the seventeenth century and on down to the English conquest of Canada, most Canadian men served as soldiers for a time. When

disbanded they either turned *coureur de bois* or they married to settle down as patient tillers of the soil. Trapper, soldier, and Jesuit priest went into the Canadian wilds with different aims. But they all aided in one great work,—the charting of the mighty wilderness that stretched from their own dooryards along the safe St. Lawrence into the vast unknown lands to the north and the west.

Had the French controlled the Ohio Valley and the southern shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario, as they would undoubtedly have done with the Iroquois as allies, it is most likely that they would have succeeded in their long struggle to confine the English within the narrow strip between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic. Then the vast continent above the Gulf of Mexico would have been developed under French instead of English institutions. The French ideas of colonization are fully apparent in the regulations made by Richelieu in 1627-1628 for the Hundred Associates of New France and by the ministers of Louis XIV. when the colony of New France became a province of the Crown in 1663. None but Frenchmen and those of the prevailing religion of the Mother Country were allowed in the colony. The land was in the hands of great proprietors who rented strips for cultivation along the river banks in exchange for labor on their big estates, or payment in produce. The government was administered by the officers of the Company, or the Crown, without the direction, or even the advice, of any representative assembly. Hence there was no local government. Justice was dispensed by the magistrates without trial by jury.

The self rule which was practically enjoyed by every English colony on the seaboard was entirely unknown in Canada. There prevailed there that system of paternalism which treated the inhabitants of the colony like irresponsible children under the firm paternal hand of the governors sent out by the King of France. The inhabitants were directed by the governors, not only what taxes to pay, with what ports to trade, what laws to obey, what worship to perform, but what tools to use, what seeds to plant, at what age to marry, and given stringent and specific directions in family regulations. This absolute and paternal rule promoted military efficiency but did not attract colonists. The colony in spite of lavish expenditures by the Crown did not flourish. During the seventeenth century the English population along the Atlantic coast grew to 400,000. The French in Canada barely reached 18,000. There were three chief posts in the colony—Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal—all on the St. Lawrence, at intervals of ninety miles. The sparseness of the population did not permit of agriculture, which could be carried on only in the neighborhood of the forts which served as protection from the Indians.

Westward, all through the valley of the St. Lawrence and along the shores of the Great Lakes there roamed the *coureurs de bois*, the hunters and trappers, veritable wood rangers who defied the trading laws of the King's governor at Quebec. The story of these wild Frenchmen must have a large chapter in any history of New France in America.

Then there is the story of the missionaries, for the Jesuit priests played a great part in New France, altogether as important as the Puritan min-

isters in New England. Throughout the whole of the seventeenth century the priests kept side by side with the explorer and the trader in the march to the west. The accounts of their triumphs and martyrdoms were annually sent home to the superior of their order in France. These reports, known in literature as the "Jesuit Relations," were published anew in 1900, edited by a noted American historian, making a formidable library of seventy-two volumes, with French and English pages opposite, and they form one of the most valuable sources for the study of the French regime in North America. They treat only slightly of our section of the Ohio Country. Bonnecamps' journal, soon to be noted in this history [Chapter XII], is given in full in Volume LXIX.⁴

The English colonies on the seaboard were utterly indifferent to the early explorations of the French in the west. They were occupied with their own problems of developing agriculture, building up commerce, and more or less engaged in disputes with King and proprietors regarding the precious rights of self-government. They were indeed slow to realize the menace of the French power gradually surrounding them with a long chain of forts and military posts, extending from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi; in other words, walling in the English with the Appalachian ranges. For, though the charters of several of the colonies extended their western boundaries to the Pacific, the Allegheny Mountains in Pennsylvania, three hundred miles only from the sea, actually formed the western boundary which the English colonists were over a century in reaching, and a half century in crossing with permanent settlements. This is truer of Virginia than Pennsylvania, for Pennsylvania was later colonized than Virginia. When the Virginians were still defending their peninsula against the Indians and for years after Penn established his Quaker colony on the Delaware, what the French fur traders, missionaries and explorers were doing at the head of the Great Lakes or along the Mississippi seemed too remote for notice.

There had been some exceptions to the general indifference of the English colonies to the progress of the French, but they were about French territory in the Hudson Bay region and in Acadia, the oldest permanent French settlement in America, antedating Jamestown eight years and Plymouth Rock sixteen years. However, the expeditions against Acadia and the fighting around Hudson Bay prior to 1710 were of slight importance for the possession of the North American continent compared with the mighty struggle for the region between the Upper Hudson and the St. Lawrence and the vast area between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. The efforts of the French to push their frontier to Lake Champlain and the Hudson are likewise of slight importance in our history of Western Pennsylvania and the West except that similar efforts were made and were successful right on ground now in the heart of the city of Pittsburgh, and the events that led to the Seven Years War in Europe—the French and Indian War in America—were those that took place hereabouts.

⁴Consult also in this connection Muzzey: "An American History," pp. 84-87.

It is a well acknowledged fact of history that as long as the Stuarts occupied the English throne their colonial governors received little support against the machinations of the French in America. The royal brothers, Charles II. and James II., of England, were cousins of Louis XIV. of France, and as they had received millions of pounds from Louis to combat their own parliaments they could not consistently oppose Louis' governors in New France. With the expulsion of the Stuarts and the accession of William of Orange in 1689 there came a great change. William was a deadly enemy of Louis from the days of 1672 when Louis made his shameful attack on the Netherlands. Then, too, religion entered, for William was the leading Protestant prince of Europe and the champion of the reformers whom Louis was straining violently to overthrow. England rallied to William's support, spurred by the fear of the absolute power of France unless Louis could be curbed. Then began the mighty struggle between the two countries for the colonial and commercial supremacy of the world—"A Century of Warfare," to use Parkman's phrase, and in the various wars the American colonists performed their part valiantly and suffered greatly. In the eventful years between 1689 and 1815 England and France had been at war seven times—in all of sixty years duration and covering lands and oceans from the forests of Western Pennsylvania to the jungles of India and from the Caribbean Sea to the Nile.

There were three wars which in their termination by the respective treaties affected the trans-Allegheny region rather than by actual hostilities. These were King William's War, 1689-1697; Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713; and King George's War, 1744-1748; all parts of general European conflicts. Other names in history designate these wars as the War of the Grand Alliance; the War of the Spanish Succession, and the War of the Austrian succession, terminated respectively by the treaties of Ryswick in 1697, Utrecht, 1713, and the inglorious one at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. All these treaties are mentioned in our histories and in the correspondence between the French authorities in Canada, and the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, particularly. They are recorded also on Celoron's plates, as will be shown.

The death of Frontenac in 1697 had brought only a lull in the savage raids upon New England and New York. The war known as Queen Anne's, breaking out in 1701 in Europe, with hostilities the next year in America, was brought to a close by the treaty of Utrecht. It was a humiliating defeat for Louis XIV. and made England the foremost maritime power of the world. France then surrendered to England Acadia, Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay territory. Many statesmen in the English colonies in America strongly urged that the English demand the whole of the St. Lawrence Valley and free their colonies once for all from the danger of French and Indians from the north and west. But the Mother Country was content to get title to what was granted; territory that had been in dispute for a century; and also to secure he undisputed control of the Iroquois Confederacy. So the French held on to the great river of Canada and the Great Lakes for another half century. In their expulsion, the history of Pittsburgh begins, for the

spark was lighted here and the blaze spread to all inhabited North America and raged for seven years across the sea.

The peace of Utrecht was only a truce as far as the English colonies in America were concerned, for it decided nothing as to the possession of the vast territory west of the Alleghenies. However, the truce lasted, owing to the death of Louis XIV in 1715, and because two peacefully disposed ministers came into power—Walpole in England, and the Cardinal Fleuri in France. Indian raids promoted by the French occurred at times on the frontiers in America until the middle of the eighteenth century and betokened trouble, but no hostilities occurred until King George's War burst upon the colonies in 1744, a real French war, ingloriously ended by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

But the English colonists were becoming more and more disturbed by the menace of the French occupation of the vast Western Country beyond the Alleghenies. There was danger to all the frontiers, much as there had been to Nw England and New York previously. British sailors were warned away from the mouth of the Mississippi, and the Spaniards incited the Southern Indians against the English. Everywhere there was entreaty to the Mother Country to come to the aid of the colonists.

The French were active. They held forts at Crown Point and Niagara; had armed vessels on Lake Champlain; occupied Detroit for the control of Lake Erie and the portages of the Ohio Country, and increased their posts along the Mississippi and pushed forward the settlement of Louisiana. Both sides were waiting for the overt act of war, which striking the spark, each realized an incipient blaze would burst into a mighty flame. It came in 1754, when the French and English at the same moment were attempting to gain possession of the Ohio Valley, and that first act was in what is now Pittsburgh—right at our "Point," the ever famous "Forks of the Ohio." The French, with the English penned in by the mountains, could control the water routes to the Mississippi which the English greatly desired.

Celoron de Bienville to this end played his part and he must be accorded a chapter in our strange history. This will follow.

Muzzey, a recent English historian, has been mentioned and quoted at some length. Describing conditions in French Colonial Canada compared with the English Colonies, observes:

The two powers brought thus face to face to contend for the mastery of America, differed from each other in every respect. The one was Roman Catholic in religion, absolute in government, a people of magnificent but impracticable colonial enterprises; the other a Protestant, self-governing people, strongly attached to their homes, steadily developing compact communities. There was not a printing press or a public school in Canada, and plow and harrow were rarer than canoe and musket. The 80,000 inhabitants of New France were overwhelmingly outnumbered by the 1,300,000 British colonist. But two facts compensated the French for their inferiority in numbers; first, by their fortified positions along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and at the head of the Ohio Valley, they compelled the English, if they wished to pass the Alleghenies, to fight on French ground; secondly, the unified absolute government of New France enabled her to move all her forces quickly under a single command, whereas the English colonies, acting, as Governor Shirley of Massachusetts complains, "like discordant semi-republics," either insisted on dictating the disposition and command of the troops

which they furnished, or long refused, like New Jersey and the colonies south of Virginia, to furnish any troops at all. To make matters worse, the generals sent over from England, with few exceptions, despised the colonial troops and snubbed their officers.

Farsceeing men like Governors Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and Shirley, of Massachusetts, tried to effect some sort of union of the colonies in the face of the eminent danger from the French. The very summer that the first shots were fired (1754), a congress was sitting at Albany for the discussion of better intercolonial relations and the cementing of the Iroquois alliance. At that congress, Benjamin Franklin, the foremost man in the colonies, proposed the scheme of union known as the Albany Plan. A grand council consisting of representatives from each colony was to meet annually, to regulate Indian affairs, maintain a colonial army, control public lands, pass laws affecting the general good of the colonies, and levy taxes for the expense of common undertakings. A president general chosen by the king was to have the executive powers of appointing high officials and of nominating the military commanders. He might also veto the acts of the council. Franklin's wise plan, however, found favor neither with the colonial legislatures nor with the royal governors. To each of them it seemed a sacrifice of their rightful authority; so the colonies were left without a central directing power, to coöperate or not with the king's officers, as selfish interests prompted.⁵

The events that brought about hostilities between France and England began with the expedition of Celoron formally claiming the country in the name of his sovereign. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, was aroused and the futile embassy by Washington to the French forts followed. Then events culminated in war. But first the story of Celoron's expedition demands attention.

⁵"An American History;" David S. Muzzey, pp. 95-97.



CHAPTER XII.

In the Name of the King.

The governor-general of New France in America in office when the English traders prior to 1750 made inroads on the French traffic to the west of the Alleghenies, was Roland Michel Barrin, Comte de la Galissoniere, sometimes mentioned as marquis. In the "Jesuit Relations" his title is "Comte," count.

Like many other governors at Quebec he was an admiral, a high rank to leave for civil duties in a pioneer country. New France was yet quite new and as noted in Chapter XI, vast in extent. This country France lawfully claimed by the right of discovery—good under the law of nations in those warring times when kings found it necessary to have some basis of agreement both for war and peace.

In 1747 the French had entered upon actual explorations of the regions about the Allegheny and the Ohio. They ascertained the geography of the country and the proximity of the English settlements on the west of the Allegheny Mountains. They took active measures to extend their trade among the Indians then ranging the region, well aware that when this inevitable clash came these would prove most useful auxiliaries or dangerous enemies. Agents of the Ohio Company came along about this time, gaining influence among the Indians and it was obligatory to counteract the English influence by every means possible.

It has been related in Chapter X how the French in 1745 fomented disaffection among the Ohio Indians towards the English through Peter Chartier, a French spy, and how his efforts resulted in the subserviency of the Shawanese to the French cause. In 1748, after the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, the French ministry began paying close attention to the strength and resources of Canada and Louisiana. Between these far-off lands there is, we know, an almost continuous inland water communication. Hence the design of uniting these extremities and unfolding the means of subduing English power in North America.

De la Galissoniere was born at Rochefort in 1693. He entered the navy in 1710 and served with distinction, becoming a captain in 1738. His term as governor-general of New France lasted from September 19, 1747, to August 24, 1749.

Encyclopedia writers impress the fact that he was energetic and that his administration was marked with severe disputes with the English relative to territorial rights in Nova Scotia and the Ohio region. The latter concerns us, for Galissoniere sent Celoron and his party in 1749, warning off the English traders on the Ohio and depositing his leaden plates and posting his "Proces Verbal."

That same year De la Galissoniere was one of the commissioners for settling the boundaries of Acadia. He was an author and a devoted student of natural science, of great heart and mind. He was low in stature and deformed in person—in truth a hunchback. A more extended notice of this wonderful man will be found in Chapter XVI, "The French Regime in Western Pennsylvania." Galissoniere was not, as far as we

know, ever in the Ohio country. He was the forerunner of the equally energetic Duquesne de Menneville and de Vaudreuil, the last of the governors preceding English dominion in Canada.

January 17, 1750, the governor of Pennsylvania informed the council that three letters of an extraordinary nature in French signed "Celoron" were delivered to him by Indian traders who came from the Allegheny informing him that this captain, Celoron, was a French officer and had the command of three hundred French and some Indians sent during the summer to the Ohio and Wabash and from Canada to reprove the Indians there for their friendship to the English and for permitting the English to trade with them.

This was Pierre Joseph de Celoron, also spoken of as Sieur Celoron de Bienville. He was a noted character in the French history of those years on the frontiers. He was a good soldier, a chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis and a reliable man, and his story of this expedition and his explorations is an unusual one and most interesting.

We have a full account of Celoron's efforts to legalize the claim of France to our region. One especially is well known to historical writers—this is the "Jesuit Relations" the caption, translated, "Account of the voyage on the beautiful river made in 1749 under the direction of Monsieur de Celoron, by Father Bonnecamps." The Pittsburgh historians, William M. Darlington, Neville B. Craig, Rev. Father A. A. Lambing, and Professor Thomas J. Chapman have studied the history of Celoron's expedition thoroughly; Parkman and all the history writers of the mid-nineteenth century have given it much space; Ohio historians also, Hildreth and Atwater, and Dr. De Hass of West Virginia. In later years Judge Veech and Marshall must be mentioned, and in recent years Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Charles A. Hanna. All of these authors will be accorded more or less credit in this chapter, and the French accounts given as far as they could be obtained in the Pittsburgh Carnegie Library. It is to be noted that all historians of Pennsylvania refer to Celoron and the French manner and the ceremonies of asserting their claims to the sovereignty of the region traversed by Celoron and his command.

We may note that, large as the figure Celoron cut in our history, we have no commemoration of him in street or local geography.

The Journal or "Relation" of Father Bonnecamps and his map form a curious exhibit. The strange Indian names he uses are unknown in our history. His quaint but inaccurate map is to be noted in that he has omitted entirely the Monongahela river. His "Relation" contains no mention of the "Forks."

We find the name of the French commander spelled in two ways, Celeron and Celoron, the latter in the Bonnecamps' narrative as translated by Dr. Thwaites, but Darlington and old historians of Pennsylvania use the former spelling. Dr. Archer Butler Hulbert and Charles A. Hanna follow Thwaites. Marshall says "Celeron" is incorrect. Marshall found that M. Ferland has the name, "Celoron de Blainville."¹

¹"De Celoron's Expedition;" in the "Magazine of Amn. History," Vol. II, p. 150, citing Ferland, "*Cours d'Histoire du Canada*," Vol. II, p. 493.

Isaac Craig, of Pittsburgh, son of Neville B. Craig, the historian, queries: "Celeron or Celoron?" in a brief paragraph in the "Magazine of American History" for February, 1878 (Vol. II, No. 2, p. 122), which reads: "Which is the correct mode of spelling the name of the French commandant who in 1749 buried the plates along the Ohio river? I observe that Mr. Heckewelder in the January number follows Irving and others and spells it 'Celeron;' yet on the plates discovered it is clearly 'Celoron.' James R. Albach and Isaac D. Rupp, Pennsylvania historians, agree with Neville B. Craig and Mr. Darlington. Mr. Marshall's finding of the Journals and the spelling on the plates settle the spelling as Celoron.

The first in order of the late authorities on Celoron's expedition to be considered in this chapter will be Father Lambing, from the chapter to be found in his magazine of the 'eighties of the last century, and acknowledged to be standard history along the lines on which it was conducted. Father Lambing said in his introduction that he would not pause to discuss the rival claims of the English and French to the territory—that of France by right of discovery and the English colonies as part of the grants of the Crown to the original proprietaries. Here and there, west of the mountains, a few hardy pioneers or traders had built their cabins. Christopher Gist was one, and John Frazier another; but the English had not as yet made any permanent settlements, but under the auspices of the Ohio Company in 1748 were about to attempt settlements. It was in order to counteract these designs that Governor Galissoniere sent Captain Celoron with his detachment to descend the Ohio and take possession of the country in the name of the French King. Celoron was like St. Pierre, a chevalier of the Order of St. Louis. His detachment on this famous expedition was made up of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, 180 Canadians, thirty French Iroquois and twenty-five Abenakis. These latter were of a tribe originally located in Maine, but many having been converted by the early French missionaries, they had removed to Canada, the better to practice their religion and be under the protection of the French. The Iroquois were most likely from the French missions, who had cut loose by reason of conversion from their tribal relations in the Iroquois country.

The principal officers under Celoron were De Contrecoeur, Coulon de Villiers and Joncaire. Of these men, the names of two are commemorated in Pittsburgh streets to this day—Devilliers and Joncaire. Father Lambing finds mention of Contrecoeur as "M. Pierre Claude de Contrecoeur, Esquire, Sieur de Beudry, Captain of Infantry, Commander-in-chief of the forts of Duquesne, Presq' Isle, and River au Bœufs." Contrecoeur was in command of Fort Niagara at the time of Celoron's expedition, but succeeded to the command of the detachment which had been under M. St. Pierre. Contrecoeur's name runs through all the history of the French in the Allegheny Valley. We shall hear much of him later; more of De Villiers, and we meet Joncaire at intervals.²

²"Baptismal Register Fort Duquesne;" Ed. by A. A. Lambing, p. 22.

Celoron's subaltern was the same Contrecoeur to whom, five years later, Ensign Ward was compelled to surrender at the Forks of the Ohio and who gave the French fort that arose here the name Duquesne. It was Coulon de Villiers to whom Washington capitulated at Fort Necessity.

Chabert Joncaire was a famous character on the frontier in the French interest. Parkman tells of him, and the Pennsylvania Archives and Croghan and other frontiersmen refer frequently to him as "Jean Cœur."

Father Lambing acknowledges the great indebtedness of all the history writers of his generation to Orasmus H. Marshall, of Buffalo, New York, for what they know of Celoron's expedition from the learned article which Marshall contributed to the "Magazine of American History" (Vol. II, pp. 129-150). Marshall, while in Paris, had the good fortune to find in the archives of that city the original journals of Celoron and Father Bonnacamps, who accompanied Celoron, and who made a map of the country, which Marshall found also. On this map the course of the expedition is traced, the Indian villages designated, and the places marked where leaden plates were deposited. On his map Father Bonnacamps styles himself a "Jesuit Mathematician," and from this Marshall infers that he was the chaplain as well as a kind of sailing master of the expedition, keeping a daily record of the courses and distances traveled, the latitude and longitude of the principal points, with occasional brief notes of important occurrences. Marshall further notes the reverend father was not always correct in his taking of the latitude and longitude, probably not having been well equipped with reliable instruments.⁸

Marshall says, while examining archives in the Department of the Marine in Paris, he met with the original manuscript journal kept by Celoron during the entire voyage, and in the Grandes Archives of the Depot de la Marine, No. 17 in the Rue de l'Universite, the manuscript diary of Father Bonnacamps. The map is in the Department Bibliotheque of the Depot de la Marine. It was also manuscript, 31½ by 34½ inches square. It is always acknowledged as an important illustration of the expedition. Some of the queer names on Bonnacamps' map need explanation, and also his signs. River Aux Pommes is Apple river; Tjadikoin is one of the many variations for Chautauqua. The Loups, or "Wolves," were the Munsy clan of the Delawares. Atigue is generally taken for Kittanning; River le Boef is French creek, then the river of "Beef;" Kanaonagon, Conewango creek; River au Vermillion is the Clarion; River Ranonouara is Wheeling creek. The words along the south shore of Lake Erie state: "All this part of the lake is unknown."

The signs are interpreted thus: A black cross, a plate deposited; three horizontal lines across a vertical, latitude and longitude taken; a house marks a village. Degrees of longitude are west from the meridian

⁸"Account of the Voyage on the Beautiful River made in 1749, under the direction of M de Celoron," by Father Bonnacamps, S. J., in Vol. LXIX, of "The Jesuit Relations;" edited by Thwaites, p. 151 *et seq.*

of Paris. The inner figures on the east and west margins are leagues in the proportion of twenty to a degree.⁴

Celoron was provided with a number of leaden plates, measuring about eleven inches in length, seven and a half inches in width and an eighth of an inch thick. The expedition left La Chine, near Montreal, June 15, 1749, and ascended the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario. Coasting along its eastern and southern shores, the detachment reached Fort Niagara, July 6th. Pursuing their course they came to a point on the southeastern shore of Lake Erie, where the town of Portland now stands, and here they disembarked July 16th. By means of Chautauqua creek (which Bonnacamps spells Tiadakain), a portage, Chautauqua lake and Conewango creek, they came to the Allegheny river near the site of Warren, Pennsylvania, July 29th. The first of the leaden plates was buried at this point. "At the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the River Oyo and of Chanougan, not far from the village of Kanougon," as Bonnacamps records. Simple statements of the facts of burying were made each time by Celoron. The inscriptions on the plates were in capitals and varied slightly, and ran about as follows in French, translated in English below. The indiscriminate use of the letters "u" and "v" is to be noted, and "j" for "i":

L'an 1749. "Dv regne de Lovis XV Roy de France novs Celoron, commandant dvn detachment envoie par Monsieur le M^{is} de la Galissoniere commandant general de la Nouvelle France povr retablir la tranquillite dans quelves villages sauvages de ces cantons avons enterre ce plaqve au confvtent de l'Ohyo et de Toradakojn ce 29 Juillet pres de la riviere Oyo autrement Belle Riviere pour monument de re renouvellement de possession que nous avons pris de la ditte Riviere Oyo et de tovttes celles qui y tombent et de tovttes les terres des deux cotes jusque avx sovrces des dittes rivieres ainsi qe'n ont jovy ov du jovir les precedents Rois de France et quils sy sont maintenus par les armes et par les traites specialment par cevs de Riswick, d'Vtrecht et d'Aix-la-Chapelle."

In the year 1749, reign of Louis XV, King of France, we, Celoron, commandant of a detachment of Monsieur the Marquis of Galissoniere, commander-in-chief of New France, to reestablish tranquility in certain Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of Toradakojn, this 29th of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river Ohio, and all its tributaries, and of all the land on both sides, as far as the sources of the said rivers; inasmuch as the preceding kings of France have enjoyed (this possession) and maintained it by their arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.⁵

The burying of leaden plates containing inscriptions as a means of taking possession of new territory, which was peculiar to the French in North America, appears to have been more extensively adopted in this expedition than in any other, a circumstance which Father Lambing thought added additional interest to the narrative. He thereupon proceeded to condense Marshall's account, noting several inaccuracies therein and advancing some theories of his own. Marshall remarked

⁴Various historians use this map. A large one is to be found in J. H. Newton's "History of Venango County, Pa." See also in Darlington's "Gist," between pp. 274 and 275, and in "The Wilderness Trail;" C. A. Hanna, Vol. I, p. 360, and frontispiece in Vol. II, "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania."

⁵"History of Western Penna.," etc.; Rupp, pp. 35-36. "History of the Backwoods, or the Region of the Ohio," by A. W. Patterson, Pittsburgh, 1843, p. 38. See Celoron's Journal in "Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier," Mary C. Darlington, pp. 15-16.

on the peculiar method of taking possession and cited the example of La Salle in 1682 at the mouth of the Mississippi, thus proclaiming the dominion of *Louis le Grand*, and even during the nineteenth century when a French squadron took possession of some islands in the Pacific Ocean. Father Lambing observes that this mode of taking possession seems to have been peculiar to the French, and to have been employed only within the territory of the United States, (with the exception that Marshall cites).

The burial of the plates was not without ceremony. At the mouth of the Conewango, all the officers and men were drawn up in battle array, and their commander proclaimed in a loud voice: "Vive le Roi!" announcing that possession was taken of the country in the name of their King. Then the royal arms were affixed to a tree and a *Proces Verbal* was drawn up and signed as a memorial ceremony. This same formality was adopted at the burial of each plate. The *Proces Verbal* was similar, and each time was signed and witnessed by the officers present. Translated the *Proces* was in the following form:

In the year 1749, we, Celoron, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Commander of a detachment sent by order of the Marquis of Galissonière, Governor General of Canada, to the Ohio, in the presence of the principal officers of our detachment have buried (here was inserted the name they gave the place of deposit) a leaden plate, and in the same place have affixed to a tree the Arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed, with the officers, the present *Proces Verbal*, at our camp the (day of month) 1749.

Celoron made a daily record; of the first ceremony he recorded here:

We have also affixed in the same place to a tree the arms of the King in testimony of which we have drawn up and signed the present "proces verbal."

Done at the entrance of Belle Riviere July 29th, 1749. All the officers have signed.

These written notices were inscribed on "white iron," or tin. The Senecas of the region did not fail to keep a keen eye on Celoron's proceedings. Most naturally they were mystified and regarded the affair as forboding trouble for themselves. What they thought and what became of the tin notice will be narrated shortly. It was months afterwards that they were enlightened and the secrets of the strange sign and stranger ceremonies explained to them.

It is to be observed that on the plate first buried, the connecting stream with the Allegheny is called "Kan-a-ai-agon." Celoron in his Journal spells "Chauougon," while Bonnecamps wrote it Kan-au-oagon in his Journal and Kanaonagon on his map.

The first plate was brought to the attention of the English public by a letter from Governor Clinton of New York, addressed to the Lords of Trade in London, December 19, 1750, in which Clinton stated he would "send their Lordships in a few weeks a plate of lead full of writing which some of the upper nations of Indians stole from Jean Cœur (Joncaire), the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio, which river and all the lands thereabouts, the French claim, as will appear by said writing."

This plate, Clinton averred, gave the Indians so much uneasiness that

they immediately dispatched some of the Cayuga chiefs to him with it, saying that their only reliance was on Clinton and they earnestly begged that he would communicate the contents thereof to them, which he had done, much to their satisfaction and the interests of the English. The governor concluded by saying that "the contents of the plate may be of great importance in clearing up the encroachments which the French have made on the British Empire in America."

The plate was brought by a Cayuga sachem to Sir William Johnson, December 4, 1750, at Johnson's residence on the Mohawk river. The sachem addressing him by his Indian titles, Brother Corlear and War-ragh-i-ya-ghey (the first designating the governor of New York and the second Johnson as superintendent of Indian Affairs), said: "I am sent here by the Five Nations with a piece of writing which the Senecas, our brothers, got by some artifice from Jean Cœur, earnestly beseeching you will let us know what it means, and as we put all confidence in you, we hope you will explain it ingeniously to us."

Johnson replied and through the sachem to the Confederacy, returning a belt of wampum and explained the inscription on the plate. He impressed on the sachem that it was a matter of the greatest consequence involving the possession of their lands and hunting grounds, and that Jean Cœur and the French ought immediately be expelled from the Ohio and Niagara. The sachem answered that he had heard with great attention and surprise the "Devilish Writing" he had brought, and he fully approved of Johnson's remarks. The sachem promised that belts from each of the Five Nations should be sent from the Senecas' castle to the Indians on the Ohio to warn and strengthen them against the French in their encroachments in that direction. The correspondence between Governor Clinton and Governor Hamilton relative to the stolen plate and the speech of the sachem to Colonel Johnson, and the French inscription on the plate, can be found in the "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania."⁶

As he proceeded down the Allegheny, Celoron endeavored to strengthen the attachment of the Indians to the French cause, but soon found that all along that stream there was a strong feeling in favor of the English.

Reaching the mouth of the "Riviere aux Bœufs," which we know as French creek, emptying into the Allegheny at Franklin, M. Celoron found several English traders, among them John Frazier, a Scotch gunsmith, who had been there several years. Washington subsequently stopped at Frazier's house while at the French fort there in 1753. This was the same Frazier with whom Washington found refuge at the mouth of Turtle creek after his and Gist's terrible night on the Allegheny. Frazier, it is to be remembered, was again driven from his home the next year by the French during Washington's campaign of that year. Frazier was altogether a character in the first history of our region of Western Pennsylvania.

⁶"Story of Stolen Plate," in "Magazine of Western History;" Vol II, p. 207, by T. J. Chapman.

Passing down the Allegheny, which Celoron calls the Ohio, the flotilla reached the bend nine miles below Franklin, where on the eastern bank lay a large boulder, twenty-two feet in length and fourteen in breadth, on the inclined face of which were rude inscriptions, evidently of Indian workmanship representing the triumphs of the race in war and the chase. This rock was the celebrated Indian God rock, and was held in superstitious reverence by the Indians attached to the expedition. It was a well known landmark and did not fail to attract the attention of the French. Celoron deemed it a fitting point at which to bury his second plate. This was done with due pomp and ceremony, the inscription differing only in the date and designation of the place of deposit. Celoron's record here reads: "Buried a leaden plate on the south bank of the Ohio river four leagues below the River Aux Bœufs opposite a bald mountain and near a large stone, on which are many figures rudely engraved."

Father Bonnecamps states that the deposit was made under a large rock. A picture of this rock showing the hieroglyphics on its face, can be found in Schoolcraft's work, "Indian Tribes in the United States," (Vol. VI, p. 172). It was drawn by Captain Eastman of the United States army while standing waist deep in the river, its bank being then nearly full. At the time of the freshets the rock is entirely submerged. The abrasion of its exposed surface by the ice and flood-wood in winter has almost obliterated the rude carvings. When Celoron was here it was entirely uncovered. It is called "Hart's Rock" on Hutchin's Topographical Map of Virginia. The distance of four leagues from the mouth of French creek, to the rock, as given by Celoron, is, as usual, a little exaggerated. The actual distance by the windings of the river, is about nine miles. The league as used by Celoron may be estimated as containing about two miles and a half.⁷

From this station Celoron sent Joncaire forward to Attique the next day, to announce the approach of the expedition, it being an Indian settlement of some importance on the left bank of the river, between eight and nine leagues farther down, containing twenty-two cabins. There is mention in their journals of passing a river three or four leagues from French creek, the confluence of which with the Allegheny is described as "very beautiful," and a league farther down another having on its upper waters some villages of Loups and Iroquois.

In the Pennsylvania Archives the stream "*Riviere Aux Bœufs*" of the French, called by Washington French creek, which name it has retained, is simply translated into English as the "Beef river," or the "Buffalo river," as buffaloes were found in the valley of the stream by the early traders. It was also called Venango by the English, a name presumed to have been corrupted from the Seneca term *In-un-gah*. The Rev. Dr. Timothy Alden, founder of Allegheny College at Meadville, states that the name was given the creek from a certain figure carved on a tree near its bank. Father Lambing quotes several authorities, including

⁷"Magazine of Western History;" 1885, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 462; article by Thos. J. Chapman. Also "History of Venango County," 1890, published Brown, Runk & Co., pp. 31-35.

Heckewelder and Washington.⁸ The name is found also In-nun-gau on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania. Heckewelder said that the Delawares called the creek *Attike*, and that the form "Onenge" was also found.

The stream on the left after passing the mouth of French creek was East Sandy creek, five miles below that stream and almost opposite the Rock. The next stream mentioned, a league farther down, was Scrub-grass creek, emptying from the west seven miles below, but not marked on Father Bonnecamps' map. Other streams, all of which flow from the east, have been designated by him, among them the Riviere au Fiel, which we know as the Clarion river, called Toby's creek on many old maps, the mouth of which is eighty-three miles above Pittsburgh. The Riviere au Vermillion of Bonnecamps is undoubtedly Red Bank creek.

It seems strange that no name was given the Mahoning, though mention is made of it. The reverend father did not mark on his map Pine creek, Cowanshannock and Crooked creek, fifty-one, forty-eight and thirty-eight miles respectively above Pittsburgh.

The French fort at Venango where Washington halted in 1753 was built that year by the French, its site on the western bank sixty rods below the mouth of the stream and called by them Fort Machault. In 1760, when the English took possession of the place, they built their fort forty rods farther up stream and nearer the mouth of the creek. This was the famous Fort Venango, made so by the tragic events of its fall during Pontiac's conspiracy, and of much mention in all the history of the region.

In 1787 the United States government built a new fort on the south bank of the creek, called Fort Franklin. The mouth of this stream was at an early period an important point on the river. When Celoron was there the Indian village consisted of ten cabins.⁹

In the translation of the inscription on the second plate these words occur: "Have buried this plate at the Three Rivers below Le Bœuf River, this third of August near the River Oyo, otherwise the Fair River, etc." This led the compiler and editor of the "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania" to say (Vol. II, p. 166): "A number of these plates were found in after years. One deposited at the point of land at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers bore date August 3, 1749, at the Three Rivers." This we know from the journals of the expedition was at the Indian God Rock. Father Lambing vigorously combatted the statement that there was a plate buried at the Forks of the Ohio. Any junction of two streams to form another was "Three Rivers" with the French. There was their town on the St. Lawrence, for instance—one of the principal points in their Province of Canada. Father Lambing said:

A number of such plates were buried during this expedition but none within the limits of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, although it is asserted in the "Frontier Forts of

⁸"History Vanago County," p. 97. "Washington's Journal," 1753, Dec. 4th. Heckewelder's "Indian Names," etc., p. 46.

⁹Extended accounts of the Venango forts are in the State publication, "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," Vol. II, and in "Settlements and Land Titles," Judge Daniel Agnew, and in the histories of Venango county, especially in that published by Brown, Runk & Co., 1890, in the chapters written by the Rev. S. J. M. Eaton, running through many pages. The references to "Celorón's Expedition" and the "History of the Events of the Years 1749-1758," are most excellent.

Pennsylvania," published by the State in 1897, that one was buried at the Forks on the 3rd of August, 1749. I effectually refuted that statement in a paper which I read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, March 10, 1898, and showed that Celoron was not within a hundred miles of Pittsburgh at that date, and that no plate was ever deposited there, the authority on which the statement is based being utterly reliable.

Father Lambing's story continues thus:

The expedition continued its course, stopping at the several Indian villages, but the savages fled to the woods, and were with difficulty induced to return to hold a "talk" with Celoron. It was apparent that they did so rather from fear than from good-will, so successfully had the English presented the advantages of their friendship. The commander was accustomed during this expedition to send in advance a half-breed, Chaudbert de Joncaire, in a canoe with a few men to announce his approach and assure the savages of his friendly intentions. This Joncaire was the son of a French soldier and an Indian squaw, as possessed of remarkable tact in managing the savages, and was successfully employed during the next few years winning and retaining their allegiance as far as it was possible. The expedition stopped for a few hours at Kittanning, which they called Attique, on the 6th of August, and then proceeded to the ruins of Chartier's old town on the right bank some twenty miles above Pittsburgh, where they spent the night. On the morning of the 7th they continued their course and stopped for dinner at Shannopinstown, an Indian village on the east side of the river, about two miles above the forks.

Marshall thought Attiqué was probably on or near the Kiskiminetas, which empties into the Allegheny twenty-nine miles above Pittsburgh. Montcalm in a letter in 1758 calls it *Rivière d' Attique*.

Attigue was the French name for the town which the Iroquois called Adigo, but most frequently found "Adiego," and with variations. It is a celebrated place in the history of Western Pennsylvania, the Delaware name, Kittanning, having survived, a flourishing town of that name, the county seat of Armstrong county, the Indian town of Kittanning having been utterly destroyed by General Armstrong in 1756.¹⁰

Joncaire was awaiting his chief at Attigue, and the expedition proceeded. Bonnacamps mentions the "old village of the Chauanons," and marks it on his maps. This was the village abandoned by Chartier's band of Shawanese which had not been inhabited since Chartier's flight to the Wabash country in 1745. The place was known in border history as "Chartier's Old Town," and was, as has been noted in the story of Chartier (Chapter X), about the mouth of Bull creek, and near the site of the town of Tarentum, in Allegheny county. Some authorities locate it above and nearer Freeport. August 8th the flotilla passed a village of Loups, all the inhabitants of which except three Iroquois and an old woman who was regarded as a queen and devoted to the English, had fled in alarm. To quote Celoron accurately as his Journal records: "The Iroquois inhabit this place, and an old woman of that nation is their leader. She looks upon herself as a queen and is entirely devoted to the English."

This was the celebrated Aliquippa made famous by Washington. This town was within the present boundaries of Pittsburgh at the mouth of Two Mile run, which once emptied into the Allegheny at or about Thirty-second street and in a manner still empties there through a large sewer.

¹⁰See various references in "The Wilderness Trail;" C. A. Hanna.

Mr. Marshall has Chartier fleeing in 1745. Perhaps it was later. Father Lambing justly states that no character in our history has been so difficult to trace as the mercurial Chartier, and that if he (Lambing) gave little satisfaction to the reader he gave less to himself. He finds a reference by which it appears that Chartier did not leave this vicinity until November, 1741.¹¹

Marshall thought Celoron's description of Alliquippa's town so vague that it is impossible to identify it with any certainty, but it is not. It was once Shannopin's town and was on the east bank of the Allegheny two miles above the Forks.¹²

The traders at Shannopins were lodged, Bonnecamps said, "in miserable cabins, and had a storehouse well filled with peltries which we did not disturb."

We have a curious instance of an old time historian mentioning this insignificant Indian village and giving almost the exact latitude of Pittsburgh—two minutes only at variance with recent official figures. It was on the extreme western boundary claimed by the Penns. The paragraph reads:

Shannopinstown, an Indian settlement on the Allegheny near Pittsburgh, is said to be in North Latitude 40° 26', and is supposed to be about five degrees from the Delaware at Philadelphia the extent of Pennsylvania east and west.¹³

Craig has a paragraph stating Mr. J. C. G. Kennedy of Meadville had loaned him a large number of old maps, etc., and among these papers a draught, or map of Forbes' march to Fort Duquesne, and on the map Shannopins Town is placed near the Allegheny and just below the mouth of Two Mile run. Craig in another paragraph thinks the name Shannopin is a contraction of "Shawanoppin," a Delaware chief's name on an old document in the records at Harrisburgh.¹⁴ The voyagers float gracefully into the main stream. Marshall appeals to the imagination in his story at this point. He says:

The clear, bright current of the Allegheny and the sluggish, turbid stream of the Monongahela, flowing together to form the broad Ohio, their banks clothed in luxuriant summer foliage, must have presented to the voyagers a scene strikingly picturesque, one which hardly would have escaped the notice of the Chief of the Expedition. If, therefore, the allusion to "the finest place on the river" has no reference to the site of Pittsburgh, then no mention is made of it whatever.

Washington found the situation at the Forks striking, for he wrote (Journal, Nov. 22, 1753):

As I got down before the horses I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the fork which I think extremely well situated for a fort. The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land all around it very convenient for building.

¹¹The date is 1745. See "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," Vol. IV, pp. 756-759.

¹²"American Catholic Historical Researches," Vol. I, p. 22. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 96.

¹³"History of Penna;" Robert Proud, Vol. II, p. 256.

¹⁴"Olden Time;" II, 139; I, 96.

It is remarkable that no mention is made in the Journals of Celoron and Bonnecamps of the Monongahela river, the largest stream by far that they passed in the whole expedition. A stream is marked by Bonnecamps but not named on his map, and this must have been intended to represent the Monongahela.¹⁵

The expedition did not stop overnight at the site of their future fort, Duquesne. Their camp being only two leagues above Chiningué, they were enabled to reach that point August 9th. They found this village the largest on the river—about fifty cabins; Iroquois, Shawanese and Loups, from St. Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains, with some Nippisings, Ottawas and Abenakis. Father Bonnecamps estimated the number of cabins at eighty, and said: "We called it Chiningué from its vicinity to the river of that name." He recorded the latitude and longitude of the place almost correctly. This village was the celebrated Logstown—"a large and flourishing village," remarks Mr. Marshall, "which figures prominently in Indian history for many years after Celoron was there." He is right. The name "Chinigue" has been retained in Western Pennsylvania, applied to the eastern branch of the Big Beaver river under the modern spelling, Shenango.

Just how flourishing the village was will be told in a subsequent chapter. At "Chiningué" M. Celoron almost met Colonel Croghan, who had been sent to visit the Western Indians in August, 1749, by Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania. Celoron wrote the governor immediately. Croghan was sent to Allegheny by the governor after receiving word from Clinton, as appears in the minutes of the meeting of the Council at Philadelphia, June 30, 1749. The news in Philadelphia was that some prisoners released by the French had seen an army of one thousand men depart to prevent the English making any settlements on Belle Riviere.¹⁶

Therefore, following close upon Celoron there came to Logstown in August, 1749, the redoubtable George Croghan, sent by Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania. Croghan, too, was a journalist. He noted down that "Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French soldiers passed through Logstown just before my arrival." Croghan asked the inhabitants of the town the object of the expedition and was told that it was to drive the English away and by burying plates with inscriptions upon them at the mouth of each remarkable creek to steal away their country. Croghan's opportune arrival enabled him to effectually checkmate Celoron's efforts to alienate the Indians at Logstown.

In January, 1750, Hamilton, naturally alarmed, forwarded one of Celoron's letters to the Proprietaries in London, and another to the governor of New York, that they might be laid before the ministry. The following is a translation of one of these:

From Our Camp on Belle River, at an Ancient Village of the Chouanons, 6th August, 1749.

¹⁵Cf. T. J. Chapman's note, "Magazine of Western History;" Vol. V, No. 4 (Feb., 1887), p. 407.

¹⁶"Col. Recs.," V, 387.

Sir:—Having been sent with a detachment into these quarters by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commandant general of New France, to reconcile among themselves certain savage nations, who are ever at variance on account of the war just terminated, I have been much surprised to find some traders of your government in a country to which England never had any pretensions. It even appears that the same opinion is entertained in New England, since in many of the villages I have passed through, the English who were trading there have mostly taken flight. Those whom I first fell in with, and by whom I write you, I have treated with all the mildness possible, although I would have been justified in treating them as interlopers and men without design, their enterprise being contrary to the preliminaries of peace signed five months ago. I hope, sir, you will carefully prohibit for the future this trade, which is contrary to treaties; and give notice to your traders that they will expose themselves to great risks in returning to these countries, and that they must impute only to themselves, the misfortunes they may meet with. I know that our commandant general would be very sorry to have recourse to violence, but he has orders not to permit foreign traders in his government.

I have honor to be with great respect, Sir your humble and obedient servant.¹⁷
CELORON.

Celoron's force was a formidable one for its time and especially formidable at the place. Celoron awed the hostile Indians at Logstown and remained there two days. He had the English flag hauled down and the French flag raised. Celoron was firm but wary; he doubled his guard and took no chances. He left on August 11th. Bonnecamps relates that the village was quite new:

It is hardly more than five or six years since it was established. The savages who live here are almost all Iroquois; they count about 60 warriors. The English there were 10 in number and one among them was their chief. M. de Celoron had him come and ordered him, as he had done the others, to return to his own country. The Englishman who saw us ready to depart, acquiesced in all that was exacted from him—firmly resolved, doubtless, to do nothing of the kind, as soon as our backs were turned.

On August 8th Bonnecamps made this record:

M. de Celoron sent me with an officer to examine certain writings which our savages had seen the evening before on a rock, and which they imagined to contain some mystery. Having examined it, we reported to him that this was nothing more than three or four English names scrawled with charcoal. I took the altitude of our camp, the latitude of which was 40 degrees, 46 minutes.

The real latitude, as fixed by the United States Geological Survey is 40 degrees 28 minutes at the Allegheny Observatory, North Side.

This mention of these rocks is about the first of what the French and Indians subsequently referred to as the "Written Rocks," and the English and we following have since called McKees Rocks from the early McKee settlement there.¹⁸ This famous place, now the site of a large suburb of Pittsburgh, will as this history proceeds, have frequent mention. Four years later Washington stopped there with Gist to invite Shingiss to the conference at Logstown (Journal, November 24, 1753). It was at Logstown also that Colonel Joshua Fry and the Virginia commissioners concluded a treaty with the Western Indians, June 13, 1752.

¹⁷Letter copied from "History Western Penna.," etc., p. 36.

¹⁸See various references in "The Wilderness Trail;" C. A. Hanna, Vol. I and Vol. II, p. 180

Celoron having compelled the English traders whom he found established at Logstown to leave, sent by them the letter dated August 6, 1749, to Governor Hamilton. There is an apparent discrepancy in the date of this letter, but Father Lambing thinks the error arose from transcribing an inverted figure, 6 easily taken for 9. It is well known from Celoron's own account that he did not reach Chiningué until August 9th.

Celoron made a speech to the Indians at the town. He told them he was on his way down the Ohio to whip home the Twightwees (Miamis) and the Wyandots for trading with the English. The Logstown Indians, however, treated his speech with contempt, insisting that to separate them from the English would be like cutting a man into halves and expecting him to live. At this place Celoron's Iroquois and Abenakis allies refused to accompany him farther. They destroyed the plates which had been affixed to trees, the memorials of the French King's sovereignty bearing the royal coat of arms.

Leaving Chiningué, the expedition passed two rivers, one on either side of the Ohio. These evidently were the Big Beaver and Raccoon creek. They came to the stream they called Kanououara, August 13th. Here they interred the third plate bearing the usual inscription and with the customary ceremonies. Part of the description translated read: "Buried at the mouth and on the north bank of the River Kanououara, which empties into the eastern side of the Ohio river." Neither Celoron nor his chaplain gives such a description of the locality as to warrant a positive identification of the site. Most probably it was on the northerly bank of Wheeling creek at its junction with the Ohio, and near where Fort Henry was built in 1774. No vestige of this, the third plate, has ever been discovered.

August 15th the voyagers came to the mouth of the Muskingum and buried the fourth plate on the right bank of that river at its junction with the Ohio. Celoron called the Muskingum, Yenanguakonon, and stated the burial was on its western bank. This plate was found in 1798 by some boys. It was projecting from the perpendicular face of the river bank three or four feet below the surface. With a pole the boys loosened it from its bed and found its composition lead, stamped on its face with letters in an unknown tongue. Unaware of its historic value and in want of lead, then scarce in the new country, they carried the plate home and cast a part of it into bullets. News of the discovery of so curious a relic soon reached a Marietta resident, who obtained possession of the plate. The boys in their defacement had cut off a large part of the description, but enough remained to indicate its character. The plate came into the hands of Caleb Atwater, the Ohio historian, who sent it to De Witt Clinton, then governor of New York, who presented it to the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, in whose library it was deposited. A poor *fac-simile* is shown in Hildreth's "Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley" (p. 20). This defaced plate is shown in many histories since published. The place of deposit is given as the Riviere Yenangué on the part rescued, hence it was inferred by Atwater, Clinton and some others that this plate had originally been deposited at Venango,

the similarity of the names "Yenangue" and "Venango" sufficient to mislead them. They presumed the plate had been unearthed and carried down by a freshet, or perhaps removed to the place where discovered. The finding of Celoron's Journal left no doubt that it was buried where found on the subsequent site of Fort Harmar, and opposite the point where the town of Marietta stands.

Dr. Hildreth says that in the spring of 1798 there was a freshet in the Muskingum which bore away large masses of earth from the banks at the mouth, leaving it quite perpendicular. The following summer the boys found the plate as stated projecting from the face of the bank. With the aid of a pole they loosened it from its bed. They noticed the engraven letters, but not being intelligible they naturally considered the inscriptions of no importance. The lead was a treasure trove to them. Lead was scarce and in demand. It was brought to the notice of Paul Fearing that a curious plate had been unearthed a little below, or nearly opposite the site of Fort Harmar. Obtaining possession of it, he ascertained that the inscription was in French. William Woodbridge, a youth then a resident of Marietta, had recently returned from the old French town in Ohio, Gallipolis, where he had learned the French language. Mr. Fearing took the plate to him, and Woodbridge informed him of its meaning and that it had been deposited as evidence of the right of the French to the possession of the country. Woodbridge, owing to its defacement, could not translate all of the inscription, but sufficient remained to indicate the purpose of it. Dr. Caleb Atwater obtained the plate in 1821, but not until 1827 did it come into possession of the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, where in 1848, when Hildreth published his history, it still remained.

Hildreth quotes Smith, historian of Canada (Vol. I, p. 209), in a few paragraphs which he states throw more light on the subject:

Galissoniere persuaded that peace would soon be concluded and sensible of the importance of giving boundaries of both Canada and Nova Scotia, detached an officer, M. Celoron, with three hundred men with orders to repair to Detroit and from thence to traverse the country as far as the Appalachian mountains, which he admitted to be the bounds of the English plantations in America, and beyond which he denied that they had any pretensions. This officer was directed not only to use his influence to procure a number of Indians to accompany him, but to exact a promise from them that they would not in the future admit English traders among them. This officer was furnished with leaden plates with the Arms of France engraved on them and he was ordered to bury them at particular stations. A *process verbal* was then drawn by himself and those officers that accompanied him.

With this gentleman Galissoniere sent a letter to Mr. Hamilton, the Governor of Pennsylvania, apprizing him of the step he had taken and requesting he would give orders to prevent his people from trading beyond the Appalachian mountains, as he had received commands from the Court of France to seize the merchants and confiscate the goods of those trading in these countries incontestibly belonging to France. De Celoron discharged his commission with punctuality, but not without exciting the apprehensions of the natives who declared that the object of France in taking possession of their country was either to make them subjects or perhaps slaves.

The immense load of *proces verbaux* that had been drawn up on this expedition were handed over to Galissoniere and transmitted to the court of France. As a recompense for his trouble, Celoron was two years after appointed to the command of Detroit, while Galissoniere was appointed Governor of Canada September 25, 1747, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle alluded to in the extract was concluded in 1748.

Hildreth, nevertheless, presents the best *fac-simile* copy of the Marietta plate, which he traced to the Museum of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts. The copy, he states, was made by Dr. James Tenny.

Passing down the river, Father Bonnecamps took regular observations. August 17th they passed two fine rivers, one on each side of the Ohio, but of these no names were given.

On the 18th, after an early start, the voyagers were arrested by a heavy rain at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which is called "Chinodaichta" by Bonnecamps. On the plate there is different spelling. A brief record only was made of the ceremony here. Celoron omits a copy of the inscription on the plate they deposited, and recorded the date and the simple statement: "Buried at the foot of an elm on the south bank of the Ohio and on the east bank of the Chinondaista, the 18th day of August, 1749."

This plate came to light in March, 1846, nearly a century later. It was found by a boy playing on the margin of the Great Kanawha. Its finding left no doubt of the inscription. Like the fourth plate, it was projecting from the bank a few feet below the surface. A great accumulation of soil had been deposited above it by the numerous freshets of a hundred years. The date of deposit as recorded on the plate corresponds exactly with Celoron's entry in his Journal. The spelling of the Indian name of the river on the plate differs slightly from that in the Journal. On the former it is "Chinodahichetha." Kanawha, in another dialect, is said to mean "the river of the woods." Marshall rhapsodises over the beauty that must have been apparent to the voyagers, "the native forests untouched by the pioneer, crowned with luxuriant foliage of Northern Kentucky that covered the banks of both rivers," and concludes that the picturesque scenery justified on the name "Point Pleasant" bestowed on the place by the first comers in the region. The name has been retained in the town and county seat of Mason county on the ground where, October 16, 1774, there was fought the bloody battle between the Virginians under Colonel Andrew Lewis and the forces of Western Indians, under Cornstalk and Logan, who were badly defeated.

Hildreth tells also of the plate found at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which was above its junction with the Ohio a short distance. He ascribes its finding to a boy named R. P. Hereford, whereas all other accounts say his name was Beal. Hildreth gives the dimensions of this plate, "eleven inches and three lines long, by seven inches and six lines broad, and the thickness varies on the different edges from one-fourth to one-eighth of an inch." The engraving of the letters he said was quite distinct and deeply cut, except the name of the river and date of deposit, which appear to have been filled in at the time and are more lightly cut. This he thought was probably the case with all the tablets, as the period and place would depend on circumstances, but all the other matters could have been put on by Le Brosse, the engraver, whose name is on the back of the plates, but whether he lived in Quebec or

Paris, does not appear. As the plates all contained the same amount of matter, they were probably nearly of the same size.

Hildreth thought the names Chinodaichta and Ye-nan-gu-e were the names given these streams by the savages. He dismissed the idea that the Marietta plate could have been brought from Venango on the Allegheny. At the time Hildreth wrote, Dr. Marshall had not brought to light Celoron's Journals. Hildreth thought also that the time occupied in voyaging and in depositing the plates and the legal forms attendant of the *Process Verbaux* must have occupied several months. Celoron's and Bonnecamps' Journals fix the duration. The object of their mission Hildreth points out was to take possession of the country in a legal form and in such a manner as could be established thereafter by written evidence. To this the French were undoubtedly urged by the proceedings of the Ohio Land Company. "No nation," says Dr. Hildreth, "ever had a fairer claim to a newly discovered country than the French had to the Valley of the Ohio, but a wise Providence had ordained that the beautiful region should be possessed by the Anglo-Saxon race and not by the Gallic."

The inscription on the plate found at the mouth of the Kanawha was translated by L. Soyer, at the time mayor of Marietta, a native of France—"one well skilled in the French language," Hildreth states. Craig, in the issue of his magazine, "The Olden Time," for May, 1846, (Vol. I, No. 5), has two items relating to the plate found at the mouth of the Kanawha. His heading for the first is "Tokens of French Possession Along the Ohio;" the second an extract from the Parkersburg (West Virginia) "Gazette," April 21, 1846, under the heading "Relic of the French Dominion Found at Point Pleasant." Craig, in the first article, said that he had this plate in his possession, but could add nothing to the description given of it in the article which he copied from the Parkersburg paper, except to say that on the back of the plate these words were distinctly seen: "Paul La Brosse, Fecit." ("La Brosse made it"). Craig did not know how many of these plates were deposited, or at what points on the Ohio, which river in French estimation included the Allegheny. Craig knew of the plate found at Marietta, and records that Mr. Atwater had seen one that was found at Venango. Craig said the Point Pleasant plate was the third found.

Craig does not print the newspaper article in full, for want of space. He notes that the writer of the article alludes to some confusion as to dates as to the periods when M. Galissioniere was governor of Canada, and quotes Kalm to show that La Jonquiere arrived in Montreal August 14, 1749.¹⁹

Craig quotes Bouchette in a paragraph where the latter states that Galissioniere succeeded La Jonquiere August 16, 1749, whereas the opposite is true. The correspondent of the Parkersburg paper said nothing about the arms of France on the plate, but Craig noted at once the lily

¹⁹Aug. 15, 1749—"The new Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis de la Jonquiere, arrived last night. The people assembled at the home of M. Vaudreuil, etc." Kalm, "Travels," Second Edition, pp. 310-312.

in six places. Craig received the plate "at so late a day he could not have a *fac-simile* of it" for the May number of the "Olden Time." This view did not appear until the July number. (Vol. I, Insert, opposite p. 336). Craig attempted to correct Bouchette's error noted above and made a new one.²⁰ Craig said the name, Galissoniere, where it first occurs on the page should be La Jonquiere and the latter name stand in the place of Galissoniere in the sentence. Jonquiere served from August 17, 1749, to March 17, 1752, when he died. The statement concerning him in Joncaire's letter in the "Olden Time" (Vol. I, p. 269), is correct. The name Galissoniere is correct as sending Celoron on the expedition.²¹

De Hass (p. 50), in his story of the leaden plates, says:

One of these plates has recently been discovered at the mouth of the Kanawha (Point Pleasant). It was found by a son of John Beale, Esq., in April, 1846. [Mr. Beale now lives in Covington, Ky.] We have procured an exact drawing of the relic and made a literal translation of the inscription which is here given.

De Hass' drawing is the same as Craig's and doubtless was furnished by Craig. The other two plates recovered were one at Venango, and one at Marietta, a copy of the one found at Marietta given by Dr. Hildreth. ("Pioneer History," p. 21). In the "History of Venango" (1890), Craig's plate is inserted opposite page 39.

We shall not follow Celoron farther except to tell of them passing St. Yotoc, evidently a corruption of Scioto, called by Bonnacamps Sinihoto on his map. There was a village of the Shawanese at the mouth of the river which Pouchot calls in his "*Memoires*," *Sonhioto*. Deterred by rain, Celoron remained a week at St. Yotoc, which seems neither French nor Indian in etymology. They put out again in their canoes on August 27th and went down the Ohio as far as White river; *La Blanche*, they called it. August 30th they passed the great north bend of the Ohio and reached the mouth of the Great Miami, a celebrated river in our Western history, the Riviere de la Roche of the French voyagers. They turned their flotilla into this stream. Here at its mouth they buried the sixth and last plate. So far, no trace of this plate has ever been found. September 1st they began the toilsome ascent of the Miami, and on the 13th arrived at the Indian village of Demoiselles, the residence of "La Demoiselle," chief of that portion of the Miamis or Twightwees who were favorable to the English. This town became noted in subsequent Indian wars, and was destroyed by General George Rogers Clark in his expedition in 1782. Wayne built a fort there, later called Fort Loramie. The French under Celoron remained at "Demoiselles" a week in order to recruit and prepare for their portage to the Maumee river. They burned their canoes, and having obtained some ponies, set out overland for Detroit. They expected to be five and a half days to the first French post. This first stop was at Kis-Ka-kon, subsequently Fort Wayne, Indiana. The French had a garrison there under command of M. de Raymond.

²⁰"Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 239-336.

²¹The letter to Governor Hamilton from Joncaire in French can be found in "The Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," Vol. V, p. 540. Patterson has it in his "History of the Backwoods," in English, p. 42. See also Hazard's "Register;" Vol. IV.

Here Celoron was provided with pirogues and provisions. September 27th part of the expedition started overland for Detroit, and the remainder went down the Maumee in their boats. Detroit was reached October 6th. Celoron returning to Montreal via Lake Erie, did not get away from the mouth of the Maumee until October 8th. His Indian allies could not resist the chance to go on a drunken debauch there with the white man's firewater. However, when they came to, the voyage was continued with nothing worthy of notice. Fort Niagara was reached October 19th and after a three days' rest there, they coasted along the south shore of Lake Ontario, their frail boats badly shattered by the autumnal gales, arriving at Fort Frontenac on November 6th, the men greatly fatigued with the hardships of the voyage. With as slight delays as possible they pushed on, reaching Montreal November 10th, having according to Celoron traveled at least 1,200 leagues—five months in the wilderness. De Bonnecamps, S. J., closing his Journal, penned this tribute to his chief:

As for Monsieur de Celoron, he is a man attentive, clear-sighted, and active; firm, but pliant when necessary; fertile in resources and full of resolution—a man, in fine, made to command. I am no flatterer and I do not fear that what I have said should make me pass for one.

In 1750, after Celoron's return the French proceeded to erect forts in "the Debatable Land."



CHAPTER XIII.

Washington and Gist; Emissary and Guide.

In the narration of events leading to the struggle for the Valley of the Ohio, only a small part of the great struggle for the continent, the narrator has arrived at the point where, as Cyrus Townsend Brady puts it, the greatest figure of his age enters the pages of history, the "immortal Washington," as old time orators and writers always mention him. Washington makes his debut on these pages as an ambassador, and his embassy has been placed among the most notable in the annals of our country. It will appear in the story that this mission was futile, and how the little party of white men with Washington at their head, and his intrepid guide, Christopher Gist, took their leave of the French at their rude frontier fort at Venango and plunged southward in the primeval woodland extending for leagues in all directions. "Exhausted and worn out from the tremendous hardships they had undergone," says Brady, "depressed by their lack of success—although their mission had not been altogether a failure—their pack-horses jaded and feeble, they were in no condition to undertake the terrible journey which intervened between them and the report which would mark the completion of their duty."¹

The story of Washington's mission to the French forts in what was later Northwestern Pennsylvania, has been told and elaborated by all American historians, among the most readable that of Parkman ("Montcalm and Wolfe," Chapter V). The embassy had been sent by Dinwiddie to protest against the French occupation of the region of Western Pennsylvania, for many years claimed to be part of Virginia, which story will develop as this history proceeds. Dinwiddie's letter challenged the French invasion and summoned the invaders to withdraw. "He could find none so fit to bear his message," says Parkman, "as a young man of twenty-one. It was this rough Scotchman who launched Washington on his illustrious career."²

Before proceeding with the story of the embassy, it will be well to know something of the ambassador as he then appeared, and something of the rough Scotchman. This is furnished by Dr. Toner:

Between 19 and 20, Washington had been a licensed surveyor in Virginia for three years, and shortly before sailing had been commissioned one of the adjutant generals of Virginia with the rank of major and the pay £150 a year. Although he made no pretensions to having a finished education, or to being an extensive reader of books, yet he was well informed on all the affairs of life, and his manners and address proclaimed him a gentleman and clearly indicated that his associations were with men of character and culture. If we had no other means of knowing the fact, the "Journal to the Barbadoes" of itself would show that Washington possessed strong and acute natural powers of observation and that his mind was, for his years, unusually matured and well stored with practical knowledge and historical facts.

¹"Colonial Fights and Fighters;" C. T. Brady, p. 189.

²"M. & W.;" Vol. I, p. 138.

The journey to the Barbadoes was made with his invalid brother Lawrence, who was fourteen years older than George, and between them there existed an exceedingly great affection. This voyage resulted in no benefit to the ailing Lawrence, who died shortly after his return.⁸

Personal descriptions of Dinwiddie are wanting, but his picture is displayed in various histories of the United States and notably in Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," (Vol. I, Champlain Edition). Short biographies of the man and estimates of his character are common. We can anticipate, in a manner, some events of our history in submitting sketches of Dinwiddie's character and career.

If we are to search for a name that begins our history as a place, we must go to Virginia for that of Dinwiddie, who came to that colony from the West Indies in 1751. Dinwiddie was born in Scotland in 1693 and died in England in 1770 full of years, but not honor.

Dinwiddie started his official life as a clerk to a collector of customs in the West Indies. Discovering what we now term great crookedness in his principal, Dinwiddie exposed him and was rewarded with the office of surveyor of customs, and soon afterwards promoted to that of lieutenant-governor of Virginia. So far virtue was following the beaten path in the reward route. In Virginia the route changed. The rapaciousness and unscrupulousness of the man found full bent. In the governing process, however, he discovered George Washington, whom he made adjutant-general of one of the four military districts of the colony. Owing to the exaction of enormous fees authorized by the Board of Trade for the issue of land patents, Dinwiddie gained the ill will of the people of Virginia and when he called for money to resist the encroachments of the French in the Ohio valley the Virginia House of Burgesses paid no attention to his expressed wishes.

Meanwhile he had sent Washington on his mission to St. Pierre at Fort Le Bœuf and here our history begins. The captain's command enlisted by Dinwiddie began the little fort at the Forks of the Ohio; Captain Trent, Ensign Ward, Braddock, Halket, Forbes, Bouquet, et al, appear in succession. Fort Pitt arises alongside of the smoking ruins of Duquesne. The lilies of France float no longer to the breeze. Behold the cross of St. George. Enter also Stanwix, Hand, Irwin, Neville, Craig, Wayne, St. Clair, and the pioneers and patriots of Revolutionary days. The subject is vast; its sequel vaster. It has been written. It is well known history.

But Dinwiddie was a man of action, aggressive, loyal to the King, hating his hereditary enemies, the French, fighting the marauding redskins. Dinwiddie was alive to the issues and met them. A man of his stamp makes enemies, rightly or not. Arrogant to an extremity, ill tempered, surely, given to caprices and folly, it was but natural that Dinwiddie should clash with the burgesses. He had given Washington many a weary hour and vexed the whole colony.

In the end, Dinwiddie, aged and worn with trouble, went down under

⁸"Washington, Remarks On;" by J. M. Toner, M. D., in his edition of "Washington's Journal to Barbadoes," 1751-1752.

a cloud, He was recalled in 1758; the charge against him was that he had appropriated £20,000 placed in his hands for compensation to the Virginians for money expended by them in the public service; that is, the expenditures in excess of their proper share of the warfare in which Dinwiddie had involved them—but of necessity. He never satisfactorily accounted for this fund. His name has been maintained in a well known street in Pittsburgh, extending from Fifth avenue to Centre avenue. In these twentieth century days the thousands who hear his name in our street commemoration think nothing of the man or his times; little of his unlovely character and the great history his acts evoked. When the "embattled farmers fired the shots heard 'round the world" in 1775, this doughty and aggressive old grouch had been dead nearly five years.

Writers, especially headliners and cartoonists, are fond of "Father Pitt." How about Father Dinwiddie? Alongside of Governor Dinwiddie, Pitt is an insert page in our makeup story. But then Pitt was lovely in his life and in death cannot be forgotten. But let us give some credit to the French-hating, Indian-fighting, rancorous, grabbing and greedy old Scotchman. He builded more wisely than he knew.

Dinwiddie sailed for England in January, 1758. It is well to look closely into this unlovely character in our history for his deeds counted.

Sparks says of him:

His departure was not regretted. However amiable in his social relations, however zealous in the discharge of his public trusts, he failed to win the hearts or command the respect of the people. Least of all was he qualified to transact military affairs. His whole course of conduct was marked with confusion, uncertainty and waywardness, which caused infinite perplexity to the commander of the Virginia troops. Every one regarded the change as salutary to the interests of the colony. Francis Fauquier was the next Governor, the Earl of Loudon had been commissioned as successor to Dinwiddie, but his military duties in the North preventing him from serving.⁴

Further biography is available from many sources. In the following, some additional information can be found.

Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia from 1751-7, was born near Glasgow, Scotland, 1693; died near Clifton, England, August 1, 1770. Having been favored with a good education he was disciplined to the counting-house and commerce. December 1st, 1727, he was appointed Collector of Customs in the Island of Bermuda, which position he held under successive commissions until April 11, 1738, when in recognition of his ability and fidelity he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Southern Ports on the Continent of America. In this office he was named as his predecessors had been, a member of the Councils of the American Colonies. This mandate was recognized by Governor Gooch of Virginia, but the claim was resisted by the Councillors, who refused to allow him to sit with them and transmitted a remonstrance to the King, asking for his exclusion. The Board of Trade in May, 1742, advised that the royal purpose should be adhered to in the matter. He was specially commissioned, August 17, 1743, Inspector-General to examine into the duties and the collection of customs of the Island of Barbadoes and discovered flagrant frauds. He was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, July 20, 1751, and on his arrival in November following, was warmly welcomed by the State officials. Under his administration the attempt was begun to expel the French from the head of the Ohio Valley, at Fort Duquesne. He was a zealous and vigilant officer and early discerned the capabilities of George Washington, whom he appointed Adjutant-General of a military district. He

⁴"Life and Writings of Washington;" Vol. I, p. 90.

was a Loyalist of the sternest stamp. In 1754 he suggested to the British Board of Trade, taxation of the Colonies to raise funds for military defenses and in 1755 was one of the five Lieutenant-Governors who memorialized the Ministry to the same purpose. He left the Colony in 1758, worn out with vexation, with the cares of office and with age. He was very meddlesome in military affairs and seemed at times ungenerous enough to be jealous of the popularity of Washington, which left an unpleasant memory behind him. (Drake, also Brock, in the *Dinwiddie Papers*).

The narrative of events leading up to the mission of Washington have been told in detail by all historians. Some quotations from old writers are pertinent as showing how the course of events was viewed at the time. First of all we have Tobias Smollet, more famous as a novelist than a historian, who wrote as follows:

Governor Spotswood's scheme for an Ohio company was revived immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; when certain merchants of London who traded to Maryland and Virginia petitioned the government of this subject, and were indulged not only a grant of a great tract of ground to the southward of Pennsylvania, which they promised to settle, but also with an exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio. This design no sooner transpired than the French governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote letters to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, giving them to understand that as the English inland traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges, by trading with the Indians under the protection of his sovereign, he would seize them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately desist from that illicit practice. No regard being paid to this intimation, he next year caused three British traders to be arrested. Their effects were confiscated, and they themselves conveyed to Quebec, from whence they were sent prisoners to Rochelle in France, and there detained in confinement. In this situation they presented a remonstrance to the Earl of Albemarle, at that time English ambassador in Paris, and he claiming them as British subjects, they were set at liberty. Although, in answer to his lordship's memorial, the court of Versailles promised to transmit orders to the French governors in America to use all their endeavours for preventing any disputes that might have a tendency to alter the good correspondence established between the two nations; in all probability the directions given were seemingly the very reverse of these professions, for the French commanders, partisans, and agents in America, took every step their busy genius could suggest, to strengthen their own power and weaken the influence of the English, by embroiling them with the Indian nations. This task they found the more easy, as the natives had taken offence against the English, when they understood that their lands were given away without their knowledge, and that there was a design to build forts in their country, without their consent and concurrence. Indeed the person whom the new company employed to survey the banks of the Ohio concealed his design so carefully, and behaved in other respects in such a dark, mysterious manner, as could not fail to arouse the jealousy of a people naturally inquisitive, and very much addicted to suspicion. How the company proposed to settle this acquisition in despite of the native possessors it is not easy to conceive, and it is still more unaccountable that they should have neglected the natives, whose consent and assistance they might have procured at a very small expense. Instead of acting such a fair, open, and honorable part, they sent a Mr. Gist to make a clandestine survey of the country, as far as the falls of the river Ohio; and as we have observed above, his conduct alarmed both the French and the Indians. The erection of this company was equally disagreeable to the separate traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who saw themselves on the eve of being deprived of a valuable branch of traffic, by the exclusive character of a monopoly; and therefore they employed their emissaries to foment the jealousy of the Indians.

The French having in a manner commenced hostilities against the English, and actually built forts on the territories of the British allies at Niagara, and on the lake Erie, Mr. Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, communicated this intelligence to the assembly of the province, and represented the necessity of erecting truck-houses, or

places of strength and security, on the river Ohio, to which the traders might retire in case of insult or molestation. The proposal was approved, and money granted for the purpose; but the assembly could not agree about the manner in which they should be erected; and in the meantime the French fortified themselves at leisure, continuing to harrass the traders belonging to the British settlements. Repeated complaints of these encroachments and depredations being represented to Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, he, towards the latter end of this year sent Major Washington with a letter to the commanding officer of a fort which the French built on the Riviere-au-Beuf, which falls into the Ohio, not far from Lake Erie. In this letter Mr. Dinwiddie expressed his surprise that the French should build forts and make settlements on the river Ohio, in the western part of the colony of Virginia, belonging to the crown of Great Britain. He complained of these encroachments, as well as of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in open violation of the law of nations, and of the treaties actually subsisting between the two crowns. He desired to know by whose authority and instructions his Britannic majesty's territories had been invaded; and required him to depart in peace, without further prosecuting a plan which must interrupt the harmony and good understanding which his Majesty was desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian king. To this spirited intimation the officer replied, that it was not his province to specify the evidence, and demonstrate the right of the king his master to the lands situated on the river Ohio; but he would transmit the letter to the Marquis du Quesne, and act according to the answer he should receive from that nobleman. In the meantime, he said he did not think himself obliged to obey the summons of the English governor; that he commanded the fort by the virtue of an order from his general, to which he was determined to conform with all the precision and resolution of an officer. Mr. Dinwiddie expected no other reply, and therefore had projected a fort to be erected near the forks of the river. The province undertook to defray the expense, and the stores for that purpose were already provided; but, by some fatal oversight, the concurrence of the Indians was neither obtained nor solicited, and, therefore, they looked upon this measure with an evil eye, as a manifest invasion of their property.⁵

Next is an account from Irving's "Life of Washington," paraphrased somewhat, but a lucid and complete story leading up to the selection of Washington as Dinwiddie's envoy. In short, Irving relates:

The meeting of the Ohio Tribes, Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes, to form a treaty of alliance with Virginia, took place at Logstown, at an appointed time. The chiefs of the Six Nations declined to attend. "It is not our custom," said they proudly, "to meet to treat of affairs in the woods and weeds. If the Governor of Virginia wants to speak with us, and deliver us a present from our father (the King) we will meet him at Albany, where we expect the Governor of New York will be present." At Logstown, Colonel Fry and two other commissioners from Virginia concluded a treaty with the tribes above named; by which the latter engaged not to molest any English settlers south of the Ohio.

French influence, however, was successful in other quarters. Some of the Indians who had been friendly to the English showed signs of alienation. Others menaced hostilities. There were reports that the French were ascending the Mississippi from Louisiana. France, it was said, intended to connect Louisiana and Canada by a chain of military posts, and hem the English within the Allegheny mountains. The Ohio Company complained loudly to the Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, of the hostile conduct of the French and their Indian allies. They found in Dinwiddie a ready listener; he was a stockholder in the company. A commissioner, Captain William Trent, was sent to expostulate with the French commander on the Ohio for his aggressions on the territory of his Britannic majesty; he bore presents also of guns, powder, shot and clothing for the friendly Indians. Trent was not a man of the true spirit for a mission to the frontier. He stopped a short time at Logstown, though the French were one hundred strong and fifty miles further up the river,

⁵"History of England;" T. Smollet, Vol. II, pp. 116-119.

and directed his course to Piqua, the great town of the Twightwees, where Gist and Croghan had been so well received by the Miamis, and the French flag struck in the council house.

All was now reversed. The place had been attacked by the French and Indians, the Miamis defeated with great loss; the English traders taken prisoners; the Piankeshia chief had been sacrificed by the hostile savages, and the French flag hoisted in triumph on the ruins of the town. The whole aspect of affairs was so threatening on the frontier, that Trent lost heart, and returned home without accomplishing his errand.

Governor Dinwiddie now looked round for a person more fitted to fulfill a mission which required physical strength and moral energy; a courage to cope with savages, and a sagacity to negotiate with white men. Washington was pointed out as possessed of those requisites. It is true he was not yet twenty-two years of age, but public confidence in his judgment and abilities had been manifested a second time, by renewing his appointment of adjutant-general, and assigning him the northern division. He was acquainted, too, with the matters in litigation, having been in the bosom councils of his deceased brother. His woodland experience fitted him for an expedition through the wilderness; and his great discretion and self-command for a negotiation with wily commanders and fickle savages. He was accordingly chosen for the expedition.⁶

In a judicial resume of the events that led to the despatch of Washington to the French forts, Chief Justice Marshall says:

The governors of Canada, who were generally military men, had, for several preceding years, judiciously selected and fortified such situations, as would give their nation most influence with the Indians, and best facilitate incursions into the northern provinces. The command of Lake Champlain had been acquired by erecting a strong fort at Crown Point; and a connected chain of posts was maintained from Quebec up the St. Lawrence and along the great lakes. It was now intended to unite these posts with the Mississippi by taking positions and, at the same time, to annoy the frontier settlements of the English.

The execution of this plan was probably in some degree accelerated by an act of the British government. The year after the conclusion of the war, several very influential persons, both in England and Virginia, who associated under the name of the Ohio Company, obtained from the crown a grant for six hundred thousand acres of land lying in the country claimed by both nations. Several opulent merchants, as well as noblemen and gentlemen, being members of this company, its objects were commercial as well as territorial; and measures were immediately taken to derive all the advantages expected from their grant, in both respects, by establishing houses for carrying on their trade with the Indians and engaging persons to survey the country for the purpose of enabling them to complete their quantity out of the most valuable and convenient lands.

The governor of Canada, who obtained early intelligence of this intrusion as he deemed it, into the dominions of his Christian majesty, wrote immediately to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, informing them that the English traders had encroached on the French territories by trading with their Indians, and warning them that, if they did not desist, he should be under the necessity of seizing them wherever they should be found. At the same time the jealousy of the Indians was excited, and fears instilled into them, that the English were about to deprive them of their country. This jealousy was kept up by the traders of Pennsylvania, who were apprehensive that the Ohio Company would transfer to the Potomac by the way of Will's creek, a gainful traffic confined, in a great degree, to their colony, and who, on that account, communicated to the Indians the object for which the Ohio was visited by the English, an object which the agents of the company had sought carefully to conceal, by making their survey as secretly as possible.

The threat of the governor of Canada having been entirely disregarded, he put it in execution by seizing the British traders among the Twightwees, and carrying them as prisoners to Presqu' Isle on Lake Erie, where a strong fort was then erecting.

⁶"Life of Washington;" Washington Irving, New York, 1855, Vol. I, Chap. VIII.

The attempt of the English to prosecute a trade with the Indians could not be the real motive for this act of violence, as neither nation pretended to an exclusive right to this trade and the treaty of Utrecht had expressly stipulated for its freedom. But the advances made by the English towards a settlement of the country, threatened to break in upon the vast and magnificent plans of France, and was consequently to be prevented at every hazard. Not only, therefore, were the English traders seized, but a communication was opened from the fort at Presqu' Isle, down French creek and the Allegheny river, to the Ohio; which was kept up by detachments of troops, posted at proper distances from each other, and secured by works which would cover them from an attack made only with small arms.

This country having been actually granted as a part of the territory of Virginia to the Ohio Company, who were commencing its settlements and who complained loudly of these aggressions, Dinwiddie, the lieutenant-governor of that province, considering this encroachment as an invasion of a colony, the interests of which were committed to him, laid the subject before the assembly, and dispatched Major Washington, the gentleman who afterwards led his countrymen to independence and to empire, of whom high expectations were already formed, with a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, requiring him to withdraw from the dominions of his Britannic majesty.⁷

Dinwiddie gave Washington explicit instructions, a commission and a passport. These read as follows:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR GEORGE WASHINGTON

WHEREAS, I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the river Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign the King of Great Britain;

These are therefore, to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown on the said river Ohio; and, having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and, being there arrived, to present your credentials, together with my letter to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty to demand an answer thereto.

On your arrival at Logstown you are to address yourself to the Half-King, to Monacatoocha, and other the sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard, as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further direction.

You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio, and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication, and the time required for it.

You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned, and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from Logstown; and from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French; how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary dispatches, you are to desire of him proper guard to protect you as far on your return, as you may judge for your safety, against any straggling Indians or hunters, that may be ignorant of your character, and molest you.

Wishing you good success in your negotiation, and a safe and speedy return, I am,
ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Williamsburgh, October 30, 1753.

⁷"Life of George Washington, etc.;" by John Marshall, 1804, Vol. I, p. 374.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE, ONE OF THE ADJUTANTS-GENERAL OF THE TROOPS
AND FORCES IN THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA.

I, reposing especial trust and confidence in the ability, conduct, and fidelity of you, the said George Washington, have appointed you my express messenger; and you are hereby authorized and empowered to proceed hence, with all convenient and possible dispatch, to that place or part, on the river Ohio, where the French have lately erected a fort or forts, or where the commandant of the French forces resides, in order to deliver my letter and message to him; and after waiting not exceeding one week for an answer, you are to take your leave and return immediately back.

To this commission I have set my hand, and caused the great seal of this Dominion to be affixed, at the city of Williamsburgh, the seat of the Government, this 30th day of October, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his Majesty George the Second, King of Great Britain, annoque Domini, 1753.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS MAY COME OR CONCERN, GREETING.

WHEREAS, I have appointed George Washington, Esquire, by the commission under the great seal, my express messenger to the commandant of the French forces on the river Ohio, and as he is charged with business of great importance to his Majesty and this Dominion;

I do hereby command all his Majesty's subjects, and particularly require all in alliance and amity with the crown of Great Britain, and all others to whom this passport may come, agreeably to the law of nations, to be aiding and assisting as a safeguard to the said George Washington and his attendants, in his present passage, to and from the river Ohio as foresaid.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

TO THE LORDS OF THE BOARD OF TRADE.

Williamsburgh, Virginia, November 17, 1753.

Right Honorable:

My last to you was on the 16th of June, to which I beg you to be referred. In that I acquainted you if the accounts we have had of the French, with the Indians in their interest, invading his Majesty's lands on the river of the Ohio.

The person sent as a commissioner to the commandant of the French forces neglected his duty, and went no further than Logstown on the Ohio. He reports the French were then one hundred and fifty miles further up the river, and I believe was afraid to go to them. On the application of the Indians in friendship with us on the Ohio, I sent Mr. William Trent, with guns, powder, and shot, to them, with some clothing; and enclosed I send you his report and conferences with the people, on his delivering them the present.

I have received, by a man-of-war sloop, orders from the Right Honorable Earl of Holderness, and instructions from his Majesty. In consequence I have thereof sent one of the adjutants of the militia out to the commander of the French forces, to know their intentions and by what authority they presume to invade his Majesty's dominions in the time of tranquil peace. When he returns I shall transmit you an account of his proceedings, and the French commander's answer.

Your Lordship's, etc.,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.⁸

Rupp justly remarks in his introductory paragraph (p. 37): "We insert the whole of this Journal, containing as it does, an interesting account of the whole journey from Williamsburg and return, and all the events in clear and concise manner. All who have told of Washington's mission have derived their facts from Washington and Gist as

⁸These "Instructions," etc., Rupp has included in an appendix to his "History of Western Pennsylvania and the West;" see App. VI, pp. 34-37. "Washington's Journal" of 1753 follows; pp. 37-50. The "Instructions" and "Journal" are in "Sparks' Washington," Vol. I, pp. 427-447.

they recorded at the time. Writers like Parkman have given their imagination full swing, and with the magic of fitting words have drawn a picture that stands out full and clear. Evidently a strange sight broke upon Joncaire and as strange a one upon St. Pierre. In his inimitable manner Parkman presents this picture:

The surrounding forests had dropped their leaves, and in gray and patient desolation bided the coming winter. Chill rains drizzled over the gloomy "clearing" and drenched the palisades and log-built barracks, raw from the axe. Buried in the wilderness, the military exiles [Legardeur St. Pierre and his garrison] resigned themselves as they might to months of monotonous solitude; when, just after sunset on the eleventh day of December, a tall youth came out of the forest on horseback, attended by a companion much older and rougher than himself, and followed by several Indians and four or five white men with packhorses. Officers from the fort went out to meet the strangers; and, wading through mud and sodden snow, they entered at the gate. On the next day the young leader of the party, with the help of an interpreter, for he spoke no French [a deficiency which he laments with greatest regret later in life] had an interview with the commandant and gave him a letter from Governor Dinwiddie. St. Pierre and the officer next in rank, who knew a little English, took it to another room to study it at their ease; and in it, all unconsciously, they read a name destined to stand one of the noblest in the annals of mankind, for it introduced Major George Washington, Adjutant-General of the Virginia Militia.⁹

MAJOR WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL OF A TOUR OVER THE ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS.

I was commissioned and appointed by the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., Governor of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day; the next, I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From there we went to Winchester, and got baggage, horses, etc., and from thence we pursued the new road to Will's Creek, where we arrived on the 14th of November.

Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as servitors, Barnaby Currin and John McQuire, Indian traders; Henry Stewart, and William Jenkins; and in company with those persons left the inhabitants the next day.

The excessive rains and the vast quantity of snow, which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on the Monongahela river, until Thursday the 22d. We were informed here that expresses had been sent a few days before to the traders down the river, to acquaint them with the French general's death, and the return of the major part of the French army into winter quarters.

The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get a loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Stewart down the Monongahela, with our baggage, to meet us at the Fork of the Ohio, about ten miles; there to cross the Allegheny.

As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers, and the land in the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Allegheny bearing northeast; and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares. We called upon him, to invite him to the council at the Logstown.

⁹"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Parkman, Vol. I, pp. 136-137. Quoted by John Finley in his recent work, "The French in the Heart of America;" p. 13.

Washington at the age of twenty-three

As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the Fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defence or advantages; especially the latter. For a fort at the Fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water-carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the Fork might be built at much less expense than at the other places.

Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defence; but the hill whereon it must stand being a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself cut away; otherwise the enemy may raise batteries that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort.

Shingiss attended us to Logstown, where we arrived between sun-setting and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg. We traveled over some extremely good and bad land to get to this place.

As soon as I came into town, I went to Monacatoocha (as the Half-King was out at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver creek, about fifteen miles off), and informed him by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general; and was ordered to call upon the Sachems of the Six Nations to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King, which he promised to do by a runner in the morning, and for other sachems. I invited him and other great men present to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and returned.

According to the best observations I could make, Mr. Gist's new settlement bears about west northwest seventy miles from Will's creek; Shannopins, or the Fork, north by west, or north northwest, about fifty miles from that; and from thence to the Logstown, the course is nearly about eighteen or twenty miles; so that the whole distance, as we went and computed it, is at least one hundred and thirty-five miles or one hundred and forty miles from our back inhabitants.

25th—Came to town four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas, which lies at the mouth of this river. I got the following account from them. They were sent from New Orleans with a hundred men and eight canoe-loads of provisions to this place, where they expected to have met the same number of men, from the forts on this side of Lake Erie, to convoy them and their stores up, who were not arrived when they ran off.

About three o'clock this evening the Half-King came to town. I went up and invited him with Davidson, privately to my tent, and desired him to relate some of the particulars of his journey to the French commandment, and of his reception there; also, to give me an account of the ways and distance. He told me, that the nearest and levellest way was now impassable, by reason of many large, miry savannas; that we must be obliged to go by Venango, and should not get to the near fort in less than five or six nights' sleep, good traveling. When he went to the fort, he said he was received in a very stern manner by the late commander, who asked him very abruptly what he had come about, and to declare his business, which he said he did in the following speech:

Fathers, I am come to tell you your own speeches, what your own mouths have declared. Fathers, you, in former days set a silver basin before us, wherein there was the leg of a beaver, and desired all the nations to come and eat it, to eat in peace and plenty, and not to be churlish to one another; and that if any person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the dish a rod, which you must scourge them with; and if your father should get foolish, in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as the others.

Now, fathers, it is you who are the disturbers in this land, by coming and building your towns, and taking it away unknown to us, and by force.

Fathers, we kindled a fire long ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may dispatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land and not yours.

Fathers, I desire you may hear me in civility; if not we must handle that rod which has laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable

manner like our brothers the English, we would not have been against your trading with us as they do; but to come, fathers, and build houses upon our land and to take it by force, is what we cannot submit to.

Fathers, both you and the English are white, we live in a country between; therefore, the land belongs to neither one nor the other. But the Great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers, the English have heard this, and I come not to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land.

This he said was the substance of what he spoke to the general, who made this reply ["the general": M. Marin, late commandant]:

Now, my child, I have heard your speech; you spoke first, but it is my time to speak now. Where is my wampum that you took away, with the marks of towns on it? This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the land with; but you need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those; I tell you down the river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river has been blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open, and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon seashore; therefore here is your wampum; I sling it at you. Child, you talk foolish; you say this land belongs to you, but there is not the black of my nail yours. I saw the land sooner than you did, before the Shannoahs and you were at war; Lead was the man who went down and took possession of that river. It is my land, and I will have it, let who will stand up for, or say against it. I will buy and sell with the English. (mockingly) If the people will be ruled by me, they expect kindness, but not else.

The Half-King told me he had inquired of the general after two Englishmen, who were made prisoners, and received this answer: "Child, you think it a very great hardship that I made prisoners of those two people at Venango. Don't you concern yourself with it; we took them to Canada, to get intelligence of what the English were doing in Virginia."

He informed me that they had built two forts, one on Lake Erie, and another on French creek, near a small lake, about fifteen miles asunder, and a large wagon-road between. They are both built after the same model, but different in size; that on the lake the largest. He gave me a plan of them of his drawing.

The Indians inquired very particularly after their brothers in Carolina gaol.

They also asked what sort of a boy it was, who was taken from the South Branch; for they were told by some Indians, that a party of French Indians had carried a white boy by Kuskuska Town, towards the lakes.

26th—We met in council at the long-house about nine o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows:

Brothers, I have called you together in council, by order of your brother the Governor of Virginia, to acquaint you, that I am sent with all possible dispatch to visit and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers, the English; and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

I was desired, brothers, by your brother, the Governor, to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

His honor likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way, and be a safeguard against those French Indians, who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you, brothers, because, his Honor our Governor, treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this string of wampum.

After they had considered for some time on the above discourse, the Half-King got up and spoke:

Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother the Governor had desired of, I return this answer.

I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers, and one people. We shall put heart in hand and speak to our fathers, in French, concerning the speech you made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your guard.

Brothers, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech-belt is not here; I have to go for it to my hunting-cabin. Likewise, the people I have ordered in are not yet come, and cannot until the third night from this; until this time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

I intend to send the guard of Mingoes, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them.

As I had orders to make all possible dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable manner I could, and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of that delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the time he had appointed, and told me, that he could not consent to our going without a guard, for fear some accident should befall us, and draw a reflection upon him. Besides, said he, this is a matter of no small moment, and must not be entered into without due consideration; for I intend to deliver up the French speech-belt, and make the Shannoahs and Delawares do the same. And according he gave orders to King Shingiss, who was present, to attend on Wednesday, with the wampum; and two men of their nation to be in readiness to set out with us the next morning. As I found it was impossible to get off without affronting them in the most egregious manner, I consented to stay.

I gave them back a string of wampum, which I met with at Mr. Frazier's, and which they sent with a speech to his Honor the Governor, to inform him, that three nations of French Indians, namely, Chippewas, Ottowas, and Orundaks, had taken up the hatchet against the English; and desired them to repeat it over again. But this they postponed doing until they met in full council with the Shannoah and Delaware chiefs.

27th—Runners were dispatched very early for the Shannoah chiefs. The Half-King set out himself to fetch the French speech-belt from his hunting-cabin.

28th—He returned this evening and came with Monacattoocho, and two other sachems to my tent; and begged (as they had complied with his Honor the Governor's request, in providing men, etc.), to know on what business we were going to the French. This was a question I had all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory answers as I could; which allayed their curiosity a little.

Monacattoocho informed me that an Indian from Venango brought news a few days ago, that the French had called all the Mingoes, Delawares, etc., together at that place; and told them, that they intended to have been down the river, by this fall, but the waters were growing cold, and the winter advancing, which obliged them to go into quarters; but that they might assuredly expect them in the spring, with a far greater number; and desired that they might be quite passive, and not intermeddle unless they had a mind to draw all their forces upon them; for that they expected to fight the English three years (as they supposed there would be some attempts to stop them), in which time they would conquer. But that if they should prove equally strong, they and the English would join to cut them off, and divide the land between them; that though they had lost their general, and some few of their soldiers, yet there were men enough to reinforce them, and make them masters of the Ohio.

This speech, he said, was delivered to them by one Captain Joncaire, their interpreter in chief, living at Venango, and a man of note in the army.

29th—The Half-King and Monacattoocho came very early, and begged me to stay one day more; for notwithstanding they had used all the diligence in their power, the Shannoah chiefs had not brought the wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in to-night; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would send it after us as soon as they arrived. When I found them so pressing in the request, and knew that the returning of the wampum was the abolishing of agreements, and giving this up was shaking all dependence upon the French off, I consented to stay, as I believed an offence offered at this crisis might be attended with greater ill consequence, than another day's delay. They also informed me, that Shingiss could not get in his men, and was prevented from coming himself by his wife's sickness (I believe by fear of the French), but that the wampum was lodged with Kustalogo, one of the chiefs, at Venango.

In the evening, late, they came again, and acquainted me that the Shannoahs were not arrived, but that it should not retard prosecution of our journey. He delivered in my hearing the speech that was made to the French by Jeskakake, one of their old chiefs, which was giving up the belt the late commandant had asked for, and repeating nearly the same speech he himself had done before.

He also delivered a string of wampum to this chief, which was sent by King Shingiss, to be given to Kustalogo, with orders to repair to the French, and deliver up the wampum.

He likewise gave a very large string of black and white wampum, which was to be sent up immediately to the Six Nations, the third and last time, and was the right of this Jeskakake to deliver.

30th—Last night, the great men assembled at their council house, to consult further about this journey, and who were to go; the result of which was, that only three chiefs, with one of their hunters, should be our convoy. The reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council the 26th, was, that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely; but I rather think they could not get their hunters in.

We set out about nine o'clock with the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Hunter; and traveled on the road to Venango, where we arrived the 4th of December, without anything remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French creek, on the Ohio; and lies near north about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazier, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio; but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us up to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal sentiments more freely.

They told me, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—— they would do it; for that, although they were sensible, the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle, sixty years ago; and the rise of this expedition is, to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto. From the best intelligence I could get, there have been fifteen hundred men on this side Ontario Lake. But upon the death of the general, all were recalled to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty or thereabout in each. The first of them is on French Creek, near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near north northwest; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores are kept, about fifteen miles from the other; from this it is one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying-place, at the Falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort, at which they lodge their goods in bringing them from Montreal, the place from whence all their stores are brought. The next lies about twenty miles from this, on Ontario Lake. Between this fort and Montreal, there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about six hundred miles, which, they say, requires no more (if good weather) than four week's voyage, if they go in barks or in large vessels, so that they may cross the lake; but if they come in canoes, it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore.

December 5th—Rained excessively all day, which prevented our traveling. Captain Joncaire sent for the Half-King, as he had but just heard that he came with me. He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him, I did not think

their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general; but another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company; I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of very great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest; therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided.

When they came in, there was great pleasure at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him, made several trifling presents, and applied liquor so fast, that they were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given.

6th—The Half-King came to my tent, quite sober, and insisted very much that I should stay and hear what he had to say to the French. I fain would have prevented him from speaking anything until he came to the commandant, but could not prevail. He told me that at this place a council-fire was kindled, where all their business with these people was to be transacted, and that the management of the Indian affairs was left solely to Monsieur Joncaire. As I was desirous of knowing the issue of this, I agreed to stay; but sent our horses a little way up French Creek, to raft over and encamp; which I knew would make it near night.

About ten o'clock they met in council. The King spoke much the same as he had before done to the general; and offered the French speech-belt which had before been demanded, with the marks of four towns on it, which Monsieur Joncaire refused to receive, but desired him to carry it to the fort to the commander.

7th—Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. I had last night left John Davidson (the Indian interpreter) whom I brought with me from town, and strictly charged him not to be out of their company, as I could get them over to my tent; for they had some business with Kustalogo, chiefly to know why he did not deliver up the French speech-belt which had been in his keeping; but I was obliged to send Mr. Gist over to-day to fetch them, which he did with great persuasion.

At 12 o'clock we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the 11th by excessive rains, snows, and bad traveling through many mires and swamps; these we were obliged to pass to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was high and rapid.

We passed over much good land since we left Venango, and through several extensive and very rich meadows, one of which I believe, was nearly four miles in length, and considerably wide in some places.

12th—I prepared early to wait upon the commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business, and offered my commission and letter; both of which he desired me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected any hour.

This commander is a knight of the Military order of St. Louis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

At two o'clock, the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, etc., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it; which I did.

13th—The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making what observations I could.

It is situated on the south or west fork of French Creek, near the water; and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it and sharp at top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted on each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's pri-

vate store; round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks within the fort, for the soldiers' dwellings, covered some with bark, and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smiths, etc.

I could get no certain account of the number of men here; but, according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of officers, of whom there are many. I also gave orders to the people who were with me, to take the exact account of the canoes, which were hauled up to convey their forces down in the spring. This they did, and told fifty of birch bark, and a hundred and seventy of pine; besides many others, which were blocked out, in readiness for being made.

14th—As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barnaby Currin and two others, to make all convenient dispatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shannopin's Town, at the Fork of the Ohio, and there to wait until we came across the Allegheny; intending myself to go down by river, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with me, I endeavored all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes, and I hurried them on to execute their intended design. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted them, privately, to the commander and one or two other officers. The Half-King told me, that he offered the wampum to the commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace and trade amicably with them, as a proof of which, he would send some goods immediately down to the Logstown for them. But I rather think the design of that is to bring away all the straggling traders they meet, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer, etc., with them. And what rather confirms this opinion, I was inquiring of the commander by what authority he had made prisoners of our English subjects. He told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters; and that he had orders to make every person prisoner, who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it.

I inquired of Captain Reparti about the boy, that was carried by this place, as it was done while the command devolved on him, between the death of the late general, and the arrival of the present. He acknowledged, that a boy had been carried past; and that the Indians had two or three white men scalped (I was told by some of the Indians at Venango, eight) but pretended to have forgotten the name of the place where the boy came from, and all the particular facts, though he had questioned him for some hours, as they were carrying him past. I likewise inquired what they had done with John Trotter and James McClocklan, two Pennsylvania traders, whom they had taken with all their goods. [James McLaughlin, a servant of Trotter's; see Col. Recs., Vol. VI, p. 22]. They told me, that they had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home.

This evening I received an answer to his Honor the Governor's letter from the commandant.

15th—The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor, and provision to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice, which he could invent, to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure; presents, rewards, and everything, which could be suggested by him or his officers. I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety, as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem, which the most fruitful brain could invent, was practiced to win the Half-King to their interest; and that leaving him there was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the Half-King and pressed him in the strongest terms to go; he told me that the commandant would not discharge him until the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill treatment; for keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay; though I soon found it out. He had promised them a present of guns, if they would wait until the morning. As I

was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.

16th—The French were not slack in their inventions to keep the Indians this day also. But as they were obliged, according to promise, to give the promise, they then endeavored to try the power of liquor, which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other time than this; but I argued and insisted with the King so closely upon his word, that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had liked to have been staved against rocks; and many times we were obliged to get out all hands and remain in the water half hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place, the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water; we were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoes across the neck of the land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22nd, where we met with our horses.

This creek is extremely crooked. I dare say the distance between the fort and Venango cannot be less than one hundred and thirty miles, to follow the meanders.

23rd—When I got things ready to set off, I sent for the Half-King, to know whether he intended to go with us or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick, and unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I intended to stay here a day or two and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had done before, I told him, I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well, for anything to engage him in their favor, and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet us at the fork with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his Honor the Governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provisions, etc., if wanted.

Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy, that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up their horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking-dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore as I was uneasy to get back, to make a report of my proceedings to his Honor the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey, the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and the horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a match-coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were the papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering Town, we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far, as to be out of reach of their pursuit since we were assured that they would follow our tracks as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about, with one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off; but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with such violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet of water; but I fortunately

saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft-logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

The cold was extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going southward to war; but coming to a place on the head of the Great Kenhawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped, they turned around and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians of Ottoway nation, who did it.

As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of Youghiogany, to visit Queen Aliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a match-coat and a bottle of rum, which the latter was thought much better than the former.

Tuesday, the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the 2nd, where I bought a horse and saddle. The 6th, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day, we arrived at Will's Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by the excessive bad weather. From the last of December to the 15th, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey, we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent.

On the 11th, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th, when I waited upon his Honor the Governor, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This leave to do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences, which happened in my journey.

I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your Honor satisfied with my conduct; for that was my aim in undertaking the journey, and chief study throughout the prosecution of it.

Gist kept a journal also of this eventful journey. He corroborates Washington. The terrible night on the island in the Allegheny, Gist passes over lightly, admitting that he had his fingers frostbitten. If the cold was so severe that Gist suffered so much, how about Washington? Washington says Gist had his toes frosted. If Washington was affected by the frost on this night, the world never knew it. It may have been he took more caution and had better covering. It is certain that neither slept.

CHRISTOPHER GIST'S JOURNAL—1753.

Wednesday 14 November, 1753—Major George Washington came to my house at Will's Creek, and delivered me a letter from the council in Virginia, requesting me to accompany him up to the commandant of the French fort on the Ohio river.

Thursday 15—We set out, and at night encamped at George's Creek, about eight miles, where a messenger came with letters from my son, who had just returned from his people at the Cherokees, and lay sick at the mouth of the Conegocheague. But as I found myself entered again on public business, and Major Washington and all the company unwilling I should return I wrote and sent medicines to my son, and so continued my journey, and encamped at a big hill in the forks of Youghiogany, about eighteen miles.

Friday 16—The next day set out to go to the big fork of said river, about ten miles there.

Saturday 17—We encamped and rested our horses, and then we set out early in the morning.

Sunday 18—And at night got to my house in the new settlement, about twenty-one miles; snow about ankle deep.

Monday 19—Set out, across Big Youghiogany, to Jacob's cabins, about twenty miles. Here some of our horses straggled away, and we did not get away until eleven o'clock.

Tuesday 20—Set out, had rain in the afternoon, I killed a deer; traveled about seven miles.

Wednesday 21—It continued to rain. Stayed all day.

Thursday 22—We set out and came to mouth of Turtle Creek, about twelve miles, to John Frazier's; and he was very kind to us, and lent us a canoe to carry our baggage to the forks, about ten miles.

Friday 23—Set out, rid to Shannopin's town, and down Allegheny to the mouth of the Monongahela, where we met our baggage, and swimmied our horses over the Allegheny, and there encamped that night.

Saturday 24—Set out; we went to King Shingiss, and he and Lawmolach went with us to the Logstown, and we spoke to the chiefs this evening, and repaired to our camp.

Sunday 25—They sent out for their people to come in. The Half-King came in this afternoon.

Monday 26—We delivered our message to the Half-King and they promised by him that we should set out three nights after.

Tuesday 27—Stayed in our camp. Monacatoocha and Pollatha Wappia gave us some provisions. We stayed until the 29th when the Indians said, they were not ready. They desired us to stay until the next day and as the warriors were not come, the Half-King said he would go with us himself, and take care of us.

Friday 30—We set out, and the Half-King and two old men and one young warrior, with us. At night we encamped at the Murthering town, about fifteen miles, on a branch of Great Beaver Creek. Got some corn and dried meat.

Saturday 1 December—Set out, and at night encamped at the crossing of Beaver Creek from the Kaskuskies to Venango about thirty miles. The next day rain; our Indians went out hunting; they killed two bucks. Had rain all day.

Monday 3—We set out and traveled all day. Encamped at night on one of the head branches of Great Beaver Creek about twenty-two miles.

Tuesday—We set out and traveled all day. Reached the town of Venango, about fifteen miles, where we were kindly and complaisantly received by Monsieur Joncaire, the French interpreter for the Six Nations.

Wednesday 5—Rain all day. Our Indians were in council with the Delawares, who lived under the French colors, and ordered them to deliver up to the French the belt, with the marks of the four towns, according to desire of King Shingiss. But the chief of these Delawares said, "It is true King Shingiss is a great man, but he had sent no speech, and," said he, "I cannot pretend to make a speech for a King." So our Indians could not prevail with them to deliver their belt; but the Half-King did deliver his belt, as he was determined. Joncaire did everything he could to prevail on our Indians to stay behind us, and I took all care to have them along with us.

Thursday 6—We set out late in the day and accompanied by the French General and four servants or soldiers and

Friday 7—All encamped at Sugar Creek, five miles from Venango. The creek being very high we were obliged to carry all our baggage over on trees, and swim our horses. The Major and I went first over, with our boots on.

Saturday 9—We set out and traveled twenty-five miles to Cussewago, an old Indian town.

Sunday 9—We set out, left one of our horses here that could travel no further. This day we traveled to the big crossing about fifteen miles, and encamped, our Indians went out to look out logs to make a raft; but as the water was high and there were other creeks to cross, we concluded to keep up this side of the creek.

Monday 10—Set out traveled about eight miles, and encamped. Our Indians killed

a bear. Here we had a creek to cross, very deep; we got over on a tree, and got our goods over.

Tuesday 11—We set out, traveled about fifteen miles to the French fort, the sun being set. Our interpreter gave the commandant notice of our being over the creek; upon which he sent several officers to conduct us to the fort, and they received us with a great deal of complaisance.

Wednesday 12—The Major gave the passport, showed his commission, and offered the Governor's letter to the commandant; but he desired not to receive them, until the other commander from Lake Erie came, whom he had sent for and expected next day by twelve o'clock.

Thursday 13—The other General came. The Major delivered the letter, and desired a speedy answer; the time of year and business required it. They took our Indians into private council, and gave them several presents.

Friday 14—When we had done our business, they delayed and kept our Indians, until Sunday; then we set out with the two canoes, one for our Indians, and the other for ourselves. Our horses we had sent away some days before, to wait at Venango, if ice appeared on the rivers and creeks.

Sunday 16—We set out by water about sixteen miles, and encamped. Our Indians went before us, passed the little lake, and we did not come up with them that night.

Monday 17—We set out to our Indians' camp. They were out hunting; they killed three bears. We stayed this day, and

Tuesday 18—One of our Indians did not come to camp. So we finding the waters lower very fast, were obliged to go and leave our Indians.

Wednesday 19—We set out about seven or eight miles and encamped, and the next day

Thursday 20—About twenty miles, where we were stopped by ice, and worked until night.

Friday 21—The ice was so hard we could not break our way through, but were obliged to haul our vessels across a point of land and put them in the creek again. The Indians and three French canoes overtook us here, and the people of one French canoe that was lost, with her cargo of powder and lead. This night we encamped about twenty miles above Venango.

Saturday 22—Set out. The creek began to be very low and we were forced to get out, to keep our canoe from over-setting, several times; the water freezing to our clothes; and we had the pleasure of seeing the French overset, and the brandy and wine afloat in the creek, and run by them, and left them to shift for themselves. Came to Venango, met with our people and horses.

Sunday 23—We set out from Venango, traveled above five miles to Lacomic Creek.

Monday 24—Here Major Washington set out on foot in Indian dress. Our horses grew weak, that we were mostly obliged to travel on foot, and had snow all day. Encamped near the barracks.

Tuesday 25—Set out and traveled on foot to branches of Great Beaver Creek.

Wednesday 26—The Major desired me to set out on foot, and leave our company, as the creeks were frozen, and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it, I set out with our packs like Indians, and traveled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the Major was much fatigued. It was very cold; all the small runs were frozen, that we could hardly get water to drink.

Thursday 27—We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to the Murdering town, on the southeast fork of Beaver creek. Here we met with an Indian whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked me several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when would be there, etc. Major Washington insisted on traveling on the nearest way to forks of the Allegheny. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The

Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We traveled very brisk for eight or ten miles when the Major's feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much northeastward. The Major desired to encamp, to which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that; then the Indian grew churlish and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and they would scalp us if we lay out, but to go to his cabin and we would be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further; and then the major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow; it was very light, and snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, turn about; the Major saw him turn his gun toward us and fire. Said the Major, "Are you shot?" No," said I. Upon which the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him, but the Major would not suffer me to kill him. The Major or I always stood by the guns; we made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, "As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night." Upon which I said to the Indian, "I suppose you were lost; and fired your gun." He said he knew the way to his cabin, and 'twas but a little way. "Well," said I, "do you go home, and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning." He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was fairly out of the way, and then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, and fixed our course, and traveled all night, and in the morning we were on the head of Piney Creek.

Friday 28—We traveled all the next day down the said creek, and just at night found some tracks where Indians had been hunting. We parted, and appointed a place a distance off, where to meet, it being then dark. We encamped, and thought ourselves safe enough to sleep.

Saturday 29—We set out early, got to Allegheny, made a raft, and with much difficulty got over to an island, a little above Shannopin's town. The Major having fallen off the raft, and my fingers frost-bitten, and the sun down, and very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon that island. It was deep water between us and the shore; but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over the ice.

Sunday 30—We set out about ten miles to John Frazier's at Turtle creek, and rested that evening.

Monday 31—Next day we waited for Queen Aliquippa, who lives now at the mouth of Youghiogany. She said she would never go down the Allegheny river to live, except the English built a fort, then she would go and live there.

Tuesday January 1, 1754—We set out from John Frazier's and at night encamped at Jacob's cabins.

Wednesday 2—Set out and crossed Youghiogany on the ice. Got to my house in the new settlement.

Thursday 3—Rain.

Friday 4—Set out for Will's creek, where we arrived on Sunday, January 6.¹⁰

The original edition of Washington's Journal, printed in 1754 by William Hunter at Williamsburg, is extremely rare, "so rare (according to Mr. Field) that but two copies are known to exist." Mr. Brinley, at Hartford, possessed a copy that originally belonged to Mr. Rich Peters, and it was sold in 1880 at the dispersion of his library for \$560.

¹⁰This and other Journals of Gist are to be found in Darlington's work, "Christopher Gist's Journals."

An English edition was published by T. Jefferys in London in 1754, and it is from this edition that the following reprint has been made. (The Writings of Washington, 1748-57, Vol. I, p. 11, W. C. Ford).

The original contains the following advertisement:

ADVERTISEMENT.

As it was thought advisable by his Honor the Governor to have the following account of my proceedings to and from the French on the Ohio, committed to print; I think I can do no less than apologize, in some measure for the numberless imperfections of it.

There intervened but one day between my arrival in Williamsburg, and the time for the Council's Meeting, for me to prepare and transcribe, from the rough Minutes I had taken in my Travels, this Journal; the writing of which only was sufficient to employ me closely the whole Time, consequently admitted to no leisure to consult of a new and proper Form to offer it in, or to correct or amend the Diction of the old: Neither was I apprised, nor did it least conceive, when I wrote this for his Honor's Perusal, that it ever would be published or even have more than a cursory Reading; till I was informed, at the Meeting of the present General Assembly that it was already in the Press.

There is nothing can recommend it to the Public, but this. Those Things which came under notice of my own Observation, I have been explicit and just in a Recital of: Those which I have gathered from Report, I have been particularly cautious not to augment, but collected the Opinions of the several intelligences and selected from the whole the most probable and consistent Account.

G. WASHINGTON.

Washington's original title page reads:

"The brave and accomplished Chevalier de St. Pierre," as Brady terms him, was the ranking French officer in the region of the River Le Bœuf. It was only in keeping with the character of this veteran that he should receive the ambassador with courtesy and extend a gracious hospitality. After several days St. Pierre had ready his reply. It was that of a soldier. Brady finds that it was in effect the famous remark of McMahon at Sevastopol: "*J'y suis, j'y reste.*" (Here I am and here I stay). The French are prone to laconics. "*Ce'st ne pas*" is too recent to dwell on. It goes with the story of Verdun.

St. Pierre's reply to Dinwiddie was as follows:

Sir: As I have the honour of commanding here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered to me the letter, which you wrote to the commander of the French troops. I should have been glad that you had given him orders, or that he had been inclined, to proceed to Canada to see our General; to whom it better belongs, than to me, to set forth the evidence and the reality of the rights of the King, my master, to the lands situated along the river Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the King of Great Britain thereto. I shall transmit your letter to Marquis Duguisine, or du Quesine. His answer will be a law to me. And if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be assured, I shall not fail to dispatch it forthwith to you. As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general; and, I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt one moment, but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution, which can be expected of the best officer. I do not know that in the progress of this campaign anything has passed, which can be reputed an act of hostility, or, that is contrary to the treaties, which subsist between the two crowns; the continuations whereof as much as interesteth, and is pleasing to us, as the English. Had you been pleased, Sir, to have descended to particularize the facts, which occa-

sioned your complaint, I should have had the honour of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, the most satisfactory manner, etc.

LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE.¹¹

In the personal description of St. Pierre, it is recorded that he had lost an eye. All historians examined bear testimony to his worth and fidelity—in truth a typical soldier. Thus:

Legardeur de St. Pierre had just returned from an expedition towards the Rocky Mountains when he was sent to succeed the dying Marin. He afterwards served under Dieskau, and was killed in the "bloody morning scout" just before the battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755. His full name was Legardeur de St. Pierre de Repentigny, the last probably being, as Mr. Shea suggests, the Riparti just mentioned.¹²

St. Pierre, in fact, had been at LeBœuf but seven days when Washington arrived. When Duquesne learned that Marin, a sturdy old officer in command there was in extremity, he chose St. Pierre, who had just returned from a journey of exploration towards the Rocky mountains.¹³

Shea's suggestion that Reparti and St. Pierre were identical is scarcely credible. Shea has found mention of a French officer, M. St. Pierre, who was at Lake Pepin in 1736, when Father Goignas, S. J., reappeared among the Fox Indians, after his captivity. Shea thinks this was the St. Pierre to whom Washington delivered Dinwiddie's letters.¹⁴

The street that once commemorated this soldier of Old France in New France in America, was joined with the two boulevards when they were constructed in 1895-1896. It was the part from Fifth avenue to Forbes street, at Schenley Park.

¹¹"Late War, etc;" Entick, pp. 101-102.

¹²"Writings of G. Washington," 1748-57; Vol. I, p. 29.

¹³"Montcalm & Wolfe;" Parkman, Vol. I, p. 135, and note *Ibid*.

¹⁴"Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, with Introduction, Notes and Index;" John Gilmary Shea, p. 175.



CHAPTER XIV.

The Struggle for a Continent.

The struggle for the continent of North America which resulted in British acquisition of all the French domain on that continent by the peace of Paris in 1763, began between armed forces of the respective nations not far from Pittsburgh, in what is now Fayette county, and not long after Washington's return from his fruitless mission to the French forts. From the signing of the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle in April, 1748, the clashes of English and French partisans in the debatable land had not ceased. How Weiser succeeded in his mission to the Ohio Indians at Logstown in the summer of 1748 has been related; also how Celoron came, taking formal possession in the name of the French King, and how Dinwiddie's demands that the French withdraw from the region received a dignified though evasive reply from the soldierly Legardeur St. Pierre. In brief, he had no jurisdiction; the question must go to his superiors. The boasting of Joncaire at Venango, while in his cups, left no doubt that the French meant fight. They had fought the English before, and scarcely five years had elapsed since the signing of the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle by which France got back nearly all that had been lost in King George's War, which that treaty concluded. The return of Louisburg to the French was especially galling to the New Englanders. Slight wonder that Joncaire should play the braggart. Half Indian, he was both cunning and proud, and it was a warrior's privilege to boast if his deeds justified. It will appear that Governor Dinwiddie knew the clash of arms was near, and hastened to erect a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. It was a vantage point, indeed.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle has always been characterized as the most inglorious and impolitic compact to which Britain acceded since the Revolution of 1688. James Grahame ("History of the United States," 1836, Vol. III, p. 394), says:

It produced most painful surprise and mortification in New England; it was disadvantageous to America and the accessory provisions no less dishonorable to Britain. In short after a war which proved calamitous and distressing to every quarter of the British Empire and advanced the national debt of Great Britain to 80,000,000 pounds sterling, the nation concluded a peace by which she parted with a single dearly bought prize her arms had won without procuring in return a single natural advantage, the redress of any part of the injury which she had justly complained, or the recognition or additional security of any of her rights which had been previously invaded.

Smollet says:

The English gave up their conquest in North America of more consequence to her traffic than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended; they gave up the important isle of Cape Breton in exchange for a paltry factory in the East Indies whose existence they deemed prejudicial to the commonwealth.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was unstable and inglorious. It was only a truce that settled nothing regarding the boundaries of New France and the English Colonies along the seaboard. Well could Celoron call attention to this treaty and those of Riswick and Utrecht with all their advantages in favor of his country—advantages for

the very fact that they were non-committal. It is a notorious fact that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the French ministry gave more attention to the strength and resources of Canada and Louisiana. The possession of these distant colonies with the almost uninterrupted water communication seemed to unfold the means of subduing the English power in America. During 1752 and 1753 the French forts at Crown Point and Niagara were strengthened and LeBoef and Venango were erected. Presq' Isle had come earlier than the last two by a few months only. All these posts were put in the best possible state of defence, and those also in distant Louisiana. The dissensions among the English Colonies made it difficult to collect a sufficient force to oppose the French. When the clash came the advantage was with the French. Their wily and able diplomats retained enough Indians on their side to furnish them formidable allies. Weiser and Croghan could not detach enough to count. Their efforts merely deferred the war.¹

The activities of the Ohio Company of Virginians in the spring of 1754 bringing about the crisis at the Forks of the Ohio, the first overt act of the French and Indian War, 1754-1758, in Western Pennsylvania, and the frequent mention of that company, requires some history of its formation, powers and intentions. In the narration of the events leading up to hostilities in the summer of 1754 it is always to be remembered that it was Virginians who began the war, and in the opening skirmish when Jumonville fell, Washington first heard the sound of bullets.²

The story of this company is taken from the first Appendix to the "History of Western Pennsylvania and the West"—copied from Sparks' "Washington" (Vol. II, pp. 478-483). See also "Olden Time," Vol. I, pp. 291-296.

THE OHIO COMPANY.

In 1748, Thomas Lee, one of his Majesty's Council in Virginia, formed the design of effecting settlements on the wild land west of the Allegheny Mountains, through the agency of an association of gentlemen. Before this there were no English residents in those regions. A few traders wandered from tribe to tribe, and dwelt among the Indians, but they neither cultivated nor occupied the lands. With the view of carrying his plan into operation, Lee associated himself with twelve other persons in Virginia and Maryland, and with John Hanbury, a merchant in London, who formed what they called, "The Ohio Company." Lawrence Washington, and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, were among the first who engaged in this scheme. A petition was presented to the king in behalf of the company, which was approved, and 500,000 acres of land were granted almost in the terms requested by the company. The object of the company was to settle the lands and to carry on the Indian trade upon a large scale. Hitherto the trade with the western Indians had been mostly in the hands of the Pennsylvanians. The company conceived that they might derive an important advantage over their competitors in this trade from the water communication of the Potomac and the eastern branches of the Ohio, whose headwaters approximated each other. The lands were to be chiefly taken on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kenhawa rivers, and west of the Alleghenies. The privilege was reserved, however, by the company of embracing a portion of the lands on the north side of the river, if it should be deemed expedient. Two hundred thousand acres were to be selected immediately, and to be held for ten years free from rent or any tax to the King, on condition that the company should at its own expense seat one hundred families on the lands within seven years, and build a fort and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlement.

The first steps taken by the company were to order Mr. Hanbury, their agent in

¹"History of England;" Vol. II, p. 34. (The Smollett citation is the four lines at bottom of p. 256, beginning "The English," etc. The next paragraph, beginning "The peace," etc., and concluding on p. 257, is our author's narrative.—EDITOR).

²Letter to his brother John, May 31, 1754, in "Writings of Washington;" Ford, Vol. I, p. 89.

London, to send over for their use two cargoes of goods suited to the Indian trade, amounting in the whole to four thousand pounds sterling: one cargo to arrive in November, 1749; the other in March following. They resolved also, that such roads should be made and houses built, as would facilitate the communication from the head of navigation on the Potomac river across the mountains to some point on the Monongahela. And as no attempt to establish settlements could be made without some previous arrangements with the Indians, the company petitioned the government of Virginia to invite them to a treaty. As a preliminary to other proceedings, the company also sent Christopher Gist with instructions to explore the country, examine the quality of the lands, keep a journal of his adventures, draw as accurate a plan of the country as his observations would permit, and report the same to the board. On his first tour, he was absent nearly seven months, penetrated the country for several hundred miles north of the Ohio, visited the Twightwee Indians, and proceeded as far south as the falls of that river. In November following, (1751) he passed down the south side of the river, as far as the Great Kenhawa, and spent the winter in exploring the lands on that route. Meantime the Indians had failed to assemble at Logstown, where they had been invited by the Governor of Virginia to hold a treaty. It was natural that the traders, who had already got possession of the ground, should endeavor to bias the Indians, and throw obstacles in the way of any interference from another quarter. The French were likewise tampering with them, and from political motives were using means to withdraw them from every kind of alliance or intimacy with the English. The company found that it would be in vain to expect much progress in their designs till measures had been adopted for winning over the Indians; and accordingly the proposed treaty of Logstown took place the next year, when Mr. Gist attended as their agent, to look to the interests of any settlements that might be made on the south-east side of the Ohio. This treaty was concluded June 13, 1752. Colonel Fry, and two other Commissioners, were present on the part of Virginia.

It is remarkable, that, in the debates attendant to the negotiation of this treaty, the Indians took care to disclaim a recognition of the English title to any of these lands. In a speech to the Commissioners, one of the old Chiefs said: "You acquainted us yesterday with the King's right to all the lands in Virginia, as far as it is settled, and back from thence to the sun-setting, whenever he shall see fit to extend his settlements. You produced also a copy of his deed from the Onondaga Council, at the treaty of Lancaster, (1744) and desired that your brethren of the Ohio might likewise confirm the deed. We are all well acquainted that our chief Council at the treaty of Lancaster confirmed a deed to you for a quantity of land in Virginia which you have a right to; but we never understood until you told us yesterday, that the lands were to extend farther to the sun-setting, than the hill on the other side of the Allegheny Hill, so that we can give you no farther answer."

Hence it appears that the Indians west of the Ohio, who inhabited the lands, had never consented to any treaty ceding them to the English, nor understood that this cession extended beyond the Allegheny mountains.

When the company was first instituted, Mr. Lee, its projector, was its principal organ and most efficient member. He died afterwards, and then the chief management fell on Lawrence Washington, who had engaged in the enterprise with an enthusiasm and energy peculiar to his character. His agency was short, however, as his rapidly declining health soon terminated in his death. Several of the company's shares changed hands, Governor Dinwiddie and George Mason became proprietors. There were originally but twenty shares, and the company never consisted of more than that number of members.

Lawrence Washington had a project for inducing German settlers to take up the lands. He wrote to Mr. Hanbury as follows:

Whilst the unhappy state of my health called me back to our springs (at Bath in Virginia) I conversed with all the Pennsylvania Dutch (Germans) whom I met, either there or elsewhere, and much recommended their settling in Ohio. The chief reason against it was the paying of an English clergyman, when few understood, and none made use of him. It has been my opinion, and I hope ever will be, that restraints of conscience are cruel, in regard to those on whom they are imposed, and injurious to the country imposing them. England, Holland, and Prussia, I may quote as example,

and much more Pennsylvania, which has flourished under that delightful liberty, so as to become the admiration of every man, who considers the short time it has been settled. As the Ministry have thus far shown the true spirit of patriotism, by encouraging the extending of our dominions in America, I doubt not by an application they would still go further, and complete what they have begun, by procuring some kind of a charter to prevent the residents on the Ohio and its branches, from being subject to parish taxes. They all assured me, that they might have from Germany any number of settlers, could they but obtain their favorite exemption. I have promised to endeavor for it, and now do my utmost by this letter. I am well assured we shall never obtain it by a law here. This colony was greatly settled in the latter part of Charles the First's time, and during the usurpation, by the zealous churchmen; and that spirit, which was then brought in has ever since continued, so that, except a few Quakers, we have no dissenters. But what has been the consequence? We have increased by slow degrees, except negroes and convicts, whilst our neighboring colonies, whose natural advantages are generally inferior to ours, have become populous.

A proposition was made by several Germans in Pennsylvania, that, if they could have the above exemption, they would take 50,000 acres of the company's land, and settle it with two hundred families. Washington wrote likewise on the subject to Governor Dinwiddie, then in England. who replied: "It gave me pleasure, that the Dutch (Germans) wanted 50,000 acres of land granted to the Ohio Company, and I observe what you write about their own clergymen, and your endeavor to have them freed from paying the Church of England. I fear this will be a difficult task to get over; and at present, the Parliament is so busy with public affairs, and the Ministry of course engaged, that we must wait some time before we can reply; but be assured of my utmost endeavors therein." No proof exists, that any other steps were taken in the affair.

Soon after the treaty at Logstown, Mr. Gist was appointed the company's surveyor, and instructed to lay off a town and a fort, at Shurtee's Creek,³ a little below the site of Pittsburgh, on the east side of the Ohio. The company assessed on themselves four hundred pounds towards constructing the fort. In the meantime, Mr. Gist had fixed his residence on the other side of the Alleghenies in the valley of the Monongahela, and induced eleven families to settle around him on lands, which it was presumed would be within the company's grant. The goods had come over from England, but had never been taken farther into the interior than Will's creek, where they sold to traders and Indians, who received them at that post. Some progress had been made in constructing a road to the Monongahela, but the temper of the Indians was such as to discourage an attempt to send the goods at the company's risk, to a more remote point.

Things were in this state, when the troubles on the frontiers broke out between the French and English, involving on one side or the other the various Indian tribes. All further operations were suspended till towards the close of the war, when the hostilities had nearly ceased on the Virginia frontier from the capture of Fort Duquesne, and weakened the efforts of the French. In 1760 a statement of the company's case was drawn up by Charlton Palmer, a solicitor in London, who was employed by the company to apply to the King for such further orders and instructions to the government in Virginia, as might enable the company to carry their grant into execution. The business was kept in a state of suspense for three years, when the company resolved to send out an agent, with full powers to bring it as speedily as possible to a close. Col. George Mercer was selected for this commission, and instructed to procure leave from the company to take up their lands, according to the conditions of the original grant, or to obtain a reimbursement of the money, which had been paid on the faith of that grant. He repaired to London accordingly, and entered upon his charge. But at this time the counteracting interests of private individuals in Virginia, the claims of the officers and soldiers under Dinwiddie's proclamation, the schemes and application of the proprietors of Walpole's grant, were obstacles not to be overcome. Col. Mercer remained six years in London, without making any apparent progress in the object of his mission, and at last he agreed to merge the interests of the Ohio Company in those in Walpole's or the Grand Company, as it was called, on condition of securing to the former two shares in the latter, amounting to one thirty-sixth part of the whole. These terms were not approved by the members of the Ohio Company in Virginia, nor was it

³Chartiers Creek.

clear, that Col. Mercer's instructions authorized him to conclude such an arrangement. While the subject was still in agitation, the Revolutionary War came on, and put an end, not only to the controversy, but to the existence of the two companies. Thus the Ohio Company was in action only about four years, having never in reality revived after its first check, at the commencement of hostilities with the French and Indians on the frontiers. All persons concerned were losers to a considerable amount, though at its outset the scheme promised important advantages both to individuals, and to the country at large. The original records and papers of the Ohio Company are now in the possession of Mr. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia, by whose politeness I have been favored with the use of them in drawing up this brief outline.

The story of Walpole's grant chronologically must come after the account of Pontiac's Conspiracy. Washington and Gist returning from Le Boeuf on January 6, 1754, after passing Gist's Plantation a caravan of seventeen horses and some families going out to settle. These parties, says Judge Veech, were settling under the auspices of the Ohio Company. Quoting a paragraph of the grant's terms, Veech says:

It will be seen that this grant did not, in its terms, embrace Fayette county territory; yet, in the loose interpretations of that early period, the Company attempted settlements within our limits, which for many years afterwards were supposed not to be included in Penn's Charter, but to be part of the vast and undefined royal domain of Virginia. The incipient movements of this company provoked the French and Pennsylvanians to jealousy, and to stir up the Indians to hostility; thereby at once raising a cloud upon its prospects, which eventually produced a torrent of blood which obliterated all its labors. Still, to this Company Fayette county is much indebted, not only for many scenes of historical interest, but to its early settlement, by means of the easy access, caused by the making of Braddock's road; which as we have seen, was but an improvement of the Company's road, originally opened by Nemaquin.

It is said that Col. Cresap, of Maryland, the "Commissioner" of the Nemaquin road, was one of the company. It is certain that Gen. Washington's brothers Lawrence and John Augustine were largely interested in it, as well as their more illustrious brother, were anxious for its success. Christopher Gist was the Company's agent, to select the lands and conciliate the Indians. The Company having imported from London large quantities of goods for the Indian trade, and engaged several settlers, had established trading posts at Will's Creek, (the New Store), the mouth of Turtle Creek, (Frazier's,) and elsewhere; had planned their fort at the "Forks of the Ohio," (Pittsburgh) and were proceeding energetically to the consummation of their designs;—designs which, although they did not originate, yet they served to hasten the great and decisive contest for supremacy over the land we now inhabit, between two very dissimilar branches of the great Teutonic race. The parties whom Washington met, were the pioneer heralds of the conflict.

Veech does not say where they settled and histories of our region do not tell what became of them. De Villiers destroyed Gist's improvements and no English settlers remained in the region west of the Alleghenies.

Among the many names commemorated in the history of Western Pennsylvania none is entitled to a larger share of reverence than Christopher Gist, frontiersman, guide, explorer, surveyor and patriot, a man of daring and action, inured to hardships, hence of great endurance. He was a native of Maryland, of English descent. His father, Richard Gist, was a surveyor for the western shore of Maryland and one of the commissioners for laying off the town of Baltimore. It was quite natural for the son to become a surveyor. In 1750 and 1751, as the surveyor and agent of the Ohio Company, Gist explored the greater portion of the

region now included within the boundaries of the States of Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia and parts of Western Maryland and Southwestern Pennsylvania. These were the earliest explorations made so far west for the single object of examining the country, and the first also of which a regular journal was kept.

Christopher Gist was not the first white man about the Forks of the Ohio, for the wandering trader was there long before him, but with Washington, he was first to give an account of it. Conrad Weiser was at Logstown in 1748, the year of the formation of the Ohio Company; George Croghan was there in 1750 and 1751, and both kept accurate journals, as was the custom in those days.

The first journal records the happenings on Gist's journey beginning October 31, 1750, at Thomas Cresap's, at what is now Oldtown, Maryland, on the Potomac, and ending at Gist's home on the Yadkin river in North Carolina, May 19, 1751. He had journeyed to the Indians on the Miami and with Croghan held conferences with them, exploring going and coming.

This second journal begins November 4, 1751, setting out from the Ohio Company's storehouse at the mouth of Wills creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, and ending March 29, 1753. He explored the headwaters of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny and went down the Ohio and Kanawha, which he spells Canhaway.

Gist's third journal begins November 14, 1753, and records the terrible winter journey with Major George Washington to the French forts at Venango, now Franklin, Pennsylvania, and Le Bœuf, now Waterford, Pennsylvania. They arrived at Wills creek on their return journey January 4, 1754. While about this region Gist had a plantation at what is now Mt. Braddock, near Uniontown.⁴

Contemporaneous with Gist and about the same age was William Trent, a native of Chester county, Pennsylvania, born in 1705. In 1746, when the colonists intended an expedition to Canada, Governor Thomas appointed Trent captain of one of the four companies raised in Pennsylvania.

In 1749 Trent was a resident of Cumberland county, where he served as a justice of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace for that county. In 1750 he entered into a partnership with George Croghan to engage in the Indian trade. This brought him to the borderland as then known and here he was conspicuous for many years and one of the best known traders in the far Indian country. In 1752 he was with the Virginian commissioners, at Logstown, famous alike for its treaties and its wild orgies, and the depot for large stores of Indian commodities and furs. It was Trent who was directed by Governor Dinwiddie to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio, familiar to Pittsburghers always as "The Point." This was in 1753, but the work was not

⁴Cf. "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania;" Sherman Day, pp. 329-331. Our Pittsburgh historian, Wm. M. Darlington, published an edition of "Gist's Journals," with much pertinent matter, in 1893, which work has been acknowledged a fine contribution to the historical bibliography of this region. Consult also all histories of Fayette county, Pennsylvania.

begun until February 17, 1754. The unfinished fort was surrendered to the French under M. de Contrecoeur, April 17, 1754.

Ensign Edward Ward was left by Captain William Trent to finish the fort begun at the Forks of the Ohio. This was on April 17, 1754. Ward had but forty-one men, thirty-three of them soldiers. This fort was intended as one of the stations of the Ohio Company which had already erected several storehouses to carry on the trade with the Indians. The region about the Upper Ohio was then only used as a hunting ground by the Mingoes and Shawanese and other Algonquins and as a highway for parties at war of different Indian nations in their expeditions against each other. By reason of these frequent hostilities between the more northern and southern Indians, the whites were retarded from attempting settlements hereabouts. Near the "Forks" no attempts were made until the Ohio Company made them; and until after 1758, and not to any great extent till the Indians had nearly all left the region, except a few straggling hunters and war parties who came occasionally in search of game or the whites on whom to wreak their vengeance as it pleased them. Captain Trent and Lieutenant Frazier absent, Ensign Ward went ahead with his fort building, fearing no foe. However, the French had not abandoned their determination to go down the river in the spring and take possession as they had told Washington, in the previous winter while at the French forts.

Ward and his little band were not astonished when the swift running Allegheny bore into view one batteau after another until they counted sixty. Three hundred canoes followed. It was the French expedition under Contrecoeur of which Ward had warning. These were the canoes Washington saw at Le Bœuf. (Journal 1753, Dec. 13). One thousand French and Indians composed the French force; eighteen pieces of cannon and an abundance of firearms was an adequate equipment. Contrecoeur sent the Chevalier le Mercier to the English commandant with the ultimatum to retreat peaceably or suffer the consequences. Contrecoeur meant business and was prepared to do business. Le Mercier finds a subordinate in command of the English and only a handful of men. It is an easy conquest. Ward parleys and equivocates; he cannot act in the absence of his superiors. The Half King Tanacharison had prompted this reply, but it was a vain plea. Ward surrendered. He did the wise thing. He evacuated and took his tools and men away. His retention of these tools was no mean concession. The French were tolerably kind. Ward and his men arrived at Wills creek—now the site of Cumberland, Maryland, on April 25th. We have records of Washington's letter to Governor Dinwiddie announcing the fact thus: "Sir—Capt. Trent's ensign has this day arrived from the Fork of the Monongahela, and brings the disagreeable account that the fort, on the 18th instant was surrendered at the summons of Monsieur Contrecoeur." Then follows a long letter giving Dinwiddie much information of events and possibilities.

Washington sent the same letter to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania. He sent also copies of the Half King's speech to the gov-

ernors, complaining how he and his "brothers" had been treated by the French. These letters were delivered to Washington by John Davidson, who was present at Ward's surrender. Davidson, as will be remembered, was Washington's Indian interpreter on his mission to Venango and Le Boeuf.

Ward and his party were a sorry spectacle on arriving at Wills creek. They had an alarming tale to tell—an ominous tale. Old St. Pierre had given way to Contrecoeur and the letter was full of zeal. He was no foe to be despised.

The taking of Ward's unfinished fort at the Point was a bloodless act, yet it was the first overt act in the memorable French War, 1754-1758. The French retained possession until November 24, 1758, when Forbes came.

The summons from Contrecoeur to Ward has been preserved. It is long and quite polite though forceful. Contrecoeur insisted on a precise answer. The summons begins—using that word in the singular form—

A summon by order of Contrecoeur, captain of the companies of the detachment of the French Marine, commander-in-chief of his most Christian Majesty's troops, now on the Beautiful River, to the commander of those of the King of Great Britain, at the mouth of the River Monongialo.

Sir—Nothing can surprise me more than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the King, my Master; which obliges me now, Sir, to send you this gentleman, Chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the Bombardiers, commander of the Artillery of Canada, to know of you, Sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the King, my Master. This action seems so contrary to the last treaty of peace concluded at Aix La Chapelle, between his most Christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such a usurpation, as it is incontestable that the lands situated along the Beautiful River belong to his Christian Majesty.

I am informed, sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a company who have more in view the advantage of the trade than to endeavor to keep the union of harmony between the crowns of France and Great Britain, although it is as much the interest, sir, of your nation as ours to preserve it.

Let it be as it will, Sir, if you come into this place charged with orders, I summon you in the name of the King my Master, by virtue of orders which I got from my General, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the King (and not to return or else I find myself obliged to fulfill my duty and compel you to it. I hope, sir, you will not defer an instant and that you will not force me to the last extremity). In that case, sir, you may be persuaded that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment.

I prevent you, sir, from the trouble of asking me one hour of delay nor to wait for my consent to receive orders from your Governor. He can give none within the dominions of the King, my Master. Those I have received from my general are my laws, so that I cannot depart from them.

If, on the contrary, sir, you have not got orders, and only come to trade, I am sorry to tell you that I cannot avoid seizing you, and to confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, our children, allies and friends; as you are not allowed to carry on a contraband trade. It is for this reason, sir, that we stopped two Englishmen last year, who were trading upon our lands; moreover, the King, my Master, asks nothing but his right; he has not the least intention to trouble the good harmony and friendship which reigns between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain.

The Governor of Canada can give proof of having done his utmost endeavors to maintain the perfect union which reigns between the two friendly princes; as he had learned that the Iroquois and the Nipessingues of the Lake of the two mountains had

struck and destroyed an English family towards Carolina, he has barred up that road and forced them to give him a little boy belonging to that family, which was the only one alive, and which Mr. Welrich, a merchant of Montreal, has carried to Boston; and what is more, he has forbid his savages from exercising their accustomed cruelty upon the English and friends.

I could complain bitterly, sir, of the means taken all last winter to instigate the Indians to accept the hatchet, and to strike us, while we were striving to maintain the peace.

I am well persuaded, sir, of the polite manner you will receive Monsieur Le Mercier, as well out of regard to his business as his distinction and personal merit. As you have got some Indians with you, sir, I join with M. Le Mercier, an interpreter that he may inform them of my intentions upon that subject.

I am with great regard, sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

CONTRECOEUR.

Done at our Camp, April 16, 1754.⁵

This is surely a remarkable document. The conclusion above the signature follows the stilted and usual form—quite the reverse of the truth. Rightly could he have written, "Your conqueror, Contrecoeur."

We must admire M. Contrecoeur. He is polite, straightforward and says what he means in plain language. The great harmony, etc., between the "most Christian kings" was altogether a figure of speech.

M. Contrecoeur with one thousand men and eighteen cannon easily took Ward and his forty-one prisoners but released them. Then arose Fort Duquesne, and the border chain of French forts flying the fleur-de-lis was complete. New France had spread into the province of William Penn, but Dinwiddie, claiming the country of the Forks, hating his hereditary enemies, was keenly awake. Hence trouble and Braddock's defeat and—history.

Ward's account of the affair appears in the following deposition:

Ensign Ward's Deposition before the Governor and Council, ye 7th of May, 1754. Rec'd with his Letter, dated ye 10th of May, 1754. Rec'd July 2, Read Do.—1754.

MR. EDWARD WARD, Cap't. Trent's Ensign, deposes and makes oath to the following Particulars. That the French first appeared to him at Shannopins town about two miles distant from the Fort, the 17th of April last, that they moved down within a small distance from the Fort, then landed their Canoes, and marched their men in a regular manner a little better than Gun shot of the Fort. That Le Mercier, a French officer sent by Contrecoeur, the Commandment in Chief of the French Troops, came with an Indian Interpreter called by the Mingoes the Owl, and two Drums, one of which served for Interpreter between Le Mercier and him. Le Mercier presently delivered him (Ward) the summons by the Interpreter, looked at his watch, which was about two, and gave him an hour to fix his Resolution, telling him he must come to the French Camp with his Determination in writing.

He says that half an Hour of the time allowed him he spent in Council with the Half King, who advised him to acquaint the French he was no Officer of Rank or invested with powers to answer their Demands and requested them to wait the Arrival of the Principal Commander. That at the time the Summons was delivered to him the Half King received a belt of wampum much to the same purpose.

That he went accompanied by the Half King, Robt. Roberts, a private soldier, and John Davidson, as an Indian Interpreter, that the Half King might understand every word he (Ward) spoke at the French Camp. That he there addressed himself to the

⁵"History of Pittsburgh," Ed. 1917, Craig, p. 9. "Olden Time," Vol. I, p. 83. Col. Records Pa.," Vol. VI, p. 29. "History Indian Wars," etc., De Hass, p. 60, *et seq.*

Chief Commander, Contrecoeur, and expressed himself agreeably to the above mentioned advice of the Half King. That the French Commander told him he should not wait for an answer from any other Person And absolutely insisted on his determining what to do that Instant, or he should immediately take Possession of the Fort by Force. That he (Ward) then observing the number of the French, which he judged to be about a Thousand and considering his own weakness, being but Forty one in all, whereof only Thirty three were soldiers, surrendered the Fort with Liberty obtained to march off with everything belonging Thereto by Twelve O'clock the next day.

He says that night he was obliged to encamp within 300 yards of the Fort with a Party of the Six Nations who were in company with him, That the French Commander sent for him to supper, and asked many Questions concerning the English Government, which he told him he could give no answer to, being unacquainted with such affairs, That the French Commander desired some of the Carpenters' Tools, offering any money for them, to which he answered that he loved his King and Country too well to part with any of them And then he retired. That next morning he rec'd the speech of the Half King to the Governor, And proceeded with all his men towards Redstone creek where he arrived in two Days, and from thence he marched to Wills Creek, where he met with Col. Washington and informed him of every particular which had happened, That Col. Washington thought fit to send back one of the Indians to the Half King with a speech and to assure him of the assistance which was marching to him, And by the advice of a Council of war dispatched him, an express to his Honour with the other Indian and an Interpreter judging him the most proper Person having been appointed by the Half King.

He (Ward) moreover adds that four days before the French came he had an Account of their coming and saw a letter that John Davison wrote to Robt. Callender, an Indian Trader to confirm the truth that they were to be down by that time. That the Day following he sent a Copy of Davison's letter to Capt. Trent who was then at Will's Creek, and went directly himself to his lieutenant who lived eight or ten miles up Monongahela from the Fort at a place called Turtle Creek, it was late at night when he got there, accompanied by Roberts, Thomas Davison, Samuel Adail, and an Indian, and Shewed him the copy of the Letter of which he sent a Copy the next Day to his Captain. The Lieutenant told him he was well assured the French would be down but said what can we do in the Affair. The morning after he sent for the Half King, and one of his Chiefs, named Serreneatta, who advised him to build a stockade Fort, that he asked his Lieutenant if he would come down to the Fort, which he answered he had a shilling to loose for a penny, he should gain by his Commission at that time and that he had Business which he could not settle under six days with his Partner; That he (Ward) thereupon Answered that he would immediately go himself and have the stockade Fort built. And that he would hold out to the last extremity before it should be said that the English had retreated like Cowards before the French Forces appeared, and that he knowing the bad consequences of his leaveing as the rest would have done would give the Indians a very indifferent Opinion of the English ever after. He further says he had no orders from either his Captain, or Lieutenant how to proceed, and had the last Gate of the Stockade Fort erected before the French appeared to him.

That he was credibly informed by an Englishman who attended the French commandant that they had 300 Wooden Canoes, and 60 Battoes, and had four men to each canoe and Battoe, that they had eighteen pieces of Cannon, three of which were nine Pounders. That the Half King stormed greatly at the French at the time they (Ward's men) were obliged to march out of the Fort, and told them it was he Order'd that Fort and laid the first Log of it himself, but the French paid no Regard to what he said.

Sworn to by the above mentioned Ward before

The Governor in Council the 7th of May 1754.

Teste.

(Witnessed) 6

N. WALTHOE, Cl. Con.
(Clerk of Council.)

⁶Copy in "Gist's Journals;" Darlington, p. 275. Endorsed "P. R. O. B. T. Virginia," No. 21, Public Records Board of Trade.

In naming the fort Du Quesne, M. Contrecoeur honored the French marquis who was then governor-general of New France, succeeding M. de Gallisloniere. Du Quesne—or as we write it, Duquesne—lives in the name of our Allegheny river front. He was never a Pittsburgher in the sense that Forbes, Bouquet and Ward, or even Washington and Gist, were—in a word, M. du Quesne was never here. The name is an honor distinctively, a reminder of the years when the lilies of France, ere the tricolor came, floating in the breeze where our three rivers join, significantly betokened the sovereignty of Louis XV. of France and told as well of the driving out of the French forces and the consequent loss of sovereignty to George II. of Great Britain and his grandson and successor, George III. (in 1760), and this last event brought to the head of the administration him whose name we bear—William Pitt.

Ensign Ward's arrival at Wills creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, where Washington was with three companies, created consternation. Expresses were immediately sent to the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, detailing the occurrences in the region about the "Forks" and asking for reinforcements. In the meantime Washington determined to advance and reach the Monongahela at Redstone, now Brownsville, and there fortify himself.

The French were readily kept informed of Washington's movements and prepared to check him. Active operations ensued and these were in what is now Fayette county.

May 8, 1754, Washington and his small command were at the Little Meadows, near the Youghiogheny river. The next day he received definite information that Contrecoeur had been greatly reinforced. May 18th Washington reached the Youghiogheny at what was subsequently called the Great Crossings, now the site of Somerfield, Pennsylvania. Several days later he moved to the Great Meadows.

May 27th an express—the special delivery of those days—arrived from the Half King, who was about six miles distant, with a party of his Mingo warriors. He brought the news that the French were nearby. The night turned out a terrible one. Rain fell in torrents and the march was toilsome and tedious. Groping in the inky darkness of the intricate forest, falling over rocks and logs, tangled in dense thickets, the whole night was consumed in traveling the short distance, and at daybreak Washington joined forces with the Half King. There was an immediate council and a plan of joint action was agreed on.

The Half King—whose proper name was Tanacharison—was a friend of the English. He was a Seneca by birth. He was called the Half King because he had not entire sovereignty; only an over-lord of the Iroquois, or Six Nations. The Half King remained true to the English. He died at Harris Ferry, now Harrisburg, the succeeding October. The loss of this Indian, who could be depended on, was a severe blow to the English. He has no commemorating name in Pennsylvania. Nor has Monacatootha, likewise the friend of the English, one of the eight Indians who remained with Braddock; another, his son, whom Monacatootha saw slain at his side

Indian spies were sent out and the French position discovered. It was half a mile from the road and surrounded by rocks. Washington and his men went to the right and the Indians to the left and the advance was made in single file. The alert enemy discovered this movement and an action at once began, which lasted but a quarter of an hour. It was disastrous to the French; M. Jumonville, the commander, fell at the first fire, according to some accounts, and ten of his men were killed, one wounded and twenty-two captured. Washington had one man killed and two wounded. The Indians escaped casualties. A Canadian escaped and hurried with the news to Contrecoeur at Fort Duquesne.

This short skirmish, so fateful in results, was the first bloodshed in a great war in America that lasted nine years. In April, 1754, when the French standard was flung to the breeze at our Point, the colors signalized French dominion in North America that extended from Nova Scotia by the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. The fleur-de-lis, the emblem of France, likewise betokened sovereignty in parts of Africa and India. Vast were the possessions of France at this period outside of her own geographical lines. All her extensive possessions were well guarded by fortifications and troops. When the war ended that began at our gates between Contrecoeur and Washington, France was stripped of much of her territorial domain, and this, too, by a treaty arranged at Paris.

Washington found among his prisoners at Jumonville's defeat an old acquaintance in La Force, the commissary of the French forces, whom he had met at Venango; also M. Drouillon and two cadets. La Force had accompanied Washington and Gist the preceding winter from Fort Venango to Le Boeuf. Washington was young and impulsive and the leadership was thrust upon him by the accident which resulted in the death of his colonel, Joshua Fry, May 27, 1754. In the intent to recite the actual happenings of Washington's first campaign the French and English accounts are given. They are at wide variance in one particular—the death of Jumonville. It was a sorry affair at best.

First the French version: When Contrecoeur at Fort Duquesne learned that a considerable body of English was marching toward him he dispatched his half-brother Jumonville with a small force to meet them, not to fight, but to warn them. He charged Jumonville with a written summons in the form of a letter directed to the first English officer he should meet. It was almost of the same tenor as the summons he had before sent when he took possession of the little fort Ward had built at our "Point."

Contrecoeur assured the English no violence would be offered them. He desired the English commander to return an answer by Jumonville and requested that officer be treated with that distinction and respect which he deserved. The account that Contrecoeur received of the affray was that on the morning after they sent out the little escort of Jumonville, the commandant's deputy, he found they were surrounded by some Indians and an English force. The English fired quickly two volleys, killing some French soldiers. Jumonville made a sign that he had a

letter from his commander; the firing thereupon ceased and the English surrounded the French officer in order to hear the letter. It was immediately read and as it was being read a second time the English assassinated Jumonville. The rest of the French detachment were then made prisoners except one, who escaped, who gave the story as above. He assured Contrecoeur that the Indians who were with the English had not fired a gun, but at the instant Jumonville was assassinated they threw themselves in between the French and the English. With the allegation that Jumonville had been treacherously murdered, the French were greatly enraged. Contrecoeur sent immediate word to Duquesne and received his instructions, which demanded retribution, and that the English be driven out. Preparations were at once begun. In one month the French force was under way, viz., on June 28th, and on July 3rd the forces were in conflict. The French numbered five hundred regulars and Canadian militia and as many Indians. The Canadian who escaped was named Mouceau. Contrecoeur also wrote his story to Duquesne. Mouceau alleged that the French were in platoons between the English and the Indians, and that he dropped out and made his way through the woods to the Monongahela and came down to the Forks by a small canoe. The Indian account of the affray, which Contrecoeur likewise wrote to Duquesne, states that Jumonville was killed by a musket shot in the head, and that the English would have killed all the French had not the Indians rushed in between them and the English, thus frustrating the design. Contrecoeur, writing Duquesne, records:

I believe, sir, it will surprise you to hear how basely the English have acted. It was what was never seen, even among nations who are the least civilized, to fall thus upon ambassadors and murder them. The Indians are so enraged that they have applied to me for liberty to fall upon the English.

The English are, no doubt, on their march with an army 5,000 strong. The Indians say they have always 600 men going before in order to clear a broad road, to bring up strong cannon; this was the Indian expression.

How great a force Washington had is evidenced by the number surrendered at Fort Necessity, about four hundred.

M. de Villiers, also a journalist, records under date of June 26, 1754:

Arrived at Fort du Quesne about eight in the morning with several nations (Indians), the command of which the general had given me. At my arrival was informed that M. de Contrecoeur had made a detachment of 500 French and 11 Indians of different nations on the Ohio, the command of which he had given to Chevalier le Mercier, who was to depart the next day. As I was the oldest officer and commanded the Indian nations, and as my brother had been assassinated, M. de Contrecoeur honored me with that command, and M. le Mercier, though deprived of the command, seemed very well pleased to make the campaign under my orders. M. de Contrecoeur called Messrs. le Mercier, de Longueil and myself in order to deliberate upon what should be done in the campaign, as to the place, the strength of the enemy, the assassination committed by them upon my brother and the peace we intended to maintain between the two crowns.

It must be admitted the French were magnanimous. Witness the honorable terms accorded Washington at Fort Necessity. Washington always kept an accurate journal of his transactions—in fact, he was one

of the most careful and methodical of men. We must believe him, for he is always specific and concise. May 27, 1754, he records:

At eight at night received an express from the Half King which informed me that as he was coming to join us he had seen along the road the tracks of two men, which he had followed till he was brought thereby to a low, obscure place that he was of opinion the whole party of the French was hidden there; that very moment I sent out forty men and ordered my ammunition to be put in a place of safety under a strong guard to defend it, fearing it be a stratagem of the French to attack our camp, and with the rest of my men set out in a heavy rain; and in a night as dark as pitch along a path scarce broad enough for one man.

We were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path before we could come to it again; and so dark that we would often strike one against another.

After mention of the meeting and council with the Half King at sunrise, Washington preceeds:

We formed ourselves for an engagement marching one after another, in the Indian manner. We were advanced pretty near to them, as we thought, when they discovered us; whereupon I ordered my company to fire, mine was supported by that of Mr. Wagner's and my company and his received the whole fire of the French during the greatest part of the action, which lasted only a quarter of an hour, before the enemy were routed. I marched on with the prisoners. They informed me they had been sent with a summons to order me to depart, a plausible pretense to discover our camp and to obtain the knowledge of our forces and our situation! It was so clear that they had come to reconnoitre what we were that I admired their assurance, when they told me they were come as an embassy for their instructions mentioned they should get what knowledge they could of the roads, rivers, and all of the country as far as the Potomac.

Washington refutes the allegation that they could come as ambassadors—rather were they spies, for they remained hidden for whole days and were known to have sent spies to reconnoitre his camp. They went back two miles only after doing this and sent Contrecoeur full intelligence. "Besides, an ambassador," says Washington, "has princely attendants, whereas this was a small petty French officer. He continues:

An ambassador has no need of spies; his character being always sacred. Their actions were suspicious, the summons insolent and favored the gasconade so much that if it had been brought openly by two men it would have been an immediate indulgence to have suffered them to return.

Craig found copies of the papers that Jumonville bore in the French "Memoire" and inserted them in the "Olden Time." They are as follows:

A copy of those orders which M. de Contrecoeur gave M. de Jumonville the 23rd of May, 1754.

Be it known that the Captain of a company belonging to the detachment of Marines, Commander in Chief at the Ohio, Fort du Quesne, the Peninsula, and River Beef, have given orders to M. de Jumonville, an ensign of the troops, to depart immediately with one officer, three cadets, one volunteer, one English interpreter, and twenty-eight men, to go up as far as the High Lands, and to make what discovery he can; he shall keep along the river Monongahela in Pettiaguers as far as the Hangard; after which he shall march along, until he finds the road which leads to that said to have been cleared by the English. As the Indians give out that the English are on their march to attack us (which we cannot believe since we are at peace) should M. de Jumonville, contrary to our expectation, hear of any attempt to be made by the English, on the lands belonging to the French King, he shall immediately go to them, and deliver them the summons we have given him.

We further charge him to dispatch a speedy messenger to us, before the summons be read, to acquaint us with all the discoveries he hath made; of the day he intends to read them the summons; and also to bring us an answer from them, with all possible diligence, after it is read.

If M. de Jumonville should hear that the English intend to go on the other side of the Great Mountain, he shall not pass the High Lands, for we would not disturb them in the least, being desirous to keep up that union which exists between the two crowns.

We charge M. de Jumonville to stand upon his guard against every attempt, either from the English or the Indians. If he should meet any Indians he shall tell them he is traveling about to what is transacting on the King's territories, and to take notice of every road, and shall show them friendship. Done at the camp at Fort du Quesne, the 23rd of May, 1754.

CONTRECOEUR.⁷

A copy of the summons whereof M. de Jumonville was the bearer. A summons which M. de Jumonville shall read. From an officer of the troops of the most Christian King, to the commander of the English troops, if any he should find on the territories of the French King.

Sir:—The Indians have already acquainted me, you were coming armed, on the territories of the King my master, though I cannot believe it; but as it is my duty to leave no stone unturned, to discover exactly the truth thereof, I have sent M. de Jumonville on that account; and in case he should see you, to summons you in the King's name, and by virtue of the orders which I have received from my General, to depart forthwith in peace with your troops, if you refuse, you will oblige me sir, to force you thereto, by using the most powerful means, for the honor of the King's arms; your buying those lands at the Ohio, from the Indians gives you so weak a right thereto, that I shall be obliged to repel force by force. I forewarn you, that if, after this summons, which shall be the last, there be any act of hostility, you shall answer for it; as it is our intention to keep up the union existing between the two crowns. Whatever your schemes may be, I hope, sir, you will show M. de Jumonville, all the respect that officer deserves, and that you will send him back again to me with all speed, to acquaint me with your intentions.⁸

I am, etc.

Signed

CONTRECOEUR.

Done at the Camp at Fort Duquesne, the 23rd of May 1754.

The assertions that Jumonville showed a flag of truce, says Parkman, are unsupported, as are those that Jumonville was killed in the act of reading the summons. French deserters told Washington that Jumonville's party came as spies, and were to show the summons only if threatened by a superior force.

Washington faithfully recorded each day's happenings until the surrender at Fort Necessity where his weary, half-starved men lay down their arms. He had been joined by a company from South Carolina under Captain James Mackaye, who held a king's commission and who refused to be a subordinate to a Virginia provincial officer even of a higher rank. When the articles of capitulation were signed Mackaye signed first.

De Villiers in his report to his superior, Contrecoeur, gives a detailed account of what occurred at Fort Necessity. He tells how he cooped the English in their fort and how he "obliged them to leave us their cannon consisting of nine pieces;" also of destroying all of Washington's horses and cattle," and "made them to sign the favor we granted them was only to prove how desirous we were to maintain the peace between the crowns." De Villiers destroyed all of Washington's cannon, even the

⁷"Olden Time;" Vol. II, pp. 188-189. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 210-213.

⁸"Washington's Journal," 1754; Dr. Toner's note, p. 94-95.

one granted them in the capitulation; all the liquor, of which there were several casks. The single cannon allowed Washington he could not carry away. No animals were left to draw it. The first article of the capitulation reads, under date "July 3, 1754, at 8 o'clock at night."

As our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and good harmony subsisting between the two princes in amity, but only to revenge the assassination committed on one of our officers, bearer of a summon, as also on his escort, and to hinder any establishment on the dominions of the king, my master; upon these considerations we are willing to show favor to all the English who are in the said fort on the following conditions: "leave to retire and return peacefully to their own country," without insult, with honors of war, etc., with all their belongings except artillery and draft animals.

The translation of the seventh article made trouble. The French version is:

Article VII—Que comme les Anglais n'ont en leur pouvoir un officier, deux cadets, et generalement les prisonniers qu'ils nous ont fait *dans l'assassinat du Sr. de Jumonville*, et qu'ils promettent de les renvoyer avec sauve garde jusqu' au fort du Quesne, sitte sur la Belle-Riviere, et que pour suretie de cet article, *ainsi qu' de cet traite*, Messrs. Jacob Vanbraam et Robert Stobo tous deux capitaines, nous seront remis en otage jusqu'a l' arrivee de nos Canadiens et Francois ci dessus mentioner, etc.

The parts here marked in italics were misrepresented by the interpreter, or at least the meaning of them was so imperfectly and obscurely expressed by him, as to be misunderstood by Colonel Washington and his officers. The words *pendant une annee a compter de ce jour*, which occur at the end of the sixth article in the copy retained by Colonel Washington, are not found in the copy of the articles printed by the French government. The articles conclude:

And as the English have in their power an officer, two cadets and most of the prisoners made at the assassination of M. de Jumonville, and promise to send them back, with a safeguard to Fort Du Quesne, situate on the Ohio, for surety of their performing this article as well as this treaty, M. Jacob Vambraam and Robert Stobo, both captains shall be delivered to us as hostages, till the arrival of our French and Canadians above mentioned. We oblige ourselves on our side to return these two officers in safety and expect to have our French in two months and a half at farthest, a duplicate being fixed upon one of the posts of our stockade the day and year mentioned.

Signed MESSRS. JAMES MACKAYE,
G. WASHINGTON,
COULON VILLIERS.

Washington tells of the signing of this document and of Van Braam's stupidity or deceit. Doughty old Governor Dinwiddie, grouch and French hater, disavowed the terms of this capitulation, much to Washington's chagrin, great enough on account of his forced surrender. We must admire M. de Villiers as an honorable man and foe. He really believed his brother was assassinated. He was truly magnanimous. He restrained his Indians from slaughtering the English and kept them well in hand. De Villiers records his feelings when he states:

The 4th (July) I sent a detachment to take possession of the fort, the garrison fled off, and the number of their dead and wounded moved me to pity, notwithstanding my resentment for their having in such a manner taken away my brother's life.

Pittsburgh authorities in naming a street De Villiers have commemorated a man of fine sensibilities, a soldier and a gentleman, though an enemy.

Van Braam has been characterized as a poltroon and a villain. Washington admits he was a good soldier, but lamented always the imposition or ignorance Van Braam manifested in his translation of the articles of capitulation.

"The interpreter," Washington says, "was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue. Therefore he might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English. But whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is he called it 'the death' or 'the loss of Sieur Jumonville,' so he received, and so we understood it, until to our great surprise and mortification we found otherwise in a literal translation."

Washington was not learned in French. He had in his command a French Protestant, a chevalier, who had settled in Virginia. Unfortunately, badly wounded in the engagement, he was unable to be of any service. This was Ensign Peyronie, who became a captain the next year and was killed at Braddock's defeat. Poor Van Braam paid dearly for his errors, as will appear. He was a prisoner with the French for six years. The signing of the capitulation was highly dramatic. In fact it was a difficult task. A solitary candle was with difficulty kept burning in the rain that was falling in torrents. Van Braam stumbled through the blurred, blotted terms of the capitulation, and Washington was satisfied and signed the papers.

Pouchot has an account of the Jumonville affair in his "Memoire."⁹ He says:

M. de Contre-cœur remained commandant of Fort Duquesne, which M. Mercier, an artillery officer, had laid out and built. De Villiers, Jumonville and several other officers, were also left at the post.

During the summer they were informed, that a party of English had passed from towards the Forks of the Monongahela, and come to the Ohio to locate themselves. The council at Fort Duquesne, determined to send Jumonville with a detachment of thirty armed men, to require them to return, and he was the bearer of a letter demanding a surrender from the commandant. The English officer, notified by friendly Indians, of the approach of this detachment, awaited their arrival in a kind of ambuscade. Jumonville seeing himself the weaker party, sought to show his letter, of which he was the bearer. The English, who did not wish to compromise themselves by a parley, fired upon the party, killing Jumonville and some others, and took the rest prisoners. When the news of this reached Fort Duquesne, Villiers grieved at the death of his brother, asked leave to go and take vengeance in the Indian fashion. A council of war was held, of which the leading spirit was Mercier, and in which they resolved in writing, that without wishing to impair the treaty of Utrecht, Villiers should march with a detachment of three hundred men, to seek the English, who, to the number of five hundred had begun a fort, in a place they had christened Necessity. The French coming to this fort, took post behind the trees, and a little abattis built by the English. They had begun a ditch, which was already excavated knee deep, as the earth lay piled up, but the firing of the men, who aimed well, soon disabled a considerable number. The English, seeing themselves crippled by this murderous fire, asked to capitulate. They were received as prisoners on parole, upon the condition that they should at once return those whom they had taken, and that they should give two officers as hostages. M. de Villiers furthermore required them to give a statement as to how they had killed

⁹"Memoire Late War in America;" Hough Edition, pp. 20-21.

Jumonville so untimely, and then sent them away. They were obliged to do this, because they had troubled to support those in the fort.

The French returned in triumph to their garrison, and remained quiet the remainder of the campaign. Several officers returned to Canada, among whom was Mercier, who was there relieved by Lery, self styled an engineer. Mercier and Pean were sent to France to report the glorious and interesting events of their campaign.

When the English learned of the events in this part of the country, they resolved to send in the winter of 1754-55 Pepperell's, Shirley's, Halket's and Dunbar's regiments to America, to maintain their establishments. The first two were destined for Oswego, and the other two for Virginia, and from thence to the Ohio.

1755. France, learning of the departure of these regiments for America, likewise resolved to send the Queen's regiment, and the regiments of Artois, Burgundy, Languedoc, Guienne, and Bearn, which repaired to Brest, at the beginning of April, 1755. They found a fleet of twenty-two ships of war, ready to receive the second battalions of these regiments, destined for America.

While the last two paragraphs anticipate much history of the war it is well to remember that there was no declaration until May, 1756. Halket's and Dunbar's regiments formed the regular division of Braddock's forces and the former's regiment was almost destroyed at Braddock's battle. Pouchot was a captain of the regiment of Bearn which served at Niagara, Oswego, Ticonderoga and Quebec. It was a celebrated regiment. We can only note here the preparations both nations were making.

Dr. Toner, editor of Washington's Journals, says:

Ensign M. de Jumonville was a half-brother of M. Coulon de Villiers. He was in the French military service at Fort Duquesne in 1754 under Captain Commander-in-chief of Marines M. de Contrecoeur of His Majesty's troops on the Ohio. Under instructions at Fort Duquesne, May 23, 1754, he was sent with a small force (according to French accounts) of one officer, three cadets, one volunteer (M. la Force) one English interpreter and twenty-eight men to scout the country along the headwaters of the Monongahela, the crest of the Alleghany Mountains and to deliver summons to any English he might meet to depart from French territory. At the same time, he had instructions to observe and report everything to M. de Contrecoeur before the summons was served on the English. Washington knew nothing of the summons, but by his vigilance and enterprise with scouts had discovered Jumonville's camp and surprised him and his forces. In the skirmish which ensued May 28, De Jumonville and ten of his men were killed and twenty-one taken prisoners, among whom was M. la Force. The prisoners were all sent under a guard, to the Governor of Virginia. They set up the claim to the Governor as they had done to Washington that they were on a mission of peace, but this was not evidenced by their behavior, nor by the orders to Jumonville accompanying the summons, both of which documents were found upon this officer's person. Parkman, in a note on France and England, Vol. I, p. 151, says: "In 1755 the widow of Jumonville received a pension of one hundred and fifty francs. In 1755 his daughter Charlotte Aimable, wishing to become a nun, was given by the King six hundred francs for her 'trousseau' on entering the convent." Monsieur Drouillon, a French officer of the rank of Major, was taken prisoner in the skirmish between de Jumonville and Colonel Washington, near the Great Meadows, May 28, 1754. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Sir Thomas Robinson of October 1, 1755, wrote of him as follows:

"I gave him his enlargement in Williamsburg and allowed him 10s. per week and the cadets 7s. 6d. each; it was though proper to move him and the other prisoners to Winchester, and from there to Alexandria, the privet men in confinement, and he and the cadets at present lodgings and when winter approached he and the other prisoners wanted clothes, I ordered them all proper clothing." They remained at Alexandria until the arrival of General Braddock's army. The privates were sent on transports,

two on a vessel, to England, "as Sieur Drouillon said, he was an officer I sent him, the two cadets and a servant to Hampton to be sent passengers on board any ship bound for Britain which was accordingly done, and I paid 20 pounds for their passage." [Brock in "Dinwiddie Papers;" Vol. I, p. 227.]¹⁰ Cadets were young volunteers serving in military establishments and expeditions not only for the love of the service, but also in expectation of commissions as opportunities offered. The names of these French cadets were M. de Boucherville and M. du Sable.

To his brother, John A. Washington, Colonel Washington wrote:

Camp at Great Meadow, 31 May, 1754.

Since my last we arrived at this place, where three days ago we had an engagement with the French; that is, a party of our men with one of theirs. Most of our men were out upon other detachments, so that I had scarcely 40 men remaining under my command, and about 10 or 12 Indians; nevertheless we obtained a most signal victory. The battle lasted about 10 or 13 minutes, with sharp firing on both sides, till the French gave ground and ran, but to no great purpose. There were 12 French killed, among whom was Mons. de Jumonville, their commander, and 21 taken prisoners, among whom were Messrs. La Force and Drouillon, together with two cadets. I have sent them to His Honor the Governor, at Winchester, under guard of twenty men, conducted by Lieutenant West. We had but one man killed and two or three wounded. Among the wounded on our side is Lieut. Waggoner, but no danger, it is hoped will ensue. We expect every hour to be attacked by a superior force, but, if they forbear for one day longer, we shall be prepared for them. We have already got entrenchments, and are about a pallisado, which I hope will be finished today. The Mingoes have struck the French and I will give a good blow before they have done. I expect 40 odd of them here tonight, which, with our fort and some reinforcements from Col. Fry, will enable us to exert our noble courage with spirit.

P. S. I fortunately escaped without any wound, for the right wing, where I stood, was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire, and it was the part where the man was killed, and the rest wounded. I heard the bullets whistle, and believe me, there is something charming in the sound.¹¹

The retreat of Washington's weary troops was distressing. Seventy miles to safety at Wills creek and there Washington's first campaign ended in disaster and gloom. In one year another phase of his character was to appear, a promising soldier in a battle where retreat and panic gave the hated French the victory over Braddock. We have seen Washington first as a hardy frontiersman, daring and suffering, then as a somewhat reckless provincial commander, and then the promise of his rise was forthcoming. Washington was much disheartened after the surrender at Fort Necessity and two of his captains, Robert Stobo and Jacob Van Braam, in the hands of the French as hostages for the safe return and good treatment of the French officers La Force and Drouillon, and the two cadets, taken prisoners by Washington in the engagement when M. Jumonville was killed May 28, 1754. By the terms of the

¹⁰"Washington's Journal," 1754; edited by Dr. J. M. Toner, pp. 92-94.

¹¹From the "London Magazine," August, 1754: "In the express, which Major Washington despatched on his preceding little victory (the skirmish with Jumonville) he concluded with the words,—'I heard the bullets whistle and believe me, there is something charming in the sound.' When hearing of this the King said sensibly,—'He would not say so, if he had been used to hear many.' However, this brave braggart learned to blush for his rhodomontade, and desiring to serve General Braddock as aid-de-camp, acquitted himself nobly."—Walpole, "Memoirs of George the Second; I, 347. See also Gordon, "History of Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, p. 203. W. C. Ford's footnote in his edition, "Writings of Washington, 1748-1757;" Vol. I, p. 89, 90.

capitulation at Fort Necessity the English were to deliver up all the prisoners captured with Jumonville, sending them under safeguard to Fort Duquesne within two months and a half at the farthest. This would make the time expire about the middle of September. The giving and retaining of hostages is old in warfare. Students of Cæsar's Commentaries will readily recall how greatly it was Cæsar's custom to take hostages and always the most influential men were demanded, sometimes the wives and children of the leaders. Hostages were usually treated with kindness and not kept closely confined, hence Stobo and Van Braam had an easy, but likely a dull time in Fort Duquesne. They were the first English prisoners in the celebrated fort; both Stobo and his comrade were soldiers of fortune and it is presumed were philosophical and took the fortunes of war as dealt out to them without murmuring.

It was a cause of great mortification to Washington when Governor Dinwiddie refused to ratify the capitulation's stipulation in regard to the French prisoners. Dinwiddie wrote a letter to the Virginia Board of Trade and explained his position. He said:

The French after the capitulation entered into with Col. Washington, took eight of our people and exposed them to sale and missing thereof sent them prisoners to Canada. On hearing of this I detained the 17 prisoners the officer and the two cadets, as I am of opinion, after they were in my custody, Washington could not engage for their being returned.

I have ordered a flag of truce to be sent to the French, offering the return of their officer and the two cadets for the two hostages they have of ours.

This course did not suit Washington. It was decidedly at variance with his principles of honor and fine sense of equity. But he was helpless, having no control of the situation. The hostages were not returned and the French prisoners were detained in Virginia, supported and clothed at the public expense, having been granted a weekly allowance. The private soldiers were confined, but Drouillon and the cadets were allowed to go at large, first at Williamsburg, then the capital of Virginia, later at Winchester, whither they had been sent, and at last at Alexandria, where they were living when Braddock arrived. Braddock thought it highly improper for them to be at liberty, observing the motions of his army. It was first designed to send them on shipboard, but the officer in command, Commodore Keppell, would not receive them on the ground that he had no instructions about prisoners. Braddock advised that the privates be sent to England and this was done. They were carried over by a returning transport. M. Drouillon and the cadets soon after went as passengers on another vessel, their passage paid by the colony of Virginia.

M. la Force, the French commissary, had been a volunteer under Jumonville. A very aggressive character, La Force wanted to be at the front when anything was likely to occur that meant fight. He was well known on the border and had committed depredations, the Virginians alleged, and on his arrival in Williamsburg was thrown into prison. A man of ready resources, the crude prison did not hold him long, for he broke out and had gone several miles when he was apprehended. His

foreign accent betrayed him. On his return he was placed in close confinement.

Stobo while in Fort Duquesne made good use of his time in drawing a plan of the fort and in writing several letters to Governor Dinwiddie, the first of these he wrote July 28, 1754, when he had been at the fort about three weeks. In this letter he tells of the French counseling the Shawanese, and the French machinations with the other Indians in the vicinity. He describes the strength of the garrison, tells of the departure of Le Mercier, a fine soldier, who went with one of the detachments sent away, in all numbering about 1,000 men. He tells Dinwiddie only about two hundred men remained, mostly laborers. The garrison was short of provisions. Two hundred men had recently been sent under a lieutenant to bring provisions and were daily expected. The untiring La Force was greatly missed. To quote Stobo's exact words: "La Force is greatly wanted here—no scouting now—he certainly must have been an extraordinary man among them—he is so much regretted and wished for." This information was not at all to La Force's good. It made Dinwiddie all the more determined to hold him. In La Force's imprisonment he was crippling the French. It is apparent from Stobo's words that Jumonville's party, with La Force, a gratified volunteer, accompanying, was not an embassy, as Contrecoeur contended, but a scouting party surprised and captured as Washington and his men ever maintained. Stobo imparted the intelligence that only Contrecoeur, a few young officers and some cadets were in the garrison at Fort Duquesne. Now was the time to strike, Stobo urged. He was both patriotic and philosophic; and daring to a degree, and his hardihood got him into tribulations such as fall to few men. He must have known that he was breaking his status as a hostage. His subsequent experiences and adventures fill a book—a small one, it is true, but a most remarkable story. The further career of Stobo and some account of Van Braam will be given in Chapter XV.

Concerning the charge of the French that Washington deliberately killed Jumonville ("assassinated" him, the seventh article of capitulation said), Sparks has the following in appendices:

The circumstances attending the death of Jumonville have been so remarkably misunderstood and perverted by the French historians, and the character of Washington, in regard to this event, has suffered so much in their hands, that the subject demands a further consideration. The following extracts, from three of the most recent and accredited French writers, will show in what light this point of history is still viewed by that nation. The first extract is from Flassan, whose history holds a high rank in French literature, and was written with the approbation of Napoleon, if not in consequence of his suggestion.

"M. de Jumonville," says Flassan, "setting off with an escort of thirty men, found himself surrounded in the morning by a body of English and savages. The former fired twice in rapid succession, and killed several Frenchmen. Jumonville made a sign, that he was the bearer of a letter from his commandant. The fire ceased, and they gathered around him to hear the letter. He caused the summons to be read, but the reading was not finished when the English reiterated their fire and killed him. The remaining Frenchmen of his escort were immediately made prisoners of war."

Sparks' next extract is from Lacrosette, whose history enjoys a distinguished reputation in his native country, Sparks attested:

An officer, by the name of Jumonville, was sent with an escort of thirty men. The English ranged in a circle around him, listened to the representation, which he came to make. Had they premeditated so atrocious a crime? Were they moved by a sudden impulse of hatred and ferocity? This cannot be known; but they disgraced the New World by an outrage never before heard of among civilized people, and which excited the savages to a transport of indignation. They assassinated Jumonville, and immolated eight soldiers, who fell bleeding by the side of their chief. They made prisoners of the rest of the escort.

To this passage M. Lacrosette adds the following note: "It is painful to state, that the detachment of the English, who committed this atrocity, was commanded by Washington. This officer, who afterwards displayed the purest virtues of the warrior, the citizen, and the sage, was then no more than twenty-two years old. He could not restrain the wild and undisciplined troops, who marched under his orders."

Sparks rightly says that the authority, from which all the French historians have drawn their intelligence, is a letter written by M. de Contrecoeur to the Marquis Duquesne, at the time governor of Canada. This letter is dated June 2, 1754. The following is a literal translation of the part which relates to the subject in question:

Since the letter, which I had the honor of writing to you on the 30th ultimo, in which I informed you, that I expected the return of M. de Jumonville in four days, it has been reported by the savages, that his party had been taken, and eight men killed, among whom is M. de Jumonville. A Canadian belonging to the party, named Mouceau, made his escape, who relates, that they built cabins in low bottom, where they lay during a heavy rain.

To follow Sparks further, we read:

Here we have all the particulars, as they appear in the citations from the French historians, and almost in the same language. And this is the original and sole authority from which have been derived all the succeeding French accounts of the conflict between the forces of Washington and Jumonville, which terminated so fatally to the latter. By what testimony is this statement of M. de Contrecoeur sustained? First, by the report of a Canadian, who fled affrighted at the beginning of the action; and next, by the vague rumors of the savages, who were said to have been on the spot. These savages, if they were, who returned to M. de Contrecoeur, must have come out with the French party. No such savages are mentioned as being seen by the English; and consequently, if there were any originally with the party, they escaped, like the Canadian, at the beginning of the action, and could have had no knowledge of the manner in which it was conducted. In any other case would such testimony be taken as evidence of facts? It can certainly have no claim to be made in a historical narrative. Much less can it warrant severe censures upon the character of an officer, who was in reality discharging his duty in the execution of his orders.¹²

Sparks next quotes Montgaillard, another French historian, who, he states, has sketched with great ability and eloquence, in the form of annals, the events of the French Revolution. Montgaillard thus speaks of Washington, after quoting the elegant tribute to his memory by Mallet-Dupan:

This great man, the only person with whom no other in modern history, can be compared, would have enjoyed a renown without reproach, his public career would have been without fault, his glory would have shone with an unsullied lustre, had it

¹²"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Parkman, Vol. I, p. 156.

not been for the fatal event of the death of Jumonville, a young officer sent to him with a summons by the commandment of the French establishments on the Ohio. Washington, then major in the forces of the King of England, commanded the post, which assassinated Jumonville. He was then twenty-two years of age. Far from offering any reparation, himself attacked by the brother of Jumonville, and made prisoner with his troops, he received his life and liberty on the condition of sending back the Frenchmen who escaped from the massacre; yet he violated his promise. The French could never efface the remembrance of this deplorable circumstance, whatever veneration the political life of this illustrious citizen might have merited.

Many other French historians might be cited, who make the same statements, in almost the same words; and even very recently the writer of a life of Washington in the *Biographie Universelle*, who aims apparently to be accurate and impartial, and who has done justice for the most part to Washington's character, repeats this story of the assassination of Jumonville, adding, like Lacretelle, as the only extenuating circumstances, the youth of Washington, and the ungovernable ferocity of his soldiers.

Sparks' conclusions are:

It will be seen, by comparing the above extracts, that they are in substance precisely the same, and must unquestionably have been derived from a common source. Every thing will depend on the degree of credit, that is due to this single authority, upon which alone all the accounts of subsequent writers are founded. A supposed fact is not strengthened by the repetition of one historian from another, whatever merit each writer may have on the score of talents and honest intentions. All history is built on evidence, and if this is fallacious, or partial, or dubious, the deductions from it must be equally uncertain and deceptive. On this obvious position the present instance affords a remarkable illustration.

Historians for the facts of Washington's first campaign rely mainly on the Journal of Washington himself and his letters. The original French edition of the Journal of 1754 and the English translation were rare books a century ago and rarer in Craig's day. However, there has been an American reprint of the English translation. The title page as copied by Dr. Toner, reads:

JOURNAL
of
COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON
COMMANDING A DETACHMENT OF VIRGINIA TROOPS
SENT BY
ROBERT DINWIDDIE
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
ACROSS THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS IN 1754, TO BUILD FORTS AT
THE HEAD OF THE OHIO. IT COMPRISES THE HISTORY OF
MARCHES, CAMPINGS AND EVENTS, A SKIRMISH
WITH THE FRENCH, AND THE DEATH OF
THEIR LEADER DE JUMONVILLE.

The Journal fell into the hands of the enemy, who in 1756 printed a version of it in French; a new translation of this into English is what is here given in the absence of the original. To complete the history of the Expedition

AN APPENDIX
IS ADDED IN THE FORM OF A DIARY, SUPPLYING AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF THE GREAT
MEADOWS AND THE CAPITULATION OF FORT NECESSITY; THE RETREAT OF THE
ARMY: WITH COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL MUSTER AND PAY ROLLS
OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS
CONNECTED WITH THIS EXPEDITION.

Edited with notes

BY

J. M. TONER, M. D.

ALBANY, N. Y.

JOEL MUNSELL'S SONS, PUBLISHERS.

1893.

Toner's first footnote referred to by the figure one reads:

This is a private journal of Colonel George Washington's, kept by him on his march from Alexandria, Va., to the Ohio in the spring of 1754. By mischance and the accidents attending to the war it fell into the hands of the French. The Journal was in no sense an official one, and even the French rendering of it makes it accord, in all essential points, with his letters to Governor Dinwiddie and to other correspondents. Sparks says the Journal was captured at the battle of the Monongahela. He does not, however, give any authority for this statement. It is doubtless true that some of General Braddock's papers were captured at the battle of Monongahela, and some of Washington's may also have been lost in that engagement. But in the absence of any specified testimony to that effect, that this journal was captured at that time, and there being no reason why Washington should have the Journal of 1754 with him in the campaign of 1755, and the further fact that the record in the Journal is alleged to stop on the 27th of June, the time Washington's forces began their retreat, I am of the opinion it was lost with his other papers at the battle of the Great Meadows. Again, the period between the date of the last entry and the battle of the Great Meadows was so incessantly occupied as to preclude the giving of any thought to his Journal; but had Washington preserved his Journal after the battle, it would have been according to his usual custom and exactness to have completed it so as to include the history of the campaign to its close and his return to Williamsburg. This view is strengthened by Washington's statement of his losses in a letter to Carter Burwell, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs in the House of Burgesses, bearing date of 20th of April, 1755: "For besides the loss of many valuable papers, a valuable servant (who died a few days after, of his wounds) my stores, wearing apparel, books and horses, amounting to no trifle sum on the whole, and in which I was in a manner singular by being the only person who got his baggage up before the engagement happened." This letter was written before the Braddock campaign began, and the loss is referred to the engagement of the Great Meadows. A further reference to his loss of papers occurs in the copy of his first account with the country, rendered to the Assembly of Virginia, preserved in the Department of State, City of Washington, in which the closing item is: "To sundry small disbursements which I cannot recollect or account for, having lost all my papers in the engagement," namely the battle of the Great Meadows.

Toner comments on Washington's commission as lieutenant-colonel and his service in that rank as follows:

George Washington's Commission of Lieutenant Colonel.—I have not been able to find a copy of this commission. It is not certain whether the date given in the Journal, March 31st, should be taken as the date of the commission, or of its reception, since Governor Dinwiddie, writing in January 1754, to Lord Fairfax, says that he had "commissioned Major George Washington to command 100 men etc." Washington was attending to his duties as Lieutenant-Colonel before the first of February, 1754. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to George Washington, which bears the date March 15th, 1754, says: "You have been Com'd Lieut. Colo. 12s. 6d. p day without any trouble of Comdg a Company." In a letter to the Governor, written from Alexandria March 20th 1754, Washington acknowledges the receipt of the commission with appreciative remarks. June 4th, of the same year, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Washington and sent him his commission as Colonel, using the following language: "Sir, on the death of Colonel Fry I have thot it proper to send you the enclos'd Com'n and Com'd the Virg'a regiment and another to Maj'r Muse to be Lieut. Colo.

The oldest Capt. to be Major, and the eldest Lieu. to be Capt.; the eldest Ensign to be Lieu., unless you sh'd have object'n to them."

Washington resigned this latter commission in October, 1754, because under the new military establishment, devised by Governor Dinwiddie, to consist of ten independent companies of 100 men each, there was no grade or rank provided above that of captain and all colonial appointments were to be subordinated to officers of whatever rank, holding commissions from the king. The effect of this arrangement was to reduce Colonel Washington to the rank of captain and to place him under officers he had commanded. To this he would not consent, but quietly retired and remained in private life at Mount Vernon until invited in a letter from General Braddock of March 2, 1755, to join his staff as an aide, and in that capacity make the campaign to the Ohio.

Toner's footnote (6) contains the text of Dinwiddie's instructions to Major Washington:

INSTRUCT'S TO BE OBSERV'D BY MAJ'R GEO. WASHINGTON, ON THE EXPEDIT'N TO THE OHIO.

Maj'r Geo. Washington: You are forthwith to repair to the Co'ty of Frederick and there to take under y'r com'd 50 men of the Militia who will be deliver'd to you by the comd'r of the s'd co'ty pursuant to my orders. You are to send y'r Lieut. at the same time to the Co'ty of Augusta, to receive 50 men from the comd'r of that co'ty as I have order'd, and with them he is to join you at Alexandria, to which place you are to proceed as soon as you have re'd the men at Frederick. Having rec'd the detachn't, you are to train and discipline them in the best manner you can, and for all necessities you are to apply yourself to Mr. Jno. Carlisle at Alex'a who has my orders to supply you. Having all things in readiness you are to use all expedition in proceeding to the fork of the Ohio with the men under your command and there you are to finish and complete, in the best manner and as soon as you possibly can, the fort which I expect is there already begun by the Ohio Company. You are to act on the defensive, but in case any attempts are made to obstruct the works or interrupt our settlem'ts by any persons whatsoever you are to restrain all such offenders, and in case of resistance to make prisoners of, or kill and destroy them. For the rest you are to conduct y'rself as the circumst's of the service shall require and to act as you shall find best for the furtherance of his M'y's Service and the good of his dom'n. Wishing you health and success I bid you farewell.¹⁸

JOURNAL OF MAJOR WASHINGTON.

On the 31st of March, 1754, I received from his Honor a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission of the Virginia Regiment, whereof Joshua Fry, Esq., was Colonel, dated the 15th with orders to take the troops, which were at the time quartered at Alexandria, under my command and to march (6) with them towards the Ohio, there to help Captain Trent to build forts, and to defend the possessions of his Majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the French.

April 2nd. Everything being ready, we began our march according to our orders, the 2nd of April with two Companies of Foot, commanded by Captain Peter Hog and Lieutenant Jacob Van Braam, five subalterns, two Sergeants, six Corporals, one drummer, and one hundred and twenty soldiers, one surgeon, one Swedish gentleman, who was a volunteer, two wagons guarded by one lieutenant, sergeant, corporal and twenty five soldiers.

We left Alexandria on Tuesday Noon and pitched our tents about four miles from Cameron having marched six miles.

(From the 3rd of April to the 19th this journal only contains the march of the troops and how they were joined by a detachment which was brought by Captain Stephens.—Editor.)

April 19th met an express who had letters from Captain Trent, at the Ohio demanding a reinforcement with all speed, as he hourly expected a body of eight hundred French. I tarried at Job Perrisall's for the arrival of the troops where they came next day. When I received the above express, I dispatched a courier to Colonel Fry, to give him notice of it.

¹⁸Brock in "Dinwiddie Papers;" Vol. I, p. 59. Cited by Dr. Toner.

April 20th came down to Colonel Cresap's to order the detachment, and on my route, had notice that the fort was taken by the French. That news was confirmed by Mr. Ward, the Ensign of Captain Trent, who had been obliged to surrender to a body of one thousand French and upwards, under the command of Captain Contrecoeur, who was come from Venango, Presque Isle with sixty bateaux, and three hundred canoes and who having planted eighteen pieces of cannon against the Fort, afterwards had sent him summons to withdraw.

Mr. Ward also informed me that Indians kept steadfastly attached to our interest. He brought two young Indian men with him, who were Mingoes, that they might have the satisfaction to see that we were marching with our troops to their succor. He also delivered the following speech which the Half King sent to me.

Fort on Ohio, April 18, 1754.

A speech from the Half King, Scrune-yattha and belt of wampum, for the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

My Brethren, the English. The bearer will let you understand in what manner the French have treated us. We waited a long time, thinking they would come and attack; we now see how they have a mind to treat us. We are now ready to fall upon them, waiting only for your succor. Have good courage and come as soon as possible; you will find us as ready to encounter with them as you are yourselves.

We have sent those two young men to see if you are ready to come, and if so they are to return to us and let us know where you are, that we may come and join you. We should be glad if the troops belonging to the two Provinces could meet together at the Fort which is in the way. If you do not come to our assistance now, we are entirely undone and imagine we shall never meet together again. I speak with a heart full of grief. (A Belt of Wampum).

The Half-King directed to me the following speech. "I am ready, if you think it proper, to go to both the Governors, with these two young men, for I have now no more dependence on those who have been gone so long, without returning or sending any message." (A Belt of Wampum.)

April 23. A Council of War at Will's Creek, in order to consult upon what must be done on account of the news brought by Mr. Ward. The news brought by Ensign Ward having been examined into, as also the summons sent by Captain Contrecoeur Commander of the French Troops and the speeches of the Half King, and of other chiefs of the Six Nations; it appears that Mr. Ward, was forced to surrender the said Fort, the 17th of this instant to the French, who were above one thousand strong and had eighteen artillery pieces, some of which were nine pounders and also that the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to one hundred and fifty men commanded by Colonel Washington had orders to reinforce the Company of Captain Trent, and that the aforesaid garrison consisted only of thirty-three effective men.

It was thought a thing impracticable to march towards the Fort without sufficient strength; however, being strongly invited by the Indians, and particularly by the speeches of the Half-King, the president put the question to vote whether we should not advance, as far as Red Stone Creek, on Monongahela, about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort and there to erect a fortification, clearing a road broad enough to pass with all our artillery and our baggage, and there to wait for fresh orders.

The proposition aforesaid was adopted for the following reasons: 1st. That the mouth of Red Stone is the first convenient place on the river Monongahela. 2nd. The stores are already built at that place for the provisions of the Company, wherein our Ammunition may be laid up, our great guns may be also sent by water whenever we shall think it convenient to attack the Fort.

Now Sir, as I have answered your letter, I shall beg leave to acquaint you with what has happened since I wrote by Mr. Gist. I then informed you, that I had a party of seventy-five men to meet fifty of the French, who, we had intelligence, were upon their march towards us. About nine o'clock the same night, I received an express from the Half-King, who was encamped with several of his people about six miles off, that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen crossing the road, and that, behind the whole body were lying not far off, as he had an account of that number passing Mr. Gist's.

I set out with forty men before ten, and it was from that time till sunrise before we reached the Indians' camp, having marched in small paths, through a heavy rain,

and a night as dark as it is possible to conceive. We were frequently tumbling one over another, and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again.

When we came to the Half-King, I counselled with him, and got his assent to go hand-in-hand and strike the French. Accordingly, he, Monacawacha, and a few other Indians set out with us; and when we came to the place where the tracks were, the Half-King sent two Indians to follow the tracks, and discover the lodgement, which they did at half a mile from the road, in a very obscure place surrounded with rocks. I thereupon, in conjunction with the Half-King and Monacawacha, formed a disposition to attack them on all sides, which we accordingly did, and, after an engagement of about fifteen minutes, we killed ten, wounded one, and took twenty-one prisoners. Amongst those killed was M. de Jumonville, the commander. The principal officers taken are M. Drouillon, and M. La Force, of whom your Honor has often heard me speak, as a bold, enterprising man, and a person of great subtlety and cunning. With these are two cadets.

These officers pretended they were coming on an embassy; but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as you will see by the Instructions and Summons enclosed. Their instructions were to reconnoitre the country, roads, creeks, and the like, as far as the Potomac, which they were about to do. These enterprising men were purposely chosen out to procure intelligence, which they were to send back by some brisk despatches, with the mention of the day that they were to serve the summons; which could be with no other view than to get a sufficient reinforcement to fall upon us immediately after. This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly, that they were sent as spies, rather than anything else, and has occasioned my detaining them as prisoners, though they expected, or at least had some faint hope, that they should be continued as ambassadors.

They finding where we were encamped, instead of coming in a public manner, sought out one of the most secret retirements, fitter for a deserter than an ambassador to encamp in, and stayed there two or three days, sending spies to reconnoitre our camp, as we are told, though they denied it. Their whole body moved back two miles, and they sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecoeur with our strength, and where we were encamped. Now thirty-six men would almost have been a retinue for a princely ambassador, instead of a petit. Why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within five miles of us without delivering their message, or acquainting me with it. Their waiting could be with no other design, than to get detachments to enforce the summons, as soon as it was given. They had no occasion to send out spies, for the name of an ambassador is sacred among all nations; but it was by the track of those spies, that they were discovered, and that we got intelligence of them. They would not have retired two miles back without delivering the summons and sought a skulking place, but for some special reason. Besides, the summons is so insolent, and savors so much of gasconade, that if two men only had come to deliver it openly, it would have been too great an indulgence to send them back.

The sense of the Half-King on this subject is, that they have bad hearts, and that this is a mere pretence; that they never designed to come to us but in hostile manner, and if we were so foolish as to let them go again, he never would assist us in taking another of them. Besides, La Force would, if released, I really think, do more to our disservice, than fifty other men, as he is a person whose active spirits lead him into all parties, and has brought him acquainted with all parts of the country. Add to this a perfect use of the Indian tongue, and great influence with the Indians. He ingenuously confessed, that, as soon as he saw the commission and instructions, he believed, and then said he expected some such tendency, though he pretends to say he does not believe the commander had any other than a good design.

In this engagement we had only one man killed and two or three wounded, among whom was Lieutenant Waggoner slightly,—a most miraculous escape, as our right wing was exposed to their fire and received it all.

The Half-King received your Honor's speech very kindly, but desired to inform you that he could not leave his people at this time, thinking them in great danger. He is now gone to the Crossing for their families, to bring them to our camp; and he

desired I would furnish some men and horses to assist them, which I have accordingly done. I have sent thirty men and upwards of twenty horses. He says, if your honor has anything to say, you may communicate it by me, and that, if you have a present for them, it may be kept till another occasion, after sending out some things for their immediate use. He has declared that he will send all these Frenchmen's scalps, with a hatchet, to all the nations of the Indians in union with them, and did the very day give a hatchet, and a large belt of wampum, to a Delaware man to carry to Shingiss. He promised me to send down the river for all the Mingoes and Shawanees to our camp, where I expect him to-morrow with thirty or forty men, and their wives and children, to confirm what he has said here. He has sent your Honor a string of wampum.

As these runners went off to the fort on Sunday last, I shall expect every hour to be attacked, and by unequal numbers, which I must withstand if there are five to one; for I fear the consequence will be, that we shall lose the Indians, if we suffer ourselves to be driven back. I despatched an express immediately to Colonel Fry with this intelligence, desiring him to send me reinforcements with all imaginable speed.

Your Honor may depend I will not be surprised, let them come at what hour they will; and this is as much as I can promise. But my best endeavors shall not be wanting to effect more. I doubt not, if you hear I am beaten, but you will hear at the same time that we have done our duty, in fighting as long as there was a shadow of hope.

I have sent Lieutenant West, accompanied by Mr. Splittorph and a guard of twenty men, to conduct the prisoners in, and I believe the officers have told him what answer to return to you.

M. La Force and Major Drouillon beg to be recommended to your notice, and I have promised that they shall meet with all the favor due to prisoners of war. I have shown all the respect I could to them here, and have given them some necessary clothing, by which I have disfurnished myself; for having brought no more than two or three shirts from Will's creek, that we might be light, I was ill provided to supply them.¹⁴ I am, etc.

Serving under the French while Washington was at the French forts was an English soldier of fortune, one Thomas Forbes. He was only a private, but an observing one, and he has handed down a journal descriptive of these forts. He dates his journal January, 1755, and begins with the statement that he, with three officers and 120 private soldiers, had left Old France a year and a half previously.

He served at "Quebeck," Montreal and Niagara, and went with Contrecoeur from the "little fort" at Niagara to Presque Isle, voyaging by canoes and keeping along the eastern coast of the lake to Presque Isle, which he apprehended was about fifty leagues from Niagara.

Forbes says of this and the other forts, and the events in which he participated (Darlington's "Gist," pp. 148-151):

This Fort is situated on a little rising Ground at a very small Distance from the water of Lake Erie; it is rather larger than that at Niagara but has likewise no Bas-tions or Out-Works of any sort. It is a square arena enclosed with Logs about 12 feet high, the Logs being square and laid on each other and not more than sixteen or eighteen inches thick. Captain Darpontine was Commandant in this Fort and his Garrison was 30 private Men.

We were eight days employed in unloading our Canoes here, and carrying the Provisions to Fort Boeuff which is built about six Leagues from Fort Presqu' isle at the head of Buffalo River. This Fort was composed of four Houses built by way of Bas-tions and the intermediate Space stockaded. Lieut St Blein was posted here with 20 men.

Here we found three large Batteaus and between two or 300 Canoes which we freighted with provisions and proceeded down the Buffaloe river which flows into the

¹⁴"Writings of Washington;" Sparks, Vol. II, pp. 32-37.

Ohio at about twenty leagues (as I conceived) distance from Fort au Boeuff, this river was small and at some places very shallow so that we towed the canoes, sometimes wading and sometimes taking ropes to the shore a great part of the way.

When we came into the Ohio we had a fine deep water and a stream in our favour so that we rowed down that river from the mouth of the Buffaloe to Du Quesne Fort on Monongahela, which I take to be 70 leagues distant, in four days and a half.

At our arrival at Fort Du Quesne we found the Garrison busily employed in completing that Fort and Stockading it round at some distance for the security of the Soldiers Barracks (against any surprise) which are built between Stockados and the Glacis of the Fort.

Fort Du Quesne is built of square logs transversely placed as is frequent in mill dams, and the interstices filled up with Earth; the length of these Logs is about sixteen feet which is the thickness of the Rampart. There is a Parapet raised on the Rampart of Logs, and the length of the Curtains is about 30 feet, and the Demigorge of the Bastions about eighty. The Fort is surrounded on the two sides that do not front the Water with a Ditch about 12 feet wide and very deep, because there being no covert way the Musquetters fire from thence having a Glacis before them.

When the News of Ensign Jumonville's Defeat reached us our company consisted of about 1400. Seven hundred of whom were ordered out under the command of Captain Mercier to attack Mr. Washington, after our return from the Meadows, a great number of the Soldiers who had been labouring at the Fort all the Spring were sent off in Divisions to the several Forts between that and Canada, and some of those that came down last were sent away to build a Fort somewhere on the Head of the Ohio, so that in October the Garrison at Du Quesne was reduced to 400 Men, who had Provisions enough at the Fort to last two years, notwithstanding a good deal of the Flour we brought down in the Spring proved to be damaged, and some of it spoiled by the rains that fell at that Time. In October last I had an opportunity of relieving myself and retiring, there were not then any Indians with the French but a considerable number were expected and said to be on their March thither.

[It is to remembered the French and Indians regarded the Allegheny and Ohio as the same river. The Buffaloe river was Le Bœuf, now French Creek].

Smollett's account of this first campaign of Washington ["A Complete History of England," Vol. II, pp. 142-143] reads:

Having thus exhibited a succinct view of the British colonies in North America, we shall now resume the thread of our history, and particularize the transactions by which the present year was distinguished on this extensive continent. The government of England having received nothing but evasive answers from the court of France, touching the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, despatched orders to all the governors of that country to repel force by force and drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio. Accordingly, the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania took this important affair into their consideration; but while they deliberated, the French vigorously prosecuted their designs on the other side of the mountains; they surprised Log's Town, which the Virginians had built upon the Ohio; made themselves masters of the block-house, and truck-house, where they found skins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, and destroyed all the British traders except two, who found means to escape. At the same time, M. de Contrecoeur, with a thousand men, and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived in three hundred canoes from Venango, a fort they had raised on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced by surprise a British fort which the Virginians had built on the forks of the Monongahela, that runs into the same river.

These hostilities were followed by divers skirmishes between the people of the two nations, which were fought with various success. At length the governors of the English settlements received orders from England to form a political confederacy, for their mutual defence; and the governor of New York was directed to confer with the chiefs

of the Six Nations, with a view to detach them from the French interest by dint of promises and presents of value, sent over for that purpose. A congress was accordingly appointed at Albany, to which place the governor of New York repaired, accompanied by commissioners from all other British settlements; but a very small number of Indians arrived, and even these seemed to be indifferent to the advances and exhortations that were made by the French orator. The truth is, the French had artfully weaned them from their attachments to the subjects of Great Britain. Nevertheless, they accepted the presents, renewed their treaties with the king of England, and even demanded his assistance in driving the French from the posts and possessions they had usurped within the Indian lands, Colonel Washington was detached from Virginia with four hundred men, and occupied a post on the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up some works, and erected a kind of occasional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himself in that situation, until he should be joined by a reinforcement from New York, which however, did not arrive.

While he remained in this situation, de Villier, a French commander, at the head of nine hundred men, being on his march to dislodge Washington, detached one Jumonville, an inferior officer, with a small party, and formal summons to Colonel Washington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French or their allies. So little regard was paid to this intimation, that the English fell upon this party, and, as the French affirm, without the least provocation, either slew or took the whole detachment. De Villier, incensed at these unprovoked hostilities, marched up to the attack, which Washington for some time sustained under manifold disadvantages. At length, however, he surrendered the fort upon capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers, as hostages, in the hands of the French, and in his retreat was terribly harassed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage, and massacred his people. This event was no sooner known in England, than the English ambassador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French ministry, as an open violation of the peace; but this representation had no effect.

Some additional facts of the careers of Christopher Gist and William Trent are relevant. Early in life Gist removed to North Carolina. He married Sarah Howard and they had five children, three sons, Nathaniel, Richard and Thomas, and two daughters, Anne and Violette. Gist, with his sons Nathaniel and Thomas, were present in the battle of the Monongahela, or Braddock's defeat, as we know it. In this expedition Gist was the chief guide of Braddock. Two Indians were persuaded to go out on a scouting expedition towards Fort Duquesne, and Gist soon followed them. On July 6 all three returned safely, having been within a half mile of the fort. Their favorable reports induced Braddock to advance. The fatal ambushade arranged by Beujeau at the cost of his life and Braddock's stubbornness that cost him his life, tell the sad story of defeat and disaster. After Braddock's defeat the frontier was left open to Indian raids and Gist raised a company of scouts in Virginia and Maryland and was called "captain" henceforth. In 1756 Gist was in North Carolina enlisting Cherokees for the English service and for a while served as Indian agent. He died in 1759 of smallpox, but the exact place is not known. It was in South Carolina or Georgia.

Richard Gist, his second son, was killed at the battle of King's Mountain during the Revolution. Thomas remained on the North Carolina plantation. His sister Anne remained with him until his death, when she joined her brother Nathaniel, who had moved to Kentucky. Nathaniel served in the Revolution as a colonial in the Virginia line and after the war became a Kentuckian. He died early in the nineteenth century.

Nathaniel Gist was the only one of Christopher's children who married. Biographers are silent as to Violette. She probably died young. Nathaniel had two sons, Henry Clay and Thomas Cecil Gist. His eldest daughter, Sarah, married Jesse Bledsoe, who became a United States Senator from Kentucky. In 1872 Bledsoe's grandson, B. Gratz Brown, was the candidate of the Democratic party for vice-president on the ticket with Horace Greeley. Colonel Nathaniel Gist's second daughter became the wife of Colonel Nathaniel Hart, a brother of Mrs. Henry Clay. The third daughter married Dr. Boswell of Lexington, Kentucky; the fourth, Francis P. Blair, and they were the parents of Montgomery Blair, postmaster-general in Lincoln's first cabinet, and General Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Civil War fame. The fifth daughter married Benjamin Gratz of Lexington. A very interesting family life and connection.

In 1755, the year of Braddock's defeat, Trent entered again the service of Pennsylvania and was a member of the proprietary and governor's council. Two years later Trent is back in the service of Virginia. He accompanied General Forbes in his successful expedition in 1758 that gave Pittsburgh its birth. His knowledge of the country was invaluable to Forbes. Trent remained about Fort Pitt engaged in the Indian trade until Pontiac's siege in 1763 during the French and Indian War. His large trading house outside the fort was destroyed by the Indians with great loss to him. He with all his dwellers outside of the fort took refuge within its walls. Trent was employed in military duties by Captain Simeon Ecuyer, the commandant of the fort. At the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, Trent was one of the beneficiaries of a large tract of land granted by the Iroquois. When the Revolutionary War began, Trent entered the service and was commissioned a major by the Continental Congress.

Sparks in his "Life and Writings of Washington" has placed in his second volume an extract from a journal published by the French government. This journal relates to the exploration of the country about the Ohio and events occurring here, and was printed in Paris in 1756. Its title is long beginning: "Memoire Contenant le Precis des Faits, etc." Sparks thought it of little credit, uncouth in style and faulty in its attempts to convey the sense of the original. A translation of an English edition reads: "A memorial containing a summary View of Facts, with their authorities, in answer to the 'Observations' sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe; Translated from the French, New York, printed and sold by H. Gaine, at the Printing Office of the Bible and Crown in Hanover Square, 1757."

An introduction called "An Advertisement to the Reader," states that there were three French volumes found in a French prize, a ship taken and brought into the port of New York. Hence the translation and the authenticity of these volumes cannot be doubted. They were published by order of the French King at the royal office. Neville B. Craig was furnished with a written copy of parts of this curious work by Mr. Sparks, supplying missing pages in a copy possessed by Judge James Veech, which Veech had loaned Craig. The "Memoire" contains

many official and other documents relating to the questions at issue and particularly selections from the manuscripts of Braddock and Washington captured at the battle of the Monongahela, July 9, 1755. Previous to 1755 six years had been spent in unavailing attempts at negotiations between England and France with the design of effecting a reconciliation of difficulties. It seems neither party was really anxious to avoid a war, although the French were magnanimous enough in many ways.

Hostilities commenced in time of peace and each nation charged the other with being the aggressor. Two French vessels en route to Canada were captured by the British admiral, Boscowen, and to justify this procedure, the British ministry sent out the "Observations." In this book the British maintained the French had actually begun the war by their encroachments with military forces on the Ohio. They referred to Washington's operations as the weak and small efforts of the English. These facts have all been reverted to in this work. To repel the charge of the British government and to prove the British had been first to transgress, was the object of this French "Memoire." It is obvious that the French were well informed of British intentions. They found them fully expressed in the documents captured with Braddock's baggage. It is equally obvious that had they destroyed these documents much of the history of the great events in this region in those years would have been lost.

Craig has given us 135 pages of this matter in "The Olden Time," and it is a mine of wealth for historians. We find in the extracts much relating to the Marquis du Quesne de Menneville, and much about the "murder of Jumonville" by Washington. We find Duquesne spelled Du Quesne when it refers to the fort and du Quesne referring to the marquis with the title prefixed.

It is noticeable in Washington's Journal, which the French reproduced, the mention of Ensign Ward as "Wart" throughout, and Craig does not correct him, but says in a footnote that Ward is meant. Washington was a phonetic speller.¹⁵

The exhaustive treatment of the French claims appeals to us as scholarly and the deduction seems reasonable if we accept their premises. They go back to the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle and tell of the invasion of the English traders in the French country about the Ohio. They also tell of Celoron's expedition and the moderation of the governor, the Count de Galissoniere, and other French authorities. One statement puts the gist of the French claim in a few words, to wit:

The Ohio, or La Belle Riviere, as it is sometimes called, forms a natural communication between Canada and Louisiana by Lake Erie, the French being concerned both to discover and preserve that communication, were the first that traced out the whole course of that river, part of which was visited by M. de la Salle, a gentleman of Normandy, in the year 1679. In 1712, the King in his Letters Patent for the settling of Louisiana comprehended the River Wabash which empties itself into the Ohio and in general, all the rivers that fall into the Mississippi. Since that time, the Ohio has never been frequented by any but the French, nor did the English ever make any pretensions

¹⁵"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 140, *et seq.* "Life and Writings of Washington;" Sparks, Vol. II, p. 21. See Parkman's citations also, in Vol. I, "Montcalm and Wolfe."

to the lands watered by it. The Appalachian Mountains have always been looked upon as the bounds of their colonies.

That brings us to the story of La Salle, and the evidence that he was ever at the Forks of the Ohio is so slight that it would be rejected in a court of justice. He was on other parts of the Ohio beyond a doubt, hence it will not be discussed here. However, that is a long drawn-out historical controversy and the libraries are full of books relative to La Salle.

Concluding the story of Washington's first campaign, we may have recourse to the remarks of Samuel Adams Drake: "It thus fell out that the building of a log fort to command the Ohio had brought on actual war. The struggle for the possession of the Great West now passed from words to deeds. But with their unbroken chain of posts, their depots so conveniently placed, their Indian alliances so secured by the prestige of a first success, the French entered upon the conflict with strong advantage."

Drake quotes Thackeray: "It was strange that in a savage forest of Pennsylvania, a young Virginia officer should fire a shot and waken up a war which was to last for sixty years, to cost France her American colonies, to sever ours from us, to create the great Western Republic, to rage over the Old World when extinguished in the New, and of all the myriads engaged in the vast contest, to leave the prize of the greatest fame with him who struck the first blow."¹⁶

¹⁶"Making of Ohio Valley States;" Drake, p. 58. "The Virginians;" W. M. Thackeray, Vol. I. Harper Ed., 1914, p. 51.



CHAPTER XV.

Two Famous Hostages.

The hostages given at the capitulation of Fort Necessity July 3, 1754, became the sources of pages of history. Robert Stobo and Jacob Van Braam, Scot and Dutchman, captains by appointment of Governor Dinwiddie in Washington's regiment of Virginia troops, voluntary or involuntary chosen for the purpose, little thought they would be subjected to hardships, privations and finally imprisonment and long suffering. Ordinarily the status of a hostage is one of ease. In the camps and garrisons of his enemy keepers he is on his honor not to reveal the secrets unavoidably brought to his notice. His case is one of detention only with a degree of liberty consistent with his character and standing as a soldier. Stobo violated all the traditions of a hostage, and while his letter-writing with a plan of Fort Duquesne and specific information of affairs there, was more than indiscreet, it was successful, and the information most valuable to the English. Stobo and his fellow hostage would not have been long detained had Governor Dinwiddie adhered to the terms of the capitulation of July 3rd and released M. la Force and the cadets taken at the Jumonville affair in May, but Dinwiddie absolutely refused to release them. La Force was too valuable to the enemy, and must be kept or he would make trouble again. Washington knew La Force well, and Van Braam also, and how much La Force was missed became apparent at once to the astute Stobo when he reached Fort Duquesne. After a short detention at the fort, and finding Dinwiddie was determined to hold the French officers, Stobo and Van Braam were sent to Quebec, where they enjoyed a large measure of liberty and had a good time, though it must have been monotonous at times. In the fortune of war, Stobo's duplicity was revealed to the French, as will appear. Unmistakably he stood revealed as a spy, and then his liberty was cut short. He was tried as a spy and received the usual sentence of death, but the findings of the court that condemned him had to be reviewed in France and approved by the proper authorities there. Events of greater moment occupied the constant attention of the French ministry, and the case of an obscure English officer in far-off Canada did not require prompt action. He was in prison and could be disposed of any time. This in time of peace, for though the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was still intact, both England and France were preparing for another outbreak. Formal declaration of war did not come until a year after Braddock's battle. We behold the anomalous state of a hostage in time of peace condemned as a spy. No historian, however, has characterized this peace as a profound peace.

The victorious French under De Villiers returned to Fort Duquesne the way they went out, taking Stobo and Van Braam along. Stobo was but a short time at the fort when he found opportunity to send out two letters. He furnished timely information and an accurate plan of the fort.

He is philosophic and much too patriotic. From his first letter we may quote:

When we engaged to serve our country, it was expected we were to do it with our lives. Let them not be disappointed. Consider the good of the expedition, without the least regard to us. For my part I would rather die a thousand deaths, to have the pleasure of possessing this Fort one day. They are so vain of their success at the Meadows, it is worse than death to hear them. Strike this fall as soon as possible. Make the Indians ours. Prevent intelligence. Get the best and 'tis done. 100 trusty Indians might surprise this Fort. They have access all day, and might lodge themselves so that they might secure the guard with tomahawks; shut the sally gate, and the Fort is ours. None but the guard and Contrecoeur stay in the Fort. For God's sake communicate this to but few and them you can trust. Intelligence comes here unaccountably. If they should know I wrote I would lose the little liberty I have. I should be glad to hear from you. But take no notice of this in yours.

Stobo said "Springes" had been at the fort, probably meaning Shingiss. There is no other mention of Springes in our pre-colonial history. It is most apparent Stobo knew the risks he was taking. The Indian who cunningly got the letter through was a brother-in-law of Monacatootha, or Scarroady, as he is most frequently mentioned in the history of those days. In the second letter to Dinwiddie, written the very next day, Stobo gives this Indian's name—"Long, or Mono." The second letter went by Delaware George. Stobo is newsy in this letter; also fearsome. He has heard that the Half King and Monacatootha had been killed and their families given to the Cherokees as slaves. He wishes for peace between the Catawbias and the nations about the fort, saying the French are much afraid of the Catawbias, and goes on to say:

You had as just a plan of the fort as time and opportunity would allow. The French manage the Indians with the greatest artifice. I mentioned yesterday a council the Shawanese had with the French, the present they gave (wampum, ammunition, guns, clothing, etc.), and if they made the French a speech, the bearer, who was present, will inform you to what purport.

If yesterday's letter reaches you it will give you a particular account of most things.

The Indians have great liberty here; they go out and in when they please without notice. If 100 trusty Shawanese, Mingoes and Delawares were picked out they might surprise the fort.

All this you have more particular in yesterday's account. Your humble servant, etc.

La Force is greatly missed here. Let the good of the expedition be considered preferable to our safety. Haste to strike.

A list of deserters and prisoners to the French followed. On one of Capt. Mercer's company, John Ramsey, Stobo is severe. He says:

This man is the cause of all our misfortunes. He deserted the day before the battle. The French got to Gist's at dawn of day, surrounding the fort, imagining we were still there, gave a general fire. But when they found we were gone they were determined to return with all expedition, thinking we had returned to the inhabitants—when up comes Mr. Driscall,¹ told them he had deserted the day before, and the regiment was still at the Meadows, in a starving condition which caused his deserting, and hearing they were coming, deserted to them. They confined him. Told him if true he should be rewarded, if false hanged. This I had from the English interpreters.

¹Craig thinks this name a misprint for "rascal:" the sense implies that some epithet be used. No Driscall is mentioned previously and the reference is plainly to Ramsey. See "Olden Time," Vol. II, p. 61. "History of Pittsburgh," original edition, p. 37, the words "Mr. Rascall" occur and so followed in the edition of 1917.

From Stobo's account it can be readily deduced that the French under De Villiers had little fear in the taking of Washington's Fort Necessity, which in name alone tells of his desperate condition.

Stobo also relates the fate of some of the prisoners and traders captured by the French and Indians. Some of those allotted to the Indians were offered for sale; "40 pistoles each." "A good ransom," commented Stobo. A pistole was a Spanish gold coin worth 16 shillings. Some of the wounded died and four prisoners were shot. Stobo remonstrated several times with Contrecoeur, but to no purpose. In view of the capitulation, Stobo claimed the French had no right to make them prisoners. Contrecoeur replied they belonged to the Indians and he could not get them from them.

The expedition was almost a year in coming to take the fort, and then it did not accomplish the purpose for which it was sent. One word tells the story—the name of the commander—Braddock. Stobo's fears that ill would come to him if these letters should ever come to the knowledge of the French were destined to be fulfilled.

Copies of the letters and Stobo's plan of Fort Duquesne had been given to Gen. Braddock, the plan a most important requisite. All of Braddock's baggage fell into the hands of the enemy and with it the plans and the letters and they were published.

Stobo had made use of his non-combatant status as a hostage in the character of a spy. Naturally the kind treatment of his captors ceased. They were justly incensed. Previous to the battle on the Monongahela, Stobo and Van Braam had been sent to Quebec.

From Craig's introduction to the edition of Stobo's Memoirs published by him in Pittsburgh in 1854 these extracts are taken. They tell their own story:

On the 3rd of July, 1754, the English garrison withdrew from the basin of the Ohio, and then, in the eloquent language of Bancroft, "In the whole valley of the Mississippi to its headsprings in the Allegheny, no standard floated but that of France." Such was the condition of affairs in this region when Stobo and Van Braam were conveyed as prisoners and hostages to Fort Duquesne, within the site of our present city, truly the prospects of poor Stobo were then gloomy and discouraging indeed. Of Van Braam's fidelity some doubts have perhaps unjustly been entertained. These doubts whether well or ill founded must always blunt the keenness of our conviction of his feelings.

But of Stobo's feeling no doubt can exist. His whole future life, so far as we have any knowledge of it, proves him to have been an ardent lover of his country and a most enterprising and daring man. Cut off as he was in Fort Duquesne from all direct intercourse with his countrymen, surrounded by Frenchmen and Indians, it could scarcely be expected that he would be disposed to think of anything but escape. He, however, was a man of indomitable spirit, and even while thus secluded, instead of sinking into despondency and listless inactivity, he spent his time in writing letters stimulating his countrymen to action and furnishing information necessary to success.

Craig is wrong in stating that Stobo was a prisoner at Fort Duquesne, and it is plainly evident that Stobo was over-zealous—far too ardent. Better, indeed, had he not employed his time in stimulating his countrymen, and the time thus spent must have been brief. Craig proceeds to say: "When the writer of this article (himself) first read those letters,

he was deeply impressed with the noble, devoted, self-sacrificing spirit manifested by him."

Craig might have added that the French were deeply impressed also—but in another way; but Craig has more to say in this particular:

The writer of this article was first struck with admiration at the lofty spirit and disinterested patriotism exhibited in these letters. Then when he reflected upon the information they contain, the urgent counsel to action they give, his admiration combined with surprise and curiosity. Surprise at the daring of Stobo in writing such information and trusting it in the hands of Indians who might be treacherous, or even if faithful, might be suspected by the French and searched. Curiosity to know how in the midst of enemies in the petty hostile fort he could find means to write such letters and prepare a plan of the fort which would be so useful to an attacking army. Had he been detected in writing these letters or preparing the plan, or had Mono, or Delaware George proved treacherous, and betrayed the author, his condition would have been greatly altered for the worse.

Strong evidence would be required to convince us that such letters and a plan were really prepared under such circumstances. In this case, however, there is no room for doubt. The letters and plans were received by Colonel Washington in due time. Copies were sent to the Executive of Pennsylvania and subsequently also furnished to General Braddock. After his defeat July 9, 1755, these papers fell into the hands of the enemy and were sent to France and from thence to Quebec where Stobo was then confined, and there placed his life in great jeopardy.

The letters are to be found in the Colonial Records (Vol. VI, p. 161, et seq.), as Craig states, and the plan in the Pennsylvania Archives, first series. They have been placed by Craig in his "History of Pittsburgh" and in "The Olden Time," to which reference will be had. To proceed with Craig's remarks:

From the first reading of these letters the writer of this introduction was seized with an anxious long desire to know more about the high spirited, self-sacrificing patriot and soldier who wrote them. Never has this desire ceased to exist. From David Hume's letter to Smollett the writer learned that Stobo had met some remarkable adventures. What these adventures, were still unknown until through the kindness of a friend and the aid of Mr. James McHenry, a son of Dr. McHenry, the novelist and poet, formerly of this city (Pittsburgh), a worthy and enterprising merchant of Liverpool, a manuscript copy of the Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo was obtained from the British Museum. This is now republished in Pittsburgh, near the site of Fort Duquesne, where Stobo was confined as a prisoner, just one hundred years ago. The letters are not given in the "Memoirs," but copies of those letters and of the plan of the fort taken from the records at Harrisburg are now introduced and a very few notes are also added. It is hoped that such a notice of the man who began his eventful career here and who displayed such a noble spirit, will not prove uninteresting.

Surely it has not. In the lapse of years the interest becomes more keen.

Craig next reverts to the Whisky Insurrection, comparing another Scotchman here, who wrote letters, with Stobo to the detriment of the former. Plainly Hugh Henry Brackenridge is referred to, subsequently (1800-1816) justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Craig's closing paragraphs of his "Introduction" are:

We all know the future fortune of the shrewd and more subtle North Briton. He rose to a distinguished station, but of the faithful and heroic Stobo we have no knowledge. Where were his later years passed? Did he long survive the capture of Quebec? Or did his fiery spirit soon wear out his earthly tabernacle? Did the British

government overlook his past services or was he employed in some distant portion of their widespread dominions? These are all questions which the writer would gladly have answered.

N. B. C.

Craig's questions are answered in this chapter.

In a paragraph in the Appendix to the "Memoirs," Craig says:

My friend Lyman C. Draper, in an article in Vol. I, of "The Olden Time," labored with a zeal creditable to his feelings, and with all that ability which he possesses, to exculpate Van Braam. I fear his task is a hopeless one. He relies much upon Burk's "History of Virginia" (poor authority) and upon the expression, "we" and "us" in Stobo's two letters. These he supposes to refer to Stobo and Van Braam, and Burk says they escaped together from Quebec. But Van Braam's name is never mentioned by Stobo. Besides, Lieut. Lyons, who was sent to Fort Duquesne with a flag of truce, reported that on that day he left the fort, Stobo was sent to Montreal, but said nothing about Van Braam. The mistranslation of the word "assassine" in the articles of capitulation at Fort Necessity, the vote of the Virginia Assembly, the subsequent silence of Van Braam, and his never reappearing in the colonies, leave little ground to believe him to have been a true man. N. B. C.²

Craig admitted having been intensely interested in the story of Stobo and in the man himself long before the publication of Stobo's Memoirs. In the "Olden Time," Craig has inserted pages concerning the famous hostage.

Perhaps it was this interest that led Craig to secure the copy of Stobo's Memoirs three years after Craig published his "History of Pittsburgh," and six years after "The Olden Time" had been discontinued.

Among the many items published by him in "The Olden Time" is this one:

CAPTAIN STOBO.—This personage, who was with Washington at the time of the surrender of Fort Necessity, and who was then given up as a hostage to the French, has always been a subject of interest and curiosity to us. His letters written from Fort Duquesne while he was a prisoner, the fearless spirit which he displayed in those letters, his great anxiety that the place should be recaptured, reckless of its effect upon himself, has always excited a strong interest in our mind for further information about him. We have made many inquiries about him, but have never until recently heard a word more about him. We had never found person of the name of Stobo, so that we could not even learn what countryman he was.

A short time since, however, we were on a visit to our aged mother in the country, who has a very respectable old fashioned library, and while there happened to pick up an early volume of the "Port Folio" and upon opening it, the very first words that met our eye were "Captain Stobo." Our attention, of course, was arrested, and we found the following extract of a letter from David Hume to Dr. Tobias Smollet, dated:

Ragley, 21st September, 1768.

I did not see your friend, Captain Stobo, till the day before I left Cirencester, and only for a little time; but he seemed to be a man of good sense and has surely had extraordinary adventures in the world. He has promised to call on me when he comes to London, and I shall always see him with pleasure.

We were struck with the singularity of the whole matter. We entertained no doubt that this was our Captain Stobo, and are equally confident that he was a Scotchman; so we are a little wiser than we were. Perhaps if we could get the correspondence of Smollet, we could learn something more about him. Will not some our Scotch friends give us some aid in the search after the gallant Captain Stobo's adventures? He

²"Memoirs of Stobo;" Appendix, Craig's own footnote, p. 79. See "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 369, *et seq.*

appeared "extraordinary" to the great historian Hume, and would surely be interesting on the site of Fort Duquesne.⁸

Craig's text of the letters reads:

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN STOBO, JULY 28, 1754.

The Indians are greatly alarmed at a report said to be brought up by an Indian named Tuscarora John. He reports that the Half-King Monecatootha, and a Shawanese King, etc., to the number of 37, were confined by the English and carried as prisoners. That John Meinors, alias Jacob Cork, of Montour's company, told him as soon as they got them to the inhabitants they would hang them all, and advised him to make his escape. This was industriously reported the day before the Shawanese counselled with the French and their Indians. The French made them a very long and eloquent speech; telling them they did not come to make war with them, but the English would not let them alone. That they expected their children would not see their father abused in his old age; but that if they had a mind to join the English they might; that if they had a mind to live in peace with all, there were goods for them. This was all I could pick up. The French gave two very large belts of Wampum and as many strings. Their Indians gave an equal number. The French likewise gave them a large present, viz: 16 very fine guns, 2 barrels of gunpowder, and bullets in proportion, 16 fine suits of clothes, several of a meaner kind, blankets, strouds, etc. The Shawanese made no answer at that time, nor have I heard they have as yet. 'Tis now reported for certain, that the Half-King etc., are killed, and their wives and children given up to the barbarity of the Cherokees and Catawbias, of whom they say there are 300 at the new store. True or false, it has greatly alarmed them, and had it not been for that report, I believe a great many Indians and several nations would have been with you now. If true (which I cannot think) there will be no farther dependence on any Indians in this way, and will make our return very hazardous, but that is not to be considered. The Shawanese, Picts and Delawares have had a grand council by themselves; what they have determined I know not; but I have persuaded some of them to venture to see you, by assuring them they will be used in the best manner, and there is large presents at the new store. A present well timed now, will be of great service. If peace be made with the Indians, Catawbias and Cherokees, I hope all will go well. I assure you there was not any of those Indians we call ours at the battle, except six or seven. I believe of the Mingo nation, two fellows not regarded by them, particularly one English John; he was at Gist's with those that were suspected as spies. I am informed he intends to see you with some of the rest. Take care of them. I send this by Monecatootha's brother-in-law; a worthy fellow; and may be trusted. On the other side, you have a draft of the Fort, such as time and opportunity would admit of at this time. The garrison consists of 200 workmen, and all the rest went in several detachments to the number of 1000, two days hence. Mercier, a fine soldier, goes; so that Contrecoeur with a few young officers and cadets remain here. A Lieut. went off some days ago, with 200 men, for provisions. He is daily expected. When he arrives, the garrison will be 400 men. La Force is greatly wanted here—no scouting now—he certainly must have been an extraordinary man amongst them—he is so much regretted and wished for. When we engaged to serve the country, it was expected we were to do it with our lives. Let them not be disappointed. Consider the good of the expedition, without the least regard to us. For my part, I would die a thousand deaths, to have the pleasure of possessing this Fort but one day. They are so vain of their success at the Meadows, it is worse than death to hear them. Strike this fall as soon as possible. Make the Indians ours. Prevent intelligence. Get the best, and tis done. 100 trusty Indians might surprise this Fort. They have access all day, and might lodge themselves so that they might secure the guard with tomahawks; shut the sally gate, and the Fort is ours. None but the guard and Contrecoeur, stay in the Fort. For God's sake communicate this to but few, and them you can trust. Intelligence comes here unaccountably. If they should know I wrote, I would lose the liberty I have. I should be glad to hear from you, but take no

⁸The "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 283. The "Port Folio" was a magazine of a century ago.

notice of this in your's. Excuse errors, bad diction, etc. Pray be kind to this Indian. Springes and Delaware George have been here. (A plan of the fort follows.)

SECOND LETTER DATED FORT DUQUESNE, JULY 29, 1754.

Sir—I wrote you yesterday by an Indian named the Long or Mono; he will be with you in seven days. This goes by Delaware George. If these discharge their trust they ought to be well awarded. The purport of yesterday's letter was to inform you of a report, and I hope false, which greatly alarms the Indians; that the Half-King, and Monecatoota are killed, their wives and children given to the Cherokees. I wish a peace may be made up between the Catawbias and the nations here; they are much afraid of them. Many would have joined you ere now had it not been for that report. You had as just a plan of the fort as time and opportunity would allow. The French manage the Indians with great artifice. I mentioned yesterday a council the Shawanese had with the French, the present they gave, and if they made the French a speech yesterday, the bearer, who was present, will inform you to what purport. If yesterday's letter reaches you it will give you a particular account of most things. I have scarce a minute; therefore can add only one more thing; there are about 200 men here at this time, 200 more expected in a few days; the rest went off in several detachments to the amount of 1000 besides the Indians. The Indians have great liberty here; they go out and in when they please without notice. If 100 trusty Shawanese, Mingoes and Delawares were picked out, they might surprise the Fort, lodging themselves under the platform behind the palisades by day, and at night secure the guard with the tomahawks. The guard consists of 40 men only and 5 officers. None lodge in the Fort but the guards, except Contrecoeur—the rest in bark cabins around the Fort. All this you have more particular in yesterday's account. Your humble servant, La Force is greatly missed here. Let the good of the expedition be considered preferable to our safety. Haste to strike.

A list of deserters and prisoners at the French Fort:

Mercer's company—John Smith, John Baker. Did not get here till after the detachment of deserters.

Vanbraam's do—Barnabas Deven.

Mercer's do.—Jacob Arants, John Ramsey. This man is the cause of all our misfortunes. He deserted the day before the battle. The French got to Gist's at dawn, surrounding the Fort, imagining we were still there, gave a general fire. But when they found we were gone, they were determined to return to the inhabitants—when up comes Mr. Rascal, told them he had deserted the day before, and the regiment was still at the Meadows, in a starving condition, which caused his deserting, and hearing they were coming, deserted to them. They confined him—told him if true he should be rewarded, if false, hanged. This I had from the English interpreters.

Mechas' do—John Stuerdfages, wounded in the right arm.

Montour's do—Daniel Laferty, Henry O'Brien, prisoners.

Taken at Guest's by an Indian named English John, Lowrey's traders, Andrew M'Briar, Nehemiah Stevens, John Kennedy, Elizabeth Williams.

The Indians offered their prisoners for sale. Enquired the price—40 pistoles for each. A good ransom.

All sent to Canada in custody of the Indian who took them, except John Kennedy; he was given to the Owl to wait upon while his leg was curing. He was wounded with ten others, and four Indians. All are recovering but one, who died after having his arm cut off. Four were shot on the spot. That is all the loss I can hear of. On the 3rd three of the people deserted. I hope they all got with you by this time. I hear more intend it soon. I spoke to the commander several times concerning the prisoners, telling him as long as we came to a capitulation, he had no right to make them prisoners—he told me they were the Indians' and he could not get them from them.⁴

Something in the way of biography is now pertinent concerning Stobo, and some estimates of his character other than Craig's, who became a hero worshiper, with Stobo the object of his encomiums.

⁴"History of Pittsburgh," N. B. Craig, Original Edition, pp. 33-40; Edition 1917, pp. 19-24. "The Olden Time," Vol. I, pp. 59-62. "Mechas'" Stobo's spelling of Mackaye's.

It appears from his Memoirs that Stobo was born at, or near, Glasgow, Scotland, in 1727. His father was a merchant and Robert was his only son. His mother died when he was young. He was a delicate child. He early inclined to a spirit of adventure. He was sent by some Glasgow merchants to serve in a store in Virginia, being perfectly willing. Subsequently he sold his property in Glasgow and engaged in business on his own account in Virginia. Leading a gay life, in modern parlance "having a good time," his business did not prosper. However, he fell in with Gov. Dinwiddie, a fellow-countryman, with whom he became a great favorite. In 1754, when Stobo was 27 years of age, Dinwiddie appointed him the senior captain in the Virginia regiment for service on the border. This brought him under the command of Washington.

At Quebec, as at Fort Duquesne, Stobo and Van Braam had a measure of liberty. Stobo made good use of his opportunities and later we shall hear of him in an event that changed the map of North America. With the defeat of Braddock came misfortune to Stobo. He was put in close confinement. So too, Van Braam. At times they were fed only on bread and water. Ordinarily they were allowed a pound of bread and a pound of horse flesh a day. It occurring to the French that Stobo was deserving of severe punishment he was tried and convicted as a spy and sentenced to be executed. Delays ensued in the carrying out of the sentence, but the rigor of his confinement was made more so. In a most remarkable manner Stobo and a companion escaped, and after various hardships arrived at Louisburg on the island of Cape Breton. Here he learned that Gen. Wolfe had left with his army for Quebec with the object of capturing that city. Stobo immediately returned to Quebec, joining the expedition in the siege.

Let us bring our imaginations into play and behold a drama unique in the history of war. We see a procession of boats filled with English soldiers steered silently down a mighty river. It is night. The stars are out but the darkness is impressive. In one of the foremost boats sits Gen. James Wolfe, going to his death. Close at hand is the erstwhile prisoner of Fort Duquesne, the unconquerable Stobo. To relieve the intense strain of his mind the general recites "Gray's Elegy," among the verses the line soon to be illustrated by his own fate: "The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

The flotilla nears its destination and will soon safely land its army of scarlet uniforms. The tide is bearing the boats towards the shore; a mighty wall of rock towers in the darkness on their left. The stillness is broken: "*Qui Vive!*" is the sharp resonant challenge from an alert sentry on the shore, invisible in the gloom. "France," calmly responds the Highland officer appointed to that duty because he understood French.

The sentry was a soldier—a true son of Old France. "*A quel regiment?*" ("What regiment?") he demands. "*De la Reine,*" responded the imperturbable Highlander, with the injunction: "Hush! We have provisions. You will expose us to the English." A second challenge followed; this time the sentry could be seen running down to the water's edge. Like questions were asked and like answers given.

The Queen's regiment was well known, and the custom of the French in landing provisions by river was fully known to their soldiers. It had been revealed to Wolfe by deserters. The sentry expecting provision boats was satisfied and did not ask the password.

They land at the appointed place selected by Stobo, accepted by Wolfe. It is at the foot of the cliffs at a little cove, Anse de Foulon. There was no sentry there.

The Scotchman, Stobo, leads the way up the cliffs, Wolfe and the officers following. They find, at length, the path barricaded.

Col. Howe, afterwards the antagonist of Washington on Long Island, with twenty-four daring spirits, gained the heights by climbing. It was a forlorn hope, but it succeeded and at the first sound of musketry the soldiers with Wolfe tore away the barricades and toiled up the cliffs, Wolfe among the first.⁵

The world has long known the story of Quebec. There is evidence that Stobo did not engage in the battle that followed, for in his "Memoirs" this paragraph is to be found:

The Major's service at Quebec was all obedience to command, and information, to his great patron, best, and almost only known; he pointed out the place to land, where afterwards they did, and were successful; and having contributed all that's in his power to this great work, the General wants a courier to dispatch for General Amherst, and he's the only one that's found that knows the route by which they needs must pass, and straight his business is imparted, and he has leave to go. Kind recommending letters, too, he bore from his great Patron, to the other General. Now from his worthy noble Patron he must separate, and separate from his fortune too; for sure as he had faced the enemy in field of battle, so sure he'd fallen, as known by sight by every soldier in Quebec.⁶

Bradley, a recent historian, says:

Wolfe, however, was chafing sorely under a sense of impotence. Montcalm would not stir. Why should he? And there seemed no single point at which he was even reasonably vulnerable to a far inferior force. Only one man in the army knew the enemy's ground, and that was Stobo, who was Washington's brother officer in the very first blow struck in this war at Fort Necessity. He had been left at Fort Duquesne as a hostage on that occasion, whence he had been forwarded to Quebec. He was now at Wolfe's side, with a local knowledge that must have been acceptable.⁷

Craig has also these footnotes:

Extract from the journal of Captain Jno. Knox, of the British army during the campaigns of 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760, in North America.

Under date of August 26, 1759, says: "A gentleman at Quebec has written to a Provincial Officer who was a prisoner there, to request he would obtain a protection from the General for his country seat on the Island of Orleans; as that person was always remarkable for great humanity and politeness to British captives, his suit is cheerfully granted."

Here this note is appended by Captain Knox: "This is Mr. Stobo, an officer of great merit, who had been an occasional Major of the Provincials, and for particular good services, was rewarded with a company in the fifteenth regiment of foot."⁸

⁵Cf. "Montcalm and Wolfe," Champlain Edition, Vol. III, pp. 130, 131.

⁶"Memoirs Major Stobo;" Craig's Edition, p. 71.

⁷"Fight with France for North America;" A. G. Bradley, p. 307.

⁸"Memoirs of Major Stobo;" edited by Neville B. Craig; footnote, p. 69.

The adventures of Stobo in Quebec and his escape make too long a story. It can be read in Sir Gilbert Parker's novel, "The Seats of the Mighty," where Stobo masquerades as Captain Moray.

In Stobo's "Memoirs" after he had gained the welcome port of Louisburg, thirty-eight days out from Quebec, the narrative proceeds thus:

No sooner is he landed, than straight the news run through the town that Captain Stobo has escaped from Quebec, and is just arrived, but it's believed by none, and several run to see if such a thing could happen; and some who had formerly known him, assure the rest that he's the very man, to their great wonder and amaze, after such a great price was set upon his head, and guarded with such care. But now the schooner's to be sold, and she had furs and sundry other valuable goods, besides the vessel; his share he generously bestowed on the poor woman and children, as he has nobler gains in view: his heart still glows for honor in the service of his country.

Two days or so were passed, and then a vessel's ready to proceed to Quebec; this wished for opportunity is embraced at once, and he's on board; and now, with equal ardor, wishes for the place he strove so hard to shun. No danger on the river is now dreaded, nor yet the light of day, and naught disturbs his rest by thinking on the tedious hours that keep him from his duty, and hinder him to join his troops with their united force to take Quebec and strive to join all Canada to Britain. At length the different Islands take it in their turn to stand astern, and every land-mark's past, and now fair Orleans is again in view, and with Britannia's lofty fleet adorn'd; a cheerful sight, indeed! Now here no time was lost till he was waited on Britannia's effective General, immortal Wolfe, and thus addresses him:

Most excellent sir, I am glad this honor falls to me, to stand before my sovereign's mighty General, under the hostile walls of this proud city, whence, on the 1st of May, I did escape from a long imprisonment and harder usage. My name is Stobo; I stand as Major of the Provincial Regiment of Virginia; through much difficulty I went to Louisburg, there to join your troops, but missing them, I hastened back, and now presume to lay my service at your feet. I believe who knows what I have suffered within these walls, scarce well can doubt my best endeavors, under your direction, to discuss this cruel enemy. My knowledge of the town and its environs has cost me very dear, but not so much that I should rate it once in competition with my much loved country, and our gracious sovereign.

No more he said, his story was no secret, he is judged necessary, well received, and constantly attends the General, and of his house makes one. But here his name, like many a gallant soldier's, is hid in the great splendor of the mighty Wolfe, who, like the sun with universal blaze, advancing from the East, absorbs in light of all the lesser luminaries, who, though they shine, it is in his great orb, and only serve to constitute one single ray of his triumph glory, the praise was justly his.⁹

Dr. Toner, editor of Washington's Journals, seems to have studied Stobo's personality, for he says:

His traits of gayety did not further his commercial enterprises. Into the service he carried his hospitable disposition providing himself liberally for the campaign. He had ten servants, mechanics whom he had enlisted, and provided a covered wagon which he filled with every necessary to make the mountainous deserts of the Alleghenies as agreeable as the situation would admit. On the march and in the field he kept open table which was liberally supplied by the hunters whom he employed for the purpose. With his other provisions he had a whole butt of Madeira wine. With all his conviviality he was discreet and by his devotion to the service and attention to duty, won the good opinion of his brother officers as well as the enlisted men. With all he had a daring and adventurous disposition and had projects for the employment of a corps of mechanics wherever the English should build forts. It was his courageous disposition

⁹"Memoirs of Stobo;" Craig, pp. 65-67.

that led him to offer to be one of the hostages that he might have an opportunity for studying the country about Fort Duquesne. His plans were thwarted by long imprisonment and the coming on of war. He proved an active and efficient officer in the camp and superintended the construction of the trenches, rifle pits and breastworks at Fort Necessity. He bore a conspicuous and honorable part in the battle of the Great Meadows and gave a ready assent, if he did not actually solicit to be one of the hostages. At this juncture he had no further use for his sword and presented it with becoming remarks to the lieutenant of his own company, William Polson, and begged him not to spare it when opportunity offered to draw it in behalf of his country. As Polson gallantly fell with Braddock, the sword was finally restored to Stobo long after his escape from Quebec and Stobo ever after wore it with singular esteem. Stobo was commissioned major July 20, 1754, and so called after that date. His long imprisonment without any efforts on the part of Virginia or Great Britain for his release, his fortitude while in confinement and his escape from the French—all went to invest him with the character of a hero. On Stobo's return to Virginia, he was remitted the full amount of his account by the House of Burgesses with interest from the time the money was first advanced.

One may spend little time in learning where Toner got his information. He found it in the little Memoir of Stobo as reprinted by Craig in Pittsburgh, and especial reference may be had therein to pages 16-17.

Sargent has a brief note regarding Stobo in his "Introductory Memoir, etc." He says:

At last he escaped from captivity (whether with or without Van Braam is not certainly known to the writer) and after a series of romantic adventures reached England. His "Memoirs" were there published, a reprint of which has lately been given at Pittsburgh by Mr. Neville Craig. The only remaining feature in his story that has been discovered is the fact that on June 5th, 1760, he was made a captain in the 15th Foot, (Amherst's regiment) then serving in America, which position he held as late as 1765. He was an eccentric creature, an acquaintance of David Hume, and a friend of Smollett, to whom he is said to have sate for the character of the immortal Lismahago. As for Van Braam his career is still more obscure. Denounced as a traitor for his agency in the capitulation of Fort Necessity, it must not be forgotten that three weeks before the surrender, Washington, to whom he had served as interpreter on the mission of 1753, pronounced him "an experienced good officer and very worthy of the command he has enjoyed;" that he consented to going as a hostage to the French with the certainty of his fraud being soon discovered by his own party had he committed one; that he was detained rather as a prisoner than a hostage and that he risked his life to return to the English. These facts do not exculpate him from the charge of imbecility but they are inconsistent with the assumption of his deliberate treason. In 1770, too, it would appear that he claimed and obtained his share of the Virginia bounty lands with Washington as commissioner and the 14th of June, 1777, was made Major of the Third Battalion of the 60th Foot or Royal Americans then stationed in the West Indies.¹⁰

The theory may be advanced to clear Van Braam of turpitude, that he, an indifferent French scholar, may have been puzzled by the word "*l'assassinat*" and was given another word in explanation of its meaning, the substantives, *trepas* or *mort*, or the verb *egorger*, for instance, which was altogether natural and not improbable. Why should he prove false to Washington? No motives have been shown for an infamous act. Washington seems to have smarted under the humiliation of defeat, and the charge of deliberate murder made against him by the French increased his indignation against the unfortunate Van Braam,

¹⁰"History of Braddock's Expedition;" Winthrop Sargent, p. 53.

whose previous career was marked by more than an ordinary degree of fidelity.

Capt. Lishmahago, the superannuated half-pay officer in the novel, "The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker," will appeal to readers of Smollett as "the best preserved and most severe of all that novelist's characters." Smollett, however, as a historian is more than half forgotten and as a novelist is little read. "Lishmahago" may have been suggested by Stobo. Toner says that "Capt. Stobo left Virginia for England February 18, 1760. June 5th he was made captain of the 15th Foot, Amherst's regiment and served in the West Indies in 1762. He returned to England in 1767. He left the army that year and died three years later."¹¹

It is a far cry from Pittsburgh to Quebec, but Stobo, the hostage, and Wolfe, the general, have been linked indissolubly in the happenings of September 12, 1759. Quebec was the climateric act in the great drama of war of which Fort Duquesne was the first. Had there been no Fort Duquesne there would have been no hostages. Had there been no Fort Duquesne there would have been no Pittsburgh. It would have been something else in some other way. Perhaps a way of peace. Pittsburgh was born in war.

In November, 1759, the Virginia Assembly passed the following resolution:

Resolved; That the sum of £1,000 be paid by the treasurer of this colony to Capt. Robert Stobo, over and above the pay that is due him from the time of his rendering himself a hostage to this day as a reward for his zeal to his country, and a recompense for the great hardships he has suffered during his confinement in the enemy's country.

Poor Van Braam was a prisoner for six years, mostly in Canada. He returned to Williamsburg in the fall of 1760. All the officers in Washington's regiment were thanked by the Virginia Assembly except Major Muse, accused of cowardice, and Van Braam of duplicity. Rather let us believe Van Braam, a poor scholar, was imposed on by the crafty De Villiers, and translated the strange French word "*l'assassinat*" as "the death, or loss of" Jumonville, instead of its real meaning. Surely Van Braam was conscious of no turpitude or else he had not returned to Virginia. He was no stranger to Washington. He had been with Washington on his mission to the French forts and was left behind by Washington, when the latter and Gist pushed forward alone on their return. Van Braam safely brought back Washington's horses and baggage. Van Braam had been a companion of Lawrence Washington in British army service. Van Braam was a good swordsman and gave the youthful George instructions in sword exercise. Upon Van Braam's return he was recompensed also with a gratuity of £500 and 9,000 acres of land in Kentucky. Stobo was likewise granted the same acreage in the same State. Here both disappear from our Colonial history.

It is a curious fact that in Stobo's Memoirs and Letters there is no mention of Van Braam. Whether or not they remained friends is not known.

¹¹"Washington's Journal, 1754;" Toner's note, p. 154.

Toner gave some study to Van Braam. He informs us:

Captain Jacob Van Braam, a native of Holland, was trained to arms and served under Admiral Vernon in the Carthagen expedition in the same department of the British army with Major Lawrence Washington. Having heard much from the Virginia regiment in favor of that land of promise, at the end of his military engagement he removed to Virginia and was engaged to some extent in teaching military tactics. Jacob Van Braam was a "Mason" and attended the same lodge in Fredericksburg at which Washington became a member of that order; both are recorded as present at a meeting September 1st, 1753. Major George Washington, when starting on his journey in the fall of 1753 to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's letter, or summons, to the French commandant on the Ohio, found Van Braam at Fredericksburg, and engaged him as an attendant on his journey. He again served under Washington in the expedition to the Ohio in 1754, enlisting as a lieutenant, but, having seen much service, he acted in the capacity of a captain, to which rank he was advanced and proved himself efficient.

* * * * *

From an unfortunate miswording in his translation to Washington of the articles of surrender, and particularly in the expression "*l'assassinat*" which he rendered "Killing" of Jumonville, who fell in the skirmish of May 28th, 1754, Van Braam has been much censured, and his fidelity to the British cause has even been questioned. On the matter of the mis-translations, Washington wrote, March 27th, 1757: "That we were wilfully or ignorantly deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word 'assassination' I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present." War had not been declared between France and England, and the French prisoners taken by Washington were sent to Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg, who held them as trespassers or prisoners of the State. The Governor made but one effort for the exchange or release of Van Braam and Stobo by sending a flag of truce to Fort Duquesne and offering to send Monsieur Drouillon of the rank of Major, and two cadets, then prisoners, for the return of the two captains. This offering was declined, and Van Braam and Stobo were sent to Canada. The latter escaped from prison and the former was released on the surrender of Montreal in 1760. The Virginia "Gazette" of November 8th, 1760, announces the arrival at Williamsburg of Captain Van Braam. His name had been omitted in the resolutions of thanks to the officers and men for their good conduct in the battle of the Great Meadows. Distrust in his loyalty must have been given place to sympathy for his long suffering, and his want of familiarity with the French language became the explanation of his mis-translation, else he would not have regained the confidence of the Governor of Virginia, as he did.¹²

Toner quotes from Brock's "Dinwiddie Papers" and Journal of the House of Burgesses that a resolution prevailed March 24, 1761, to pay Van Braam £500 by the Treasurer of the Colony, "over and above the Ballance of his Pay that is due him up to this time, as a compensation for his sufferings during a long and painful confinement as a Hostage in the Enemy's Country."

March 30, 1761, the same Journal shows that a resolution, *nemine contradicente* was moved:

That an humble address be made to his Honour the Governour to desire that he will be pleased to take Captain Jacob Van Braam, who has undergone a long and severe captivity in Canada, to his special Favour and Protection and recommend him for Promotion in His Majesty's Service and that Messrs. Carter and Bland do wait on his Honour with the said address.

April 2, 1761, Charles Carter reported that according to order he waited on the Governour with the Address of this House in Favour of Captain Van Braam, to which His Honour was pleased to answer that he would recommend him to Lord Halifax and Mr. Secretary Pitt for Promotion in His Majesty's Service.

¹²Dr. Toner's note in his edition "Washington's Journal, 1754;" pp. 21-23.

April 10th the Governor gave his assent to the resolution for the extra pay as indemnity to Van Braam. His claim for land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation of February, 1754, was also allowed, and Van Braam received 9,000 acres. Upon entering the military service of the Crown he was made major of the 30th Battalion of the 60th Foot of the Royal Americans stationed in 1777 in the West Indies.¹³

Sparks' statement in "Writings of Washington" (Appendix, Vol. II, p. 468), that "Van Braam and Stobo were retained as prisoners in Quebec till they were sent to England by the Governor of Canada," Judge Veech has marked an error in the copy of Sparks' work once owned by Veech, now in the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. The penciling says further, "see 'Olden Time,' Vol. I, p. 369."¹⁴

Judge Veech says that Stobo, after many hair-breadth escapes, finally returned to Virginia in 1759, whence he went to England. "Van Braam, who knew a little French, and having served Washington as French interpreter the previous year, was called upon to interpret the articles of capitulation, at the surrender of "Fort Necessity;" and has been generally, but unjustly, charged with having wilfully entrapped Washington to admit that the killing of Jumonville was an assassination. He returned to Virginia in 1760, having been released after the conquest of Canada by the English; but the capitulation blunder sank him."¹⁵

Jacob Arants, mentioned as a prisoner by Stobo, in his second letter as of Capt. Mercer's Company, was well known to Washington and bore a good character, for in Washington's pay rolls as given by Toner this item is to be found ["Washington assigns Arants to Trent's Company"]:¹⁶

To cash to Jacob Arrans at Enlisting N. B. This person was one of Capt. Trent's men, master of the Indians Language and perfectly acquainted with all the way and Mount'ns between this and the Fork.....£4-6-8

Craig furnishes this abstract from the Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia:

Friday, October 25th, 1754.

Upon a motion made:

Resolved, that an humble address to his honor, the Governor, to express our approbation of the conduct and gallant behavior of the several officers of the Virginia forces, except George Muse, late Lieutenant-Colonel, and Jacob Van Braam, late Captain; and to desire his honor to recommend them in a particular manner to his Majesty's favor; and at the same time acquaint his honor, that it is the opinion of this House, that nothing will contribute so much to the success of the expedition against the invaders of his Majesty's dominions, as a proper encouragement to such of the inhabitants as shall be inclined to serve in his Majesty's army in the present expedition, and that Mr. Charles Carter, Landon Carter, Mr. Fitzhugh, and Mr. Randolph, do wait on his honor with the said address.¹⁷

BY THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES.

C. WYTHE, C. H. B.

¹³Brock's "Dinwiddie Papers;" Journal of the House of Burgesses. Toner's Edition "Washington's Journal, 1754;" p. 24.

¹⁴This reference is to Lyman C. Draper's contemplated biographical work and mention of Stobo's extraordinary adventures.

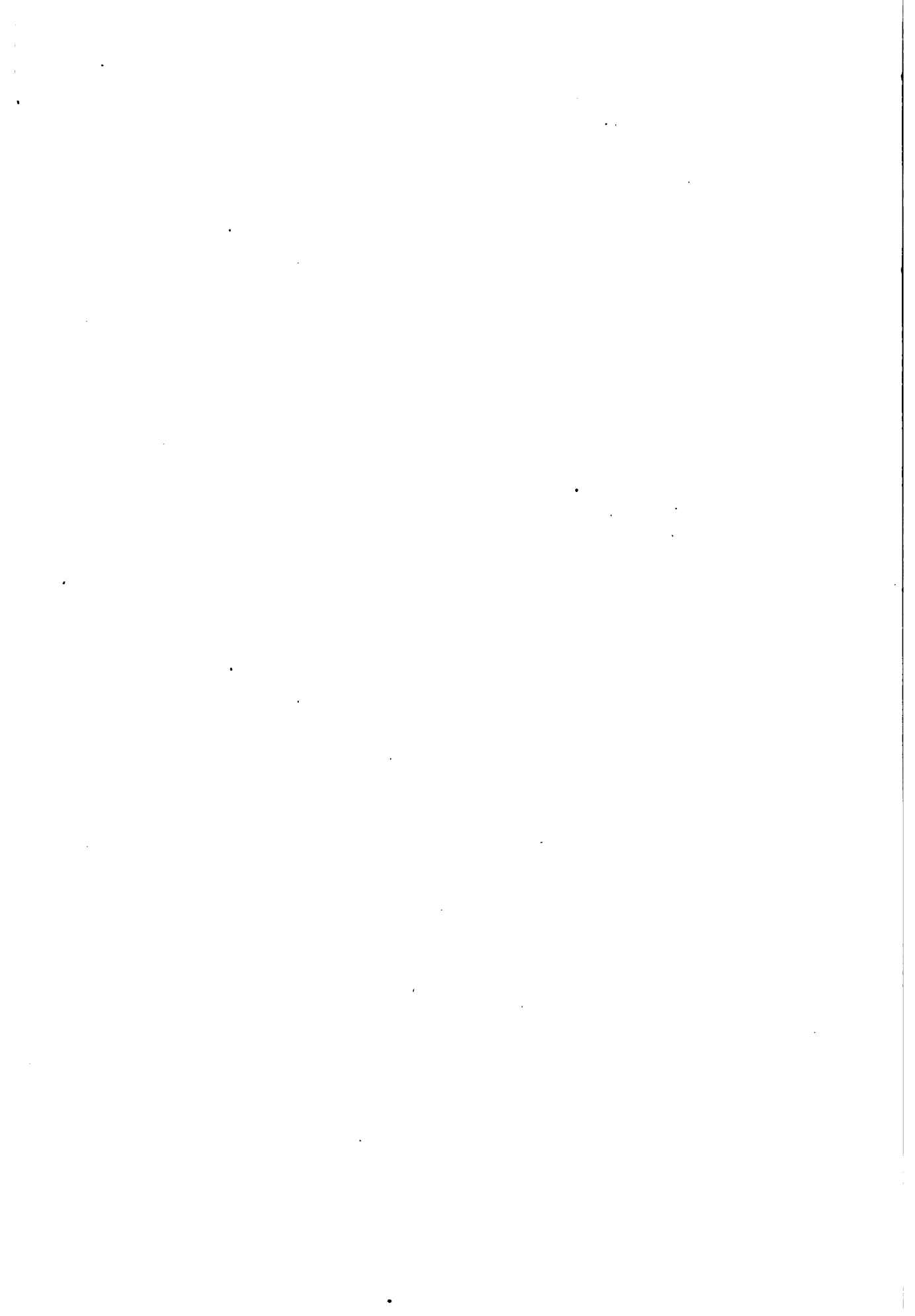
¹⁵"Monongahela of Old;" p. 44.

¹⁶Appendix to "Washington's Journal, 1754;" Toner's Edition, p. 181.

¹⁷Appendix, "Memoirs of Stobo;" pp. 79-80.

The names of the two famous hostages are commemorated in two well known streets in Pittsburgh—hence we have them always with us. Van Braam street extending from Fifth avenue to Bluff street has retained its name for at least 75 years. Stobo street, a renaming, has been given to part of the Diamond on the North Side, the former city of Allegheny. The original Stobo street was that part of Moultrie street north of Fifth avenue. The streets thus commemorated are short, and insignificant thoroughfares as far as business is concerned. The proper Dutch spelling with the double vowel and separation, "Van Braam," once displayed on the street sign, has long since given way to "Van-bram." So too "Boquet" for "Bouquet." Stobo's commemoration is inadequate as a remembrance; Van Braam's is fair enough. In the same locality as Van Braam street are Washington, Gist, Dinwiddie, Devillier's (another transposition), and Jumonville streets—all reminders of Washington's Campaign of 1754.





BRADDOCK'S FIELD IN 1803

CHAPTER XVI.

Edward Braddock, Generalissimo.

We come now to the narration of events that have placed the name of Braddock on many pages of American history—a disheartening narrative wherein contemplation of that veteran soldier of Europe in his pathetic end awakens only compassion. Braddock is immortal through defeat, but his name eternal as human things are because it has been applied to a great industrial community and in that application suggestive of mighty works and wonderful accomplishments. Vast history is opened up by the name Braddock. Vast not only in significance, but in results. The disaster of July 9, 1755, served but to incense and made more determined the British ministry to drive the French out of the "Debatable Land about the Ohio." There was a loud cry, too, for vengeance which though slow in coming, arrived on two most memorable occasions; first at the Forks of the Ohio, November 25, 1758, with John Forbes the "Head of Iron," and that day was the natal day of Pittsburgh. It came again in all completeness September 13, 1759, in the grey dawn of morning on the Plains of Abraham. For one hundred and sixty-seven years able and accomplished writers of history have told, in several languages, the tragic story of Braddock's Field, and in varying veins, from compassionate to deeply incisive, have placed the character of Edward Braddock before the world. Able artists have touched the pencil and the brush to give us divergent and somewhat impossible views of the battle and have more or less, as imagination dictated, depicted the fall, the death and burial of the brave but stubborn general in command.

The fame of the modern town of Braddock, that has spread far beyond the locus of the battle, is such that every detail of the strange contest maintains an absorbing interest.

Across the Monongahela opposite the town there is a wooded hill known as Kennywood and beneath this hill the army of General Edward Braddock halted on its march from the mouth of the Youghiogheny on the fateful day, July 9, 1755, and from this hillside the army marched with all the pomp and pageantry of martial array—down to the river's edge and through the shallow waters of the Monongahela, past the deserted cabin of John Frazier, the trader, at the mouth of Turtle creek and debouching to the left, the veterans of many fields climbed the slight hill to the ravines in their front. A thousand rifles blaze out and the war-whoops from 700 red throats sound as the crack of doom. Braddock is immortal through defeat. Three days later with dying breath the fated warrior murmured to his faithful attendants: "Who would have thought it?"

Today from these same heights, gazing across the placid river towards the scenes of slaughter of 1755, one can repeat the inquiry of the contrite general. We may consider his last words also: "Next time

we shall know better," for the next time a British army came was November, 1758; then Forbes and Victory—and PITTSBURGH. With these remarks we may proceed to the story of Braddock's Expedition.

The British Government finally determined to oppose with energy the growing power of the French in America and to regain possession of the territory upon the Ohio, war or no war. This determination led to the dispatch of Braddock's Expedition, so called in history. The plan was to send two regiments on foot from Ireland to Virginia to be reinforced there by Colonial troops. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts and Sir William Pepperell were to raise two regiments of one thousand men each in New England to be commanded by themselves, and three thousand were to be enlisted in Pennsylvania, the whole to be placed at the disposal of a commander-in-chief sent from England. This was Major-Gen. Edward Braddock, appointed January 14, 1755, to this service and the command of all the Royal forces in North America. The two infantry regiments, the 44th and 48th, each of five hundred men, sailed from Cork in January and arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, February 20, 1755. The 48th was commanded by Col. Thomas Dunbar, and the 44th by Col. Sir Peter Halket.

After the battle of the Great Meadows, Col. James Innes, of North Carolina, was ordered to Wills creek to construct a fort which would serve as a rallying point for the remaining forces and as a guard for the frontiers. This was afterward called Fort Cumberland. The work was done by Capt. Mackaye's independent company from South Carolina, which had been with Washington at Fort Necessity, and two independent companies from New York which were on the march from Alexandria at the time of the action at the Great Meadows. The fort at Wills creek was lightly fortified; ten four-pounders and some swivels were mounted. The Colonial forces that had composed and those that were intended for his regiment were collected at Wills creek, but did not remain long, for the funds for the purpose had been exhausted and no pledges of future payment could be secured, hence the troops returned to their homes and the frontiers were left without defense. The immediate necessity for taking bold measures to contend with the combined forces of the French and Indians became evident to the Colonial governors, especially to Dinwiddie, of the most readily affected colony after Pennsylvania. The Virginia Assembly met in October, and among the first measures passed was an appropriation of £20,000 for public exigencies. Dinwiddie received from England £10,000 sterling in specie, with the promise of £10,000 more. Two thousand stands of arms were also sent him. He also formed the plan to raise a Virginia army of ten companies of a hundred men each, and make each company independent so that there would be no officer in the command above the rank of captain. Dinwiddie thought by this expedient to remedy the difficulty of rank and the right to command which had been the cause of much contention between the Colonial contingents and the Regular troops of the British forces. Washington therefore resigned, and loath to accept a lower commission than the rank he held, returned home. Sparks says that under this com-

mission as colonel, Washington had exhibited a rare example of bravery and good conduct which had gained him the applause of the country.¹

Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland had received an appointment from the King as commander-in-chief of all the Colonial forces engaged against the French in the region of Western Pennsylvania, with Col. William Fitzhugh second in command. Aware of the value of Washington's experience and reputation, Sharpe endeavored to induce Washington to return to the service, but Washington, although not averse, declined, for he recognized the degradation planned by Dinwiddie, probably, said Sparks, in collusion with other British officers. Washington's return was due altogether by the request of Braddock himself. Since his resignation in October, 1754, Washington had remained inactive at Mount Vernon. Braddock, knowing his value, and the importance of securing his services to the expedition, directed Orme, his aide-de-camp, to write him, proposing an expedient by which the chief obstacles would be removed. Orme's letter was dated "Williamsburg, Va., March 2, 1755," and reads:

Sir: The General having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness that you thought might arise from the regulations of command, has ordered me to acquaint you that he will be very glad of your company in his family, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated.

I shall think myself very happy to form an acquaintance with a person so universally esteemed, and shall use every opportunity of assuring you how much, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ROBERT ORME, Aid-de-Camp.²

When Gen. Braddock landed in Virginia, as commander-in-chief of all the military forces in North America, he brought with him the following order of the King, dated St. James's, November 12, 1754, respecting the rank of Colonial officers:

All troops serving by commission signed by us, or by our general commander-in-chief in North America, shall take rank before all troops, which may serve by commission from any of the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time being. And it is our further pleasure that the general and field officers of the provincial troops shall have no rank with the general and field officers, who serve by commission from us; but that all captains, and other inferior officers of our forces, who are, or may be employed in North America, on all detachments, courts-martial, and other duty, wherein they may be joined with officers serving by commission from the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time being of the said provinces, to command and take post of the said provincial officers of the like rank, though the commissions of the said provincial officers of like rank should be of elder date.³

Washington accepted Braddock's invitation and was in general orders proclaimed an aide to the general, May 10, 1755, at Fort Cumberland.

Washington's reply was couched in terms that evince clearly his

¹"Writings of Washington;" Vol. II, p. 64.

²"Braddock's Expedition, etc.;" W. Sargent, p. 155. See note in "Writings of George Washington," W. C. Ford, Vol. I, p. 142.

³"Hist. West. Pa., etc.," p. 95. Sparks' "Washington," Vol. II, p. 68.

gratification at the compliment. He had addressed a congratulatory letter to Braddock on his arrival. Washington confessed to a laudable desire to serve his King and Country. He wrote Orme in accepting the offer, that he wished earnestly to obtain some knowledge in the military profession, and believing a more favorable opportunity could not offer than service under a gentleman of Gen. Braddock's abilities and experience. Orme could reasonably suppose this belief had not a little influence in his choice. Domestic cares kept Washington from reporting for duty until early in May, when he joined Braddock at Frederick, Maryland.⁴ Washington was treated with great consideration during his unavoidable delay, for Orme wrote: "The General orders me to give you his compliments and to assure you that his wishes are to make it agreeable to yourself and consistent with your affairs, and therefore he desires you will so settle your business at home as to join him at Wills Creek, if more convenient to you, and whenever you find it necessary to return, he begs you will look upon yourself as entirely master, and judge what is necessary to be done."

Throughout the campaign, Braddock's appreciation of Washington goes far, as Sargent says, to soften the common impression of brutality and haughtiness attributed to Braddock. Washington and Franklin were the only two natives of America upon whom Braddock bestowed an unstinted approbation, which Sargent thought argued that Braddock was no common character to have perceived in their dawning the future meridian brightness of the glorious minds of the future Father of Our Country, and the sapient Dr. Franklin. Though Washington and his chief had many a wordy battle, in which Washington held stubbornly to his opinions, Braddock maintained a high esteem for his Virginia aide, and to this effect Dinwiddie is on record, saying that if Braddock had survived "he would have provided handsomely for Washington in the regulars."

Soon after Gen. Braddock arrived in Virginia, he called upon the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts to meet him in convention at Annapolis, Maryland, to concert measures for future operations. The meeting took place, but was adjourned to meet at Alexandria. On the 14th of April, 1755, a council was held at Camp Alexandria, Virginia, in which measures were concerted for the united action of the middle and northern colonies. There were present at this council His Excellency, Edward Braddock, Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America; Augustus Keppel, Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in North America; William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts; Robert Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia; James Delancy, Governor of New York; Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland; and Robert Hunter Morris, Governor of Pennsylvania. At this conference the simultaneous attacks upon Forts Duquesne, Crown Point and Niagara were decreed and the end of June fixed upon as the time when several attacks should be carried into execution. Shirley's move against Niagara was a complete

⁴"Writings of Washington;" Sparks, Vol. II, pp. 68-69.

fiasco. The timid Johnson's success at Crown Point, gained under the command of Johnson's subordinates and accredited to Johnson, led only to the better fortifying of Ticonderoga by the French, to "become a name of awe for the colonists," observes Julian Hawthorne. Verily the year 1755 was one of gloom for the English and especially for the northern colonies in America.

The colony of Pennsylvania then contained about 300,000 inhabitants. It had no debt; possessed a surplus revenue of fifteen thousand pounds in bank; and was able, besides supplying her own people, to afford subsistence to 100,000 men. This amount of surplus produce was annually exported from Philadelphia, which with other commodities, employed more than five hundred vessels mostly owned by the merchants of the city. It has been remarked by historians that the place of debarkation of Braddock's troops was selected with that ignorance and want of judgment which then distinguished the British ministry. The Virginia country could furnish neither provisions nor carriages for the army, while Pennsylvania, rich in grain and well stocked with wagons, could readily have supplied food and the means to transport the army to any point.⁵

Accounts of Braddock's march and battle are many from both English and French sources. The English sources are few, Orme's Journal the principal one. His letter to Dinwiddie, and Washington's letters to his mother and brother, and the letter of William Johnston, a commissariat officer, are most valuable. There were extended accounts published in the London newspapers and the "Gentleman's Magazine" of London in August and September, 1755. Then there is what is known as the Morris Journal, given by Capt. Hewitt, Royal Navy, to his friend, Henry Gage Morris, R. N., whose father was an aide-de-camp with Washington to Gen. Braddock. Then there is also the document attributed to Engineer Harry Gordon and known as the "Journal of the Proceedings of the Detachment of Seamen ordered by Commodore Keppel to assist in the late Expedition to the Ohio, etc.; with an impartial account of the late Action on the Banks of the Monongahela on the 9th of July, 1755; as related by some of the Principal officers that day in the Field from the 10th April, 1755, to the 18th August, when the Detachment of Seamen Embarked on board His Majesty's Ship 'Guarland' at Hampton in Virginia." Winthrop Sargent has used all these and quotes largely from French sources; Pouchot, Mante, and others from copies procured by Sparks in the archives of the War Department at Paris, the gist of which is given by Sparks in his second volume of "Washington's Life and Writings," to which reference can be had. Then there are the affidavits of the fleeing and fleet teamsters in the Colonial Records. Neville B. Craig follows Sargent with copious extracts from the King's Mss. in the British Museum, that were presented to the Museum by George IV.

It was a toilsome and laborious march. Gist and his son Nathaniel were guides, but much of the road had to be cut through a wilderness.

⁵Cf. "History of Pennsylvania;" Gordon, p. 292.

This has since gone into history as Braddock's road, most parts of it long since abandoned.

Commenting on the forebodings of Sir Peter Halket after mention of Secretary Shirley's as expressed in his letter to Governor Morris noticed *post*, Sargent offers this bit of fine writing:

It is with a little surprise that we find reason to suppose the second in command was not free from similar forebodings. As though gifted with that mysterious power of "second sight" which is attributed to the seers of his native land, Sir Peter Halket, whose sands of life had but twelve more hours to run, with a melancholy earnestness pressed that night upon the General the propriety of thoroughly examining every foot of ground between his present position and the fort, lest through this neglect he should peril his army's existence, and as it were plunge his head into the lion's jaws. The advice, as will be seen, was not altogether neglected; but its more important feature of beating the forest as hunters of the Highlands would drive their game was set aside by Braddock as unsuitable to the exigencies of his position. With a sad presentiment of undefined evil, Halket withdrew. Did he in sooth possess the fatal power of peering into futurity, and exploring the secrets of unborn time, what awful visions would have pressed upon his soul! Unconscious of their doom, around him slumbered hundreds of gallant men, sleeping their last sleep on an unbloody couch, nor heeding the tempest gathering fast above, which overcoming like a summer's cloud, should pour destruction on their devoted heads. Through the long summer's day, the wearied army, anticipating aught rather than defeat, had marched steadily onward. The encircling woods shut out all prospect of the heavens save the serene blue sky directly overhead, bright with meridian splendor; but all around, beyond their narrow ken, a dark curtain hung like a pall upon the skirts of the horizon, and driving clouds and gathering eagles boded the coming storm. Footsore and toilworn, the troops were now steeped in slumber; and in dreams that came from heaven through the ivory gates, they beheld themselves

"———arrived at last
Unto the wished haven."

They saw their labors crowned with glory, their wanderings rounded with well-earned repose. But through the narrow passage that lay between them and their promised land rolled darkling waters of an unseen stream, blacker than night, deeper than the grave; for on its shore, not death alone, but dishonor, and disgrace, and defeat, with welcoming hands, awaited their approach. Behind the western hills their sun sunk for evermore, incarnadining in his parting rays the bright current of the Monongahela, overhung by stately groves bending to the waters their pensile boughs:

"———lucos, amoenae
Quos et aquae subeunt et aurae."

To the prophetic vision of the Scottish *deuteroscopia*, these waters would have curdled with the clotted gore of the morrow's eve; the moaning trees would have sighed responsive to the sad wailings of the winds of night; and along the guilty shores would have flitted in griesly hands the bloody ghosts of the unburied slain.⁶

The woods with their refreshing waters and wafting airs sound good, alas! the French and Indians likewise *subeunt*. They were surely in the woods.

The condition of the troops at times was distressing, as witness the following from a letter from an officer to a friend in London, published there in 1756:

In fine, in Europe, the men were better fed than taught; now they must be better taught than fed. Indeed the Officers are as ill off about Food as the men, and the General himself, who understands good eating, as well as any man, cannot find wherewithal

⁶"History of Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, pp. 214-216.

to make a tolerable Dinner of, though he hath two good cooks who could make excellent Ragout out of a Pair of Boots, had they but the materials to toss them up with; the Provision in the Settlements was bad, but here we can get nothing but Indian Corn, or mouldy Bisket; the fresh bread we must bake in holes in the ground having no ovens, so besides the mustiness of the flour, it is half sand and dirt. We are happy if we can get some rusty salt pork, or Beef, which hath been carried without pickle; for as we cannot carry Barrels on horses, we are forced to take out the meat and put it in Packs on Horses backs, sometimes we get a few live Cattle from the Cow-Pens, but they are so lean that they are Carion and unwholesome. To this is added, the heat of the country, which occasions such faintness, that the men can hardly carry their arms; and sometimes when these heats are a little relaxed, there comes such storms of rain, thunder and lightening that all the elements seems on fire; numbers of pine trees are struck to shivers, and such effects of lightening, that if not seen one could hardly believe; yet we have not as yet had one man killed by lightening, but we have had several killed by the bite of snakes which are mortal, and abound prodigiously in the swamps, through which we are often forced to march; there is another inconvenience, which, though it seems small, has been as teasing to me as the greater, that is a kind of Tick, or forest bug, that gets into the legs, and occasions inflammations and ulcers, so that the wound itches and makes one ready to tear off the flesh; this hath greatly distressed both men and officers, and there is not help nor cure for it but patience; indeed they seldom occasion lameness, tho' sometimes they do; a soldier in our company was forced to have his leg cut off, for the inflammation caused by the many bites mortified. We have nothing but trees, swamps and thickets, round us. I cannot conceive how we must do if we are attacked, nor how we can get up to attack; but the best is what the general said, to reassure the old Soldiers who are all uneasy for fear of being attacked on the long march in defiles, his Excellency with great Judiciousness says, that where the woods are too thick so as to hinder our coming at them, they will hinder them from coming at us.⁷

Of the sachem in command of the Indians who remained, nine in all, Hadden has this story:

Monacatootha, known also as Scarooyada, with a few of his followers, not more than eight in number, however, followed Braddock through the campaign and rendered valuable service. At a council held at Onondago by the Six Nations, Monacatootha had been selected to succeed Tanacharisson or Half-King, as sachem. The clever pencil of the artist could not throw upon canvass a more dignified specimen of the noble race. The majestic form of this warrior as it towers above his followers leading the van, followed by the glittering array of the first disciplined army whose martial tread ever awoke the echoes of these primeval forests was grand in the extreme. His leggins were frilled with locks from the dried scalps of his conquered foes; his own scalp lock, plaited down his back, a well understood token of defiance, over which waved the plume feathers of the eagle, the emblem of American liberty, was further gaudily ornamented with the gorgeous plumage of the blue jay. On his noble breast was plainly tatooed a tomahawk, the emblem of war, and on each cheek he bore the signs of the hunter, the bow and arrow.

The army had marched but a little over twenty miles from Fort Cumberland when Monacatootha who was a little in advance, was surrounded and taken by some French and Indians. The former were determined to put him to death but the latter remonstrated and even threatened to join the English should the French carry out their design. The sachem was then lashed to a tree and left to his fate, but fortunately was soon found and released by his son and other Indians.

While the army was encamped at Thicketty Run, July 4th, two of Monacatootha's men were sent to reconnoiter and returned with the scalp of a French officer which they had succeeded in taking within half a mile of the fort.

⁷"Extracts from Letters from an Officer in One of the Regiments, etc.;" Chapter VI in "Braddock's Road and Three Relative Papers," in "Historic Highways of America" series, Vol. IV, Archer Butler Hulbert.

On July 6th, while the army was on the march from Thicketty Run, by a disregard of a preconcerted signal, Manacatootha's son was fired upon and killed by some outrangers of Braddock's army. The general displayed great sorrow for the unfortunate occurrence and after due expressions of sympathy and donations caused the body to be buried in the honors of war at the next encampment, which also received the name of "Monacatootha" in honor of the bereaved sachem.⁸

Craig reciting pages concerning the very important event of Braddock's defeat states:

We have received from T. C. Atkinson, of Cumberland, Maryland, lately employed on the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad, a very able and interesting article on the subject of Braddock's route to the Monongahela, with a very beautiful map of the country by Mr. Middleton, one of Mr. Atkinson's assistants on the survey of the railroad. The article of Mr. Atkinson, and the map furnish all the information as to the march of Gen. Braddock's army which can now be hoped for.

Mr. Atkinson had for years devoted much time to the examination of the route of the army of Braddock eastward, and some distance westward of Cumberland, and his late employ along the Youghiogany and Monongahela, afforded him an opportunity to complete his work.⁹

Craig's statements above follow a long letter from Sparks concerning Braddock's route dated Salem, Mass., Feb. 18, 1847, which appeared in the October number of "The Olden Time," 1847. In his "History of Pittsburgh," he says, introducing the extracts from Atkinson and the King's Library: "We have concluded to give full accounts of the march of Braddock and his defeat. Fortunately for our present purpose, it so happened that while the compiler of these annals was publishing the 'Olden Time,' he received from Mr. Atkinson, Civil Engineer, a very satisfactory account of the march of the army from Cumberland to the field of battle. It is a document worthy of preservation and we have concluded to insert it in full as part of our work. Mr. Atkinson proceeds as follows:¹⁰

BRADDOCK'S ROUTE TO THE BATTLE OF THE MONONGAHELA.

The army struck the Little Cacapehon (though pronounced Cacapon, I have used for the occasion the spelling of Washington, and various old documents) about six miles above its mouth, and following the stream, encamped on the Virginia side of the Potomac, preparatory to crossing into Maryland. The water is supposed to have been high at the time, as the spot is known as Ferry-fields, from the army having been ferried over. This was about the 4th or 5th of May.

The army thence pursued the banks of the river, with a slight deviation of route at the mouth of the South Branch, to the village of Old Town, known at that time as the Shawnee Old Town, modern use having dropped the most characteristic part of the name. This place, distanced about eight miles from the Ferry-fields, was known at that early day as the residence of Col. Thomas Cresap, an English settler, and the father of the hero of Logan's speech. The road proceeded thence parallel with the river and at the foot of the hills, till it passed the narrows of Wills Mountain, whence it struck out a shorter line coincident with the present country road, and lying between the railroad and the mountain to Fort Cumberland.

From the Little Cacapehon to this point the ground was comparatively easy, and the road had been generally judiciously chosen. Thenceforward the character of the

⁸"Washington's and Braddock's Expeditions;" James Hadden, pp. 72-74.

⁹The "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 467.

¹⁰"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917), pp. 27-36. The Pittsburgh & Connellsville railroad since 1871 has been part of the Pittsburgh division of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad.

ground was altered, not so much in the general aspect of the country, as that the march was about to abandon the valleys, and now real difficulties of the expedition may be said to commence.

The fort [Cumberland] had been commenced the previous year, after the surrender of the Great Meadows, by Col. Innes, who had with him two independent companies of New York and South Carolina. It mounted ten four pounders, besides swivels, and was favorably situated to keep the hostile Indians in check.

The army now consisted of 1000 regulars, 30 sailors, and 1200 provincials, besides a train of artillery. The company from the former colony was commanded by Capt. Gates, afterwards the hero of Saratoga. On the 8th of June, Braddock, having through the interest and exertions of Dr. Franklin principally, got 150 wagons and 2000 horses from Pennsylvania, was ready to march.

Scarooyada, successor to Half-King of the Senecas, and Monacatootha, whose acquaintance Washington had made on the Ohio, on his mission to Le Boeuf, with about 150 Indians, Senecas and Delawares, accompanied him. George Croghan, the Indian agent of Pennsylvania, and a friendly Indian of great value, called Susquehanna Jack, were also with him.¹¹

The first brigade under Sir Peter Halket led the way on the 8th, and on the 9th the main body followed. Some idea of the difficulties they encountered may be had when we perceive they spent the third night only five miles from the first. The place of encampment which is about one-third of a mile from the toll-gate on the National Road, is marked by a copious spring bearing Braddock's name.

For reasons, not easy to divine, the route across Wills Mountain first adopted for the National Road was selected, instead of the more favorable one through the narrows of Will's Creek, to which the road has been changed within a few years, for the purpose of avoiding that formidable ascent. The traces are very distinct on the east and west slopes, the modern road crossing it frequently. From the western foot, the route continued up Braddock's Run to the forks of the stream, where Clary's tavern now stands, nine miles from Cumberland, when it turned to the left, in order to reach a point on the ridge favorable to an easy descent into the valley of George's Creek. It is surprising that, having reached this high ground, the favorable spur by which the National Road accomplished the ascent of the Great Savage Mountain, did not strike the attention of the engineers, as the labor requisite to surmount the barrier from the deep valley of George's Creek, must have contributed greatly to those bitter complaints which Braddock made against the Colonial Governments for their failure to assist him more effectively in the transportation department.

Passing them a mile to the south of Frostburg (the site of) the road approaches the east foot of Savage Mountain, which it crosses about one mile south of the National Road, and thence by very favorable ground through the dense forests of white pine peculiar to this region, it got to the north of the National Road, near the gloomy tract called the Shades of Death. This was the 15th of June when the dense gloom of the summer woods and the favorable shelter which these enormous pines would give an Indian enemy, must have made a most sensible impression on all minds of the insecurity of their mode of advance.

This doubtless had its share in causing the council of war held at Little Meadows the next day. To this place, distant only about twenty miles from Cumberland, Sir John Sinclair and Major Chapman had been dispatched on the 27th of May, to build a fort; the army having been seven days in reaching it, it follows as the line of march was upwards of three miles long, the rear was just getting under way when the advance were lighting the evening fires.

Here it may be well enough to clear up an obscurity which enters into many narratives of these early events, from confusing the names of the Little Meadows and Great Meadows, Little Crossings and Great Crossings, which are all distinct localities.

The Little Meadows have been described as at the foot of Meadow Mountain; it is well to note that the Great Meadows are about 31 miles further west, and near the east foot of Laurel Hill.

¹¹Note two errors—Scarooyada and Monacatootha are different names of the same person. "Susquehanna Jack" was a white man.

By the Little Crossings is meant the Ford of Casselman's River, a tributary of the Youghiogheny; and by the Great Crossings, the passage of the Youghiogheny itself. The Little Crossings is two miles west of the Little Meadows, and the Great Crossings 17 miles further west. [The Great Crossings was at what is now Somerfield, Somerset county, Pa.—Ed.]

The conclusion of the council was to push on with a picked force of 1200 men and 12 pieces of cannon; and the line of march, now more compact was resumed on the 19th. Passing over ground to the south of the Little Crossings, and of the village of Grantsville, Md., which it skirted, the army spent the night of the 21st at the Bear Camp, a locality I have not been able to identify, but suppose it to be midway to the Great Crossings, which it reached on the 23rd. The route thence to the Great Meadows, or Fort Necessity, was well chosen, though over a mountainous tract, conforming very nearly to the ground now occupied by the National Road, and keeping on the dividing ridge between the waters flowing into the Youghiogheny on the one hand, and the Cheat River on the other. Having crossed the Youghiogheny, we are now on the classic ground of Washington's early career, where the skirmish with Jumonville, and Fort Necessity, indicate the country laid open for them in the previous year. About one mile west of the Great Meadows, and near the spot now marked as Braddock's grave, the road struck off more to the north-west, in order to reach a pass through Laurel Hill, that would enable them to strike the Youghiogheny, at a point afterwards known as Stewart's Crossing, and about half a mile below the present town of Connellsville. This part of the route is marked by the farm known as Mount Braddock. This second crossing of the Youghiogheny was effected on the 30th of June. The high grounds intervening between the river and its next tributary, Jacob's Creek, though trivial in comparison with that they had already passed, it may be supposed, presented serious obstacles to the troops, worn out with previous exertions. On the 3rd of July a council of war was held at Jacob's Creek, to consider the propriety of bringing forward Col. Dunbar with the reserve, and although urged by Sir John Sinclair, with, as one may suppose, his characteristic vehemence, the measure was rejected on sufficient grounds. From the crossing of Jacob's Creek, which was at the point where Welshons' Mill now stands, about one and one-half miles below Mount Pleasant, the route stretched off to the north, crossing the Mount Pleasant Turnpike near the village of the same name, and thence by a more westerly course, passing the Great Sewickley Creek near Painter's Salt Works, thence south and west of the Post Offices of Madison and Jacksonville, it reached the Brush Fork of Turtle Creek. It must strike those who examine the map, that the route for some distance, in the rear and ahead of Mount Pleasant, is out of the proper direction of Fort Duquesne, and accordingly we find on the 7th of July, General Braddock in doubt as to his proper way of proceeding. The crossing of Brush Creek, which he had now reached, appeared to be attended with so much hazard, that parties were sent to reconnoitre, some of whom advanced so far as to kill a French officer within half a mile of Fort Duquesne.

Their examinations induced a great divergence to the left; availing himself of the valley of Long Run, which he turned into, as is supposed, at Stewartsville,¹² passing by the place now known as Samson's Mill, the army made one of the best marches of the campaign, and halted for the night at a favorable depression between that stream and Crooked Run, and about two miles from the Monongahela. At this point, about four miles from the battle ground, which is yet well known as Braddock's Spring, he was rejoined by Washington on the morning of the 9th of July.

The approach to the river was now down the valley of Crooked Run to its mouth, where the point of fording is still manifest, from a deep notch in the west bank, though rendered somewhat obscure by the improved navigation of the river. The advance, under Col. Gage, crossed about 8 o'clock, and continued by the foot of the hill bordering the broad river bottom to the second fording, which he had effected as soon as the rear had got through the first.

The second and last fording near the mouth of Turtle Creek, was in full view of the enemy's position, and about one mile distant. By 1 o'clock the whole army had

¹²Now Trafford City, formerly Stewart's Station, on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

gained the right bank, and was drawn up on the bottom land, near Frazier's house, (spoken of by Washington, as his stopping place, on his mission to Le Bœuf) and about three-fourths of a mile distant from the ambushade.

The advance was now about to march, and while a part of the army was yet standing on the plain, the firing was heard. Not an enemy had yet been seen.¹³

"The following account of the proceedings of the army for a few days before and after the battle," continues Craig, "is taken from the Diary of a person, who was evidently a participator in all those transactions, and is the best narrative we have seen; for which reason we insert it in full." It seems curious that Craig did not say that this account taken from the King's Mss., was written by Orme. However, the account as Craig has it, reads as follows:

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION, 1755.—KING'S LIBRARY; VOL. 212, P. 87, TO THE END.¹⁴

July 4th—We marched about six miles to Thickettyrun; the country was now less mountainous and rocky, and the woods rather more open, consisting chiefly of white oak.

From this part two of our Indians were prevailed upon to go for intelligence towards the French fort, and also (unknown to them), Gist, the General's guide.

The Indians returned on the 6th and brought in a French officer's scalp, who was shooting within a half mile of the Fort. They informed the General that they saw very few men there or tracks, nor any additional works; that no pass was possessed by them between us and the Fort, and that they believed very few men were out upon observation. * * * They saw some boats under the Fort, and one with a white flag coming down the Ohio. (Allegheny).

Gist returned a little after, the same day, whose account corresponded with theirs, excepting that he saw smoke in a valley between our camp and Duquesne. He had concealed himself with an intent of getting close under the Fort in the night, but he was discovered and pursued by two Indians who had very near taken him.

At this camp the provisions from Colonel Dunbar, with a detachment of a captain and 100 men, joined us, and we halted here one day.

On the 6th of July we marched about six miles to Monakatuca Camp, which was called so from an unhappy accident that happened upon the march.

Three or four people loitering on the rear of the Grenadiers were killed by a party of Indians and scalped. Upon hearing the firing, the General sent back the Grenadier company, on whose approach the Indians fled. They were discovered again a little after by our Indians in the front, who were going to fire upon them, but were prevented by some of our out-rangers, who mistaking these, our Indians, for the enemy, fired upon them and killed Monakatuca's son, notwithstanding they made the agreed countersign, which was holding up a bough and grounding their arms. When we came to our grounds, the General sent for the father and the other Indians, condoled with and made them the usual presents and desired the officers to attend the funeral, and gave an order to fire over the body.

This behaviour of the General was so agreeable to the Indians, that they afterwards were more attached to us, quite contrary to our expectations.

The line of carrying horses, extending very often a prodigious length, it was almost impossible to secure them from insults, though they had yet marched without any interruption. Every Bat-man having been ordered to carry his fire-lock, and small parties kept constantly on their flanks. The disposition of march for these horses had varied almost every day according to the nature of the country, but the most common was to let them remain upon the ground an hour after the march of the line, under

¹³See "Monongahela of Old," Veech, pp. 58-62. Also "Early Settlements West Va.," De Hass, pp. 126, 127.

¹⁴This is part of "Orme's Journal." See "History Expedition Against Fort Duquesne, etc.," Sargent, p. 349, *et seq.* "History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917).

guard of a captain and one hundred men, by which means there was no confusion in leaving the ground, and the horses were much eased. They were now ordered, when the roads would permit, to march upon the flanks, between the subaltern's picket and the line; but whenever a country was closed or rocky, they were then to fall in the rear, and a strong guard marched thither for their security, which was directed to advance or fall back in proportion to the length of the line of carrying horses, taking particular care always to leave parties upon the flanks.

ORDERS AT MONAKATUCA CAMP.

If it should be ordered to advance the van, or send back the rear guard, the advanced parties detached from them are permitted to remain at the posts facing outwards. Whenever there is a general halt, half of each of the subaltern's parties are to remain under arms with fixed bayonets, facing outwards, and the other half may sit down by their arms.

On the 7th of July, we marched from hence, and quitting the Indian path, endeavored to pass Turtle Creek about twelve miles from the mouth, to avoid the dangerous pass of the Narrows. We were led to a precipice which it was impossible to descend. The general ordered Sir John St. Clair to take a captain and one hundred men, with the Indians, guides and some light horses, to reconnoitre very well the country. In about two hours he returned and informed the General he had found a ridge which led the whole way to Fort Duquesne, and avoided the Narrows and Frazier's, but that some work was to be done would make it impossible to move further that day; we therefore encamped here, and marched the next morning about eight miles to the camp near the Monongahela.

When we arrived here, Sir John St. Clair mentioned, (but not to the General,) the sending a detachment that night to invest the Fort, but being asked whether the distance was not too great to reinforce that detachment in case of an attack, and whether it would not be more advisable to make the Pass of the Monongahela, or the Narrows, whichever was resolved upon, with our whole force, and then send the detachment from the next camp, which would be six or seven miles from the fort. Sir John immediately acquiesced, and was of the opinion that would be a much more prudent measure.

The guides were sent for, who described the Narrows to be a narrow pass about two miles, with a river on the left, and a very high mountain on the right and it would require much repair to make it passable by carriages. They said the Monongahela had two extremely good fords, which were very shallow, and the banks not steep. It was, therefore, resolved to pass this river the next morning, and Lieut. Col. Gage was ordered to march before the break of day, with two companies of Grenadiers, 160 rank and file, of the 44th and 48th, Capt. Gates' Independent Company, and two six pounders, with proper guides, and he was instructed to pass the Fords of the Monongahela, and to take the post after the second crossing, to secure the passage of that river. Sir John St. Clair was ordered to march at four o'clock, with a detachment of 250 men, to make roads for the artillery and baggage, which was to march with the remainder of the troops at five.

ORDERS AT THE CAMP NEAR MONONGAHELA.

All the men are to draw and clean their pieces, and the whole are to load to-morrow on the beating of the General, with fresh cartridges. No tents or baggage are to be taken with Lieut. Col. Gage's party.

July 9th—The whole marched agreeable to the orders before mentioned, and about eight in the morning, the General made the first crossing of the Monogahela by passing over about 150 men in the front, to whom followed half the carriages; another party of 150 men headed the second division; the horses and cattle then passed, and after all the baggage was over, the remaining troops which till then possessed the heights, marched over in good order. The General ordered a halt, and the whole formed in their proper line of march.

When we had moved about a mile, the General received a note from Lieut. Col. Gage, acquainting him with his having passed the river the second time without any interruption, and having posted himself agreeably to his orders.

When we got to the crossing, the bank on the opposite side not being yet made passable, the artillery and baggage drew up along the beach, and halted till one, when

the General passed over the detachment of the 44th, with the pickets of the right. The artillery wagons carrying the horses followed, and then the detachment of the 48th with the left pickets, which had been posted during the halt upon the heights. When the whole had passed, the General again halted till they formed according to the annexed plan.

It was now near two o'clock, and the advanced party under Lieut. Col. Gage, and the working party under John St. Clair, were ordered to march on until three. No sooner were the pickets upon their respective flanks and the word given to march, but we heard an excessive quick and heavy firing in the front. The General imagining the advanced parties were very warmly attacked, and being willing to free himself from the incumbrance of the baggage, ordered Lieut. Col. Burton to reinforce them with the van guard, and the line to halt. According to this disposition, eight hundred men were detached from the line, free from all embarrassments, and four hundred were left for the defence of the artillery and baggage, posted in such a manner as to secure them from attacks or insults. The General sent word forward an aid-de-camp to bring him an account of the nature of the attack, but the fire continuing, he moved forward himself, leaving Sir Peter Halket with the command of the baggage. The advance detachment soon gave way, and fell back upon Lieut. Col. Burton's detachment, who was forming his men to face a rising ground upon the right. The whole were now got together in great confusion. The colors were advanced in different places to separate the men of the two regiments. The General ordered the officers to endeavour to form the men, and tell them off into small divisions, and to advance with them, but neither entreaties nor threats could prevail.

The advanced flank parties, which were left for the security of the baggage all but one ran in. Their baggage was then warmly attacked, a great many horses and some drivers killed, and others escaped by flight. Two of the cannon flanked the baggage, and for some time kept the Indians off; the other cannon which was disposed of in the best manner, and fired away most of their ammunition, were of some service, but the spot being so woody, they could do little or no execution.

The enemy had spread themselves in such a manner that they extended from front to rear, and fired upon every part. The place of action was covered with trees and much underwood upon the left, without opening but the road, which was only about twelve feet wide. At the distance of about 200 yards in front, and upon the right, were two rising grounds covered with trees.

When the General found it impossible to persuade them to advance, and no enemy appeared in view; and nevertheless a vast number of officers were killed by exposing themselves before the men, he endeavoured to retreat them in good order but the panic was so great that he could not succeed. During this time they were loading as fast as possible, and firing in the air. At last, Lieut. Col. Burton got together about 100 of the 48th regiment, and prevailed upon them, by the General's order, to follow him toward the rising ground on the right, but being disabled by his wounds, they faced about to the right and returned.

When the men had fired away all their ammunition, and the general and most of the officers were wounded, they, by one common consent left the field, running off with the greatest precipitation. About fifty Indians pursued us to the river, and killed several men in the passage. The officers used all possible endeavors to stop the men, and to prevail upon them to rally; but a great number of them threw away their arms and ammunition, and even their clothes, to escape the faster. About a quarter of a mile on the other side the river, we prevailed upon near 100 of them to take post upon advantageous spot, about two hundred yards from the road. Lieut. Col. Burton posted some small parties and sentinels. We intended to have kept possession of that ground till we could have been reinforced. The General and some wounded officers remained there about an hour, till most of the men ran off. From that place the General sent Mr. Washington to Col. Dunbar, with orders to send wagons for the wounded, some provisions and hospital stores, to be escorted by the two youngest grenadier companies to meet him at Gist's plantation, or nearer if possible. It was found impracticable to remain here, as the General and the officers were left almost alone; we therefore retreated in the best manner we were able. After we had passed the Monongahela the second time, we were joined by Lieut. Col. Gage, who had rallied near 60 men. We

marched all that night, and the next day, and about 10 o'clock that night we got to Gist's plantation.

July 11—Some wagons, provisions and hospital stores arrived. As soon as the wounded were dressed, and the men had refreshed themselves, we retreated to Col. Dunbar's camp, which was near Rock Fort. The General sent a Sergeant's party back with provisions to be left on the road on the other side of the Yoxhio Geni for the refreshment of any men who might have lost their way in the woods. Upon our arrival at Col. Dunbar's camp, we found it in the greatest confusion. Some of his men had gone off upon hearing of our defeat, and the rest seemed to have forgot all discipline. Several of our detachment had not stopped till they had reached this camp. It was found necessary to clear some wagons for the wounded, and as it was impossible to move the stores, the howitzer shells, some twelve pound shot, powder and provisions, were destroyed or buried.

July 13—We marched from hence to the camp near the Great Meadows, where the General died of his wounds.¹⁵

Before proceeding with the French accounts of the battle it is well to "look in" at the fort and epitomize James Smith's narrative. Accounts of events at the French fort are conflicting. Some say at the time of the battle Contrecoeur had departed and Beaujeu was in command, succeeded by Dumas in line of seniority. Parkman shows that Contrecoeur was in command at the fort, not having been formally relieved.

The wary foe had full knowledge of the trend of events, and consternation prevailed, for Braddock's numbers had been overestimated. A young officer at the fort, Capt. Leonard Daniel Sieur de Beaujeu, whom we must regard as something of a mad-cap, persuaded Contrecoeur to permit the ambushade with his small force of less than 300 regulars and Canadians. The Indians were uncertain and it took much persuasion on Beaujeu's part to win them over.

Whatever blame on account of the horrors after the return of the French and Indians, the torture of the twelve prisoners, is to be placed, must, therefore, fall upon Contrecoeur. In extenuation the French plead that they could not control their Indian allies, but were compelled to allow them to follow their custom. As the Indians outnumbered them it is evident they did not try to.

What Indians aided the French? First and foremost, the Ottawas, led on by that remarkable man and warrior, Pontiac; then the Hurons, of Lorette, under their chief, Athanase, and all the Indians in alliance with the French, "all as keen as hounds upon the scent of blood." And these had a veritable saturnalia of gore.

James Smith, a youth of eighteen, captured by the Indians shortly before Braddock's march, was a prisoner at Fort Duquesne at the time of the battle. He related that at sunset on July 9th he heard at a distance the harrowing scalp halloo followed by wild, quick, joyful shrieks and long-continued firing. This surely announced the fate of the day.

About dusk the party returned to the fort, driving before them twelve British regulars stripped naked and with their faces painted black, an evidence that the unhappy wretches were devoted to death. Next came the Indians displaying their bloody scalps, of which they had an immense

¹⁵Orme's "Journal" ends here somewhat abruptly. See Sargent's "Expedition," etc., p. 357. Also "The Monongahela of Old," Chap. V.

number. The Indians were dressed in the scarlet coats, sashes and military hats of the British officers and soldiers. Behind them came a train of baggage horses laden with piles of scalps, canteens and soldiers' accoutrements. The savages were wild with joy. They entered the fort brandishing their red tomahawks and waving the scalps in air, while the great guns of the fort replied to the incessant discharge of rifles without.

Smith in lurid simile declares that "it looked as if hell had given a holiday and turned loose its inhabitants upon the upper world."

No accurate list of the casualties was ever attained. Lists vary; of eighty-nine commissioned officers twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. Lossing says 714 in all were killed and wounded. Sparks adds to this sixty-three officers. Judge Veech says 1,450 officers and men were engaged, of whom 456 were killed and 421 wounded. James Hadden's total is 830; the killed in excess of the wounded. Veech gets his figures from Orme as published by Sargent ("Expedition," p. 238).

The French casualties were trifling. Three officers, including Beaujeu, were killed, and four wounded; four regular soldiers were wounded. About thirty were killed of the Canadians and Indians—mainly Indians.

In the Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne it is recorded that one French soldier was buried on the field of battle, two men and Ensign la Perade died of their wounds, and that M. Dericherville was killed in the battle. N. B. Craig published a translation of this matter in the "Register," in the "Pittsburgh Gazette," July 5, 1858.

A battle where the losses were so disproportionate has had few equals in the annals of war. It was truly, as Charles McKnight has Halket put it, "A sorra day."¹⁶

The number of women and servants killed could never be ascertained, since their names were not entered on the army rosters. It is known that only three servants were spared. The wagoners escaped to a man. Of the whole number who set out two never returned—one having died of disease and the other was killed by the Indians while on the march.

Washington's part in this astounding battle is often reverted to; it shows him the real soldier. Washington, very ill, had been left behind under the care of Dr. Craik and came up on the evening of the 8th with a hundred men convoying provisions and pack horses which he had joined on July 3rd.

Washington was hauled in a covered wagon. On the day of the battle he had ridden on a pillow, so enfeebled was he from his attack of fever. He formed and covered the retreat, and at night rode miles to find Dunbar for wagons, provisions and hospital stores. His journey lasted all night in rain and darkness, and he reached Dunbar at day-break.

¹⁶"Captain Jack, or Old Fort Duquesne," and "Our Western Border One Hundred Years Ago;" Charles McKnight. Both published in Pittsburgh.

To quote Irving here:

Washington was disappointed in his anticipations of a rapid march. The general, though he had adopted his advice in the main, could not carry it out in detail. His military education was in the way; he could not stoop to the makeshift expedient of a new country, where every difficulty is encountered and mastered in a rough-and-ready style. "I found," said Washington, "that instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles."

For several days Washington had suffered from fever, accompanied by intense headache, and his illness increased in violence to such a degree that he was unable to ride, and had to be conveyed for a part of the time in a covered wagon. At the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny the general assigned him a guard, provided him with necessaries, and requested him to remain, under the care of his physician, Dr. Craik, until the arrival of Colonel Dunbar's detachment, which was two days' march in the rear; giving him his word of honor that he should, at all events, be enabled to join the main division before it reached the French fort. This kind solicitude on the part of Braddock shows the real estimation in which Washington was held by that officer. But notwithstanding these kind assurances, it was with gloomy feelings that Washington saw the troops depart, fearful he might not be able to rejoin them in time for the attack upon the fort, which, he assured his brother aide-de-camp, he would not miss for five hundred pounds.¹⁷

Washington wrote: "On July 8, I rejoined the advanced division of the army under the immediate command of the General. On the 9th I attended him on horseback though low and weak. This day he was attacked and defeated by a band of French and Indians. When all hope of rallying the dismayed troops and recovering the ground had been expired, our provisions and stores being given up, I was ordered to Dunbar's Camp."

Washington wrote his brother John A., May 30, 1755, as follows:

Upon my return from Williamsburgh, I found that Sir John St. Clair with Major Chapman and a detachment of 500 men, had marched to the Little Meadows in order to prepare the roads, establish a small post, and to lay a deposit of provisions there. The 2nd of June Mr. Spendelow discovered a communication from Fort Cumberland to the old road, leading to the crossing of the Youghiogany, avoiding the enormous mountain which had proved so destructive to our wagon horses. This communication was opened along a branch of Will's Creek, and finished by the 7th, when Sir Peter Halket, with the First Brigade of the Line, began it's march, and encamped within a mile of the old road (which is about 5 miles from the Fort) the same day. This encampment was first called Grove Camp, but was afterwards altered to that of Spendelow's Camp.

This day also, Capt. Gates' Independent company, the remaining companies of the Provincial troops, and the whole park of artillery, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's warning, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Burton: and they accordingly did so on the 9th following, but with great difficulty got up to Sir Peter Halket's Brigade at Grove, or Spendelow's Camp, the same day.

This march, from the number of wagons, occasioned a council of war to be held upon the arrival of the General (with Colo. Dunbar's regiment) at this camp. In this council it was determined to retrench the number of wagons, and to increase the transportation by pack-horses. In order, thereto, the officers were called together and the General represented to them the necessity there was to procure all the horses possible for His Majesty's service, advised them to send back such of their baggage as they could do without and apply the horses (which by that means could be spared) to carry provisions for the army. This they accordingly did with great cheerfulness and zeal.¹⁸

¹⁷"Life of Washington;" W. Irving, Vol. I, pp. 183-185.

¹⁸"Writings of George Washington, 1748-1757;" W. C. Ford, Vol. I, pp. 160-161.

Poor Spendelow was killed. He was in command of the naval contingent sent by Commodore Keppel, to handle the heavy guns with block and tackle as naturally sailors were better adapted to this work.

As the water was shallow, the crossings of the Monongahela were easy and were made with all the pomp and show possible. Washington records that it was a grand sight, such as he had never seen. "Washington was often heard to say," says Sparks, "that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms. the river flowed tranquilly on their right and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspired with cheering hopes and confident anticipations."¹⁹

The opportunity here offered for introducing the deadly parallel cannot be neglected for the paraphrase is well worded. Thus Garneau: "He was often heard to remark in afterlife, that he had never seen a finer sight than that presented by the passage of the British troops, on this memorable forenoon, towards the French post. Every soldier was in his best trim; the men were ranged in the most perfect order, forming a steadily advancing column; the sun shone brightly on their well polished arms, the river flowed on peacefully at their right side; on the left, the nearer trees of the huge forest wilderness shaded them in solemn stateliness. Officers and men alike marched onward buoyantly in full assurance of overcoming the foe."²⁰

Washington remained at Fort Cumberland for a few days, in feeble condition, still suffering from the effects of his illness. While there he wrote the following letter to Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia:

Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

Honorable Sir:

As I am favored with an opportunity, I should think myself inexcusable were I to omit giving you some account of our late action with the French on the Monongahela, the 9th instant. We conducted our march from Fort Cumberland to Frazer's, which is about seven miles from Fort Duquesne, without meeting any extraordinary event, having only a straggler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place we were attacked (very unexpectedly I must own) by about 300 French and Indians. Our number consisted of about 1,300 chosen men, well armed, chiefly regulars who were immediately struck with such a deadly panic that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being nearly 60 killed and wounded, a large proportion out of the number we had.

Our poor Virginians behaved like men and died like soldiers, for I believe out of three companies that were there that day scarce 30 were left alive. Captain Peyrouny and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Polson shared almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped; in short the dastardly behavior of the English soldiers exposed all those that were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death, and at length, in despite of every effort, broke and ran like sheep before the hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition and provisions and every individual thing amongst us as a prey for the enemy; and when we endeavored to rally them, in hopes of regain-

¹⁹"Writings of Washington; Vol. I, p. 65.

²⁰"History of Canada;" M. Garneau, Vol. I, p. 487.

ing our invaluable loss it was with as much success as if we had attempted to stop wild boars on the mountains.

The General was wounded behind the shoulder and in the breast, of which he died the third day after. His two aides-de-camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of recovery. Col. Burton and Sir John Sinclair were also wounded, and I hope will get over it.

Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave officers, was killed on the field. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me.

It is supposed we left 300 or more dead on the field; about that number we brought off wounded, and it is imagined, with great notice, too, that two-thirds of both these numbers received their shots from our own cowardly dogs of soldiers who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, 10 or 12 deep; would then level and fire and shoot down the men before them.

I tremble at the consequence this defeat may have on the back inhabitants, who I suppose will all leave their habitations unless proper measures are taken for their security. Col. Dunbar, who commands at present, intends as soon as his men are recruited at this place, to continue his march to Philadelphia into winter quarters, so that there will be none left here unless the poor remains of the Virginia troops who now are and will be too small to guard our frontier.

As Capt. Orme is now writing to your Honor, I doubt not that he will give you a circumstantial account of all things which will make it needless for me to add more.

Washington arrived home at Mt. Vernon on June 26. Dunbar left for England in November. Washington wrote to his mother from Fort Cumberland, 18th July, 1755, in almost the same words, adding:

Captains Orme and Morris, two of the aides-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the general's orders; which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness that had confined me to my bed and a wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days, in the hope of recovering a little strength, to enable me to proceed homewards, from whence I fear, I shall not be able to stir till towards September; so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax. . . .

Washington began this letter by addressing his mother, "Honored Madam," and in conclusion said: "I am, Honored Madam, your most dutiful son." To his brother, John Augustine, he wrote at the same time:

As I have heard since my arrival at this place a circumstantial account of my death and dying speech, I take this early opportunity of contradicting the first and of assuring you that I have not yet composed the latter. But, by the all-powerful dispensations of Providence I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt; although death was levelling my companions on every side of me.²¹

Orme's letter to Governor Dinwiddie must have its place here because it was written only nine days after the battle and is an accurate though condensed account. Thomas Hobson, referred to as captain, on the official army register was not enrolled a lieutenant until Novem-

²¹These letters in Spark's "Writings of Washington;" Vol. II, pp. 86-89. See also "George Washington;" W. C. Ford, Braddock matter, Vol. I, p. 58, *et seq.* Washington closed the letter to John: "I am dear Jack your most affectionate brother George Washington." Letter to mother in Niles' "Register," 1816, Vol. X, pp. 249-251. To Dinwiddie, "Pa. Mag. of Hist.," Vol. IX, pp. 237-239.

ber, 1775, which with like inconsistencies led Sargent to think Orme made up the list of officers from memory long afterwards.

Orme's letter reads:

Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

My Dear Governor.

I am so extremely ill in bed with the wound I have received that I am under the Necessity of employing my friend Capt. Dobson as my scribe. I am informed that Governor Inness has sent you some account of the Action near the Banks of the Monongahela about seven miles from the French Fort. As his Intelligence must be very Imperfect, the Dispatch he sent to you must consequently be so too; you should have had more early Account of it, but every Officer whose business it was to have informed you was either killed or wounded and our distressful Situation put it out of our power to attend to it so much as we would have otherwise have done. The 9th Instant we passed and repassed the Monongahela by advancing first a party of 300 men which immediately followed by another of 200, the General with the column of Artillery, Baggage and the Main Body of the Army passed the river the last time about one o'clock. As soon as the whole had got on the Fort side of the Monongahela we heard a very heavy and quick fire on our front; we immediately advanced in order to sustain them but the Detachment of the 200 and 300 gave way and fell back upon us, which caused such confusion and panic into our men that afterwards no military Expedient could be made use of that had any Effect upon them, the men were extremely deaf to the exhortations of the General and the Officers that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition and then ran off leaving to the enemy the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions and Baggage, nor could they be persuaded to stop till they got as far as Gist's plantation, nor there only in part, many of them proceeding even as far as Col. Dunbar's Party who lay six miles on this side.

[Gist's plantation was on the western slope of the Laurel Ridge, about Mount Braddock. Dunbar's camp, it may be noted, was within 400 yards of where Washington had his skirmish with Jumonville, May 28, 1754, more than a year previous, an engagement that brought on the war, and in which engagement Jumonville was killed.—Ed.]

Orme's account continues thus:

The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their unparalleled good behavior. Advancing before their men sometimes in bodies and sometimes separately, hoping by such an example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General had five horses shot under him and at last received a wound through his lungs of which he died the 13th instant at night. Captain Morris and myself very much wounded. Mr. Washington had two horses shot under him and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution.

Sir P. Halket was killed on the spot and according to the best calculation we can yet make about 28 officers were killed.

Col. Burton and Sir John St. Clair, with 35 officers wounded and out of our whole number of officers not above 16 came off the Field unhurt. We imagine there are killed and wounded about 600 men. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Captain Polson (who was killed), and his Company behaved extremely well, as did Captain Stuart and his light horse, who I beg to recommend to your protection and to desire you will be so kind to use your best endeavors to serve him as he has lost by the death of the General the rewards he really deserved by his gallant and faithful attendance on him.

Upon our proceeding with the whole convoy to the Little Meadows we found it impracticable to advance in that manner; a Detachment was therefore made of 1,200 men with the Artillery, necessary Ammunition, Provisions and Baggage, leaving the remainder with Col. Dunbar with orders to join us as soon as possible. With this Detachment we proceeded with safety and expedition till the fatal day I have just related, and happy it was that this disposition was made, otherwise the whole must have starved or fallen into the Hands of the enemy, as numbers would have been of no service to us and our provision was all lost.

Orme tells also in the letter of having £2,000 in his possession in bills and notes which he had received from Braddock, and asks advice as to its disposal. These securities were South Carolina's contribution to the cost of the expedition.

As our number of horses were so much reduced and those so extremely weak, and many carriages being wanted for the wounded men, occasioned our destroying the Ammunition and superfluous part of the Provision left in Col. Dunbar's Convoy, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemy.

As the whole of the Artillery is lost and the Terror of the Indian remaining so strongly in the men's minds as also the Troops being extremely weakened by Deaths, Wounds and Sickness, it was judged impossible to make any further attempts; therefore Col. Dunbar is returning to Fort Cumberland with everything he is able to bring along with him. I propose remaining here till my wound will suffer me to remove to Philadelphia; from thence I shall make all possible Dispatch to England.

Orme, who was a typical British officer, had had enough of campaigning in the wilderness. He recovered and returned to England, and in 1756 resigned from the army. He married well and settled down to the easy life of an English gentleman. He died in 1781. He had in early youth entered the army as an ensign, in the 35th Foot, in 1745 exchanged to the Coldstream Guards, becoming a lieutenant in 1751.

He was never raised to the rank of captain. Orme had been a favorite of Braddock's, and coming from Braddock's old regiment, the celebrated Coldstream Guards, was a prime recommendation.

As a prelude to the story of an eye witness to affairs in Fort Duquesne before and after the battle, Craig inserts this paragraph:

Terrible as the slaughter was on that day, a scene presented itself here on the ensuing day of a more horrible character. Our account is taken from the Narrative of Colonel James Smith. We might hope, for the credit of humanity, that such transactions never took place, but Colonel Smith was a man of good character, well known here by some persons still living. He removed to Kentucky and was there elected to the legislature. That he was a prisoner among the Indians there is no doubt; the Colonial Records at Harrisburg prove it.²²

"Without further comment," says Craig, "we submit to our readers this melancholy tale, which we believe has never been contradicted:"

JAMES SMITH'S STORY.

In May, 1755, the province of Pennsylvania agreed to send out three hundred men, in order to cut a wagon road from Fort Loudon, to join Braddock's road, near Turkey Foot, on three forks of the Yohogania. My brother-in-law, William Smith, Esq., of Conococheague, was appointed commissioner to have the oversight of these road-cutters. Though I was at the time only eighteen years of age, I had fallen violently in love with a young lady, whom I apprehended was possessed of a large share of both beauty and virtue; but being born between Venus and Mars, I concluded I must also leave my dear fair one, and go out with this company of road-cutters, to see the event of this campaign; but still expecting that sometime in the course of this summer, I should again return to the arms of my beloved.

We went on with the road, without interruption, until near the Allegheny Mountain; when I was sent back, in order to hurry up some provision wagons that were on the

²²"History of Pittsburgh;" (Edition 1917), pp. 45-51. The "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 72. Craig printed this history first in 1841. Parkman quotes it. See "Montcalm and Wolfe," Champlain Edn., Vol. I, pp. 229-231.

way after us. I proceeded down the road as far as the crossings of Juniata, where, finding the wagons were coming as fast as possible, I returned up the road again towards the Allegheny Mountain, in company with one Arnold Vigoras. About four or five miles above Bedford, three Indians had made a blind of bushes, stuck in the ground, as though they grew naturally, where they concealed themselves, about fifteen yards from the road. When we came opposite to them, they fired upon us, at this short distance, and killed my fellow traveler, yet their bullets did not touch me, but my horse making a violent start threw me, and the Indians immediately ran up and took me prisoner. The one that laid hold on me was a Canasataugua,²⁸ the other two were Delawares. One of them could speak English, and asked me if there were any more white men coming after? I told them not any near, that I knew of. Two of these Indians stood by me, whilst the other scalped my comrade; they then set off and ran at a smart rate, through the woods, for about fifteen miles, and that night we slept on the Allegheny Mountain, without fire.²⁸

The next morning they divided the last of their provision, which they had brought from Fort Duquesne, and gave me an equal share, which was about two or three ounces of mouldy biscuit—this and a young ground-hog, about the size of a rabbit, roasted—and also equally divided, was all the provision we had until we came to the Loyal-Hannan (Loyalhanna), which was about fifty miles; and a great part of the way we came through exceeding rocky laurel thickets, without any path. When we came to the west side of Laurel Hill, they gave the scalp halloo, as usual, which is a long yell or halloo, for every scalp or prisoner they have in possession; the last of these scalp halloos were followed with quick and sudden shrill shouts of joy and triumph. On their performing this, we were answered by the firing of a number of guns on the Loyal-Hannan, one after another, quicker than one could count, by another party of Indians, who were encamped near where Ligeneer (Ligonier) now stands. As we advanced near this party, they increased with repeated shouts of joy and triumph; but I did not share with them in their excessive mirth. When we came to this camp, we found they had plenty of turkeys and other meat there; and though I never before eat venison without bread or salt, yet as I was hungry, it relished very well. There we lay that night, and the next morning the whole of us marched on our way for Fort Duquesne. The night after we joined another camp of Indians, with nearly the same ceremony, attended with great noise, and apparent joy, among all except one. The next morning we continued our march, and in the afternoon we came in full view of the Fort, which stood on the point, near where Fort Pitt now stands. We then made a halt on the bank of the Allegheny, and repeated the scalp halloo, which was answered by the firing of all the firelocks in the hands of both Indians and French who were in and about the fort, in the aforesaid manner, and also the great guns, which were followed by the continued shouts and yells of the different savage tribes who were then collected there.

As I was at this time unacquainted with this mode of firing and yelling of the savages, I concluded that there were thousands of Indians there, ready to receive General Braddock; but what added to my surprise, I saw numbers running towards me, stripped naked, excepting breech-clouts, and painted in the most hideous manner, of various colors, though the principal color was vermilion, or a bright red; yet there was annexed to this, black, brown, blue, etc. As they approached they formed themselves into two long ranks, about two or three rods apart. I was told by an Indian that could speak English, that I must run betwix these ranks, and that they would flog me all the way, as I ran, and if I ran quick, it would be so much the better, as they would quit when I got to the end of the ranks. When I got near the ends of the lines, I was struck with something that appeared to me to be a stick, or the handle of a tomahawk, which caused me to fall to the ground. On my recovering my senses, I endeavored to renew my race; but as I arose some one cast sand in my eyes, which blinded me, so that I could not see where to run. They continued beating me most intolerably, until I was at length insensible; but before I lost my senses, I remember my wishing them to strike

²⁸"A Canasataugua," probably a French Mohawk from the Indian village Cannasatagy, near Montreal.

the fatal blow, for I thought they intended killing me, but apprehended they were too long about it.

The first thing I remember was my being in the fort, amidst the French and Indians, and a French doctor standing by me, who had opened a vein in my left arm; after which the interpreter asked me how I did; I told him I felt much pain; the doctor then washed my wounds, and the bruised places of my body, with French brandy. As I felt pain, and the brandy smelt well, I asked for some inwardly, but the doctor told me, by the interpreter, that it did not suit my case. When the Indians found I could speak, a number of them came around me, and examined me, with threats of cruel death, if I did not tell the truth. The first question they asked was, how many men were there in the party that were coming from Pennsylvania, to join Braddock? I told them the truth, that there were three hundred. The next question was, were they well armed? I told them they were all well armed (meaning the arm of flesh), for they had only about thirty guns among the whole of them; which, if the Indians had known, they would certainly have gone and cut them all off; therefore, I could not in conscience let them known the defenceless situation of these road-cutters. I was then sent to the hospital, and carefully attended by the doctors, and recovered quickly.

Some time after I was there, I was visited by the Delaware Indian already mentioned, who was at the taking of me, and could speak some English. Though he spoke but bad English, yet I found him to be a man of considerable understanding. I asked if I had done anything that had offended the Indians, which caused them to treat me so unmercifully? He said no; it was only an old custom the Indians had, and it was like how do you do; after that, he said, I would be well used. I asked him if I should be permitted to remain with the French? He said no—and told me, that as soon as I recovered, I must not only go with the Indians, but must be made an Indian myself. I asked him what news from Braddock's army. He said, the Indians spied them every day, and he showed me by making marks on the ground with a stick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very close order, and that the Indians would surround, take trees, and as he expressed it "shoot um down all one pigeon."

Shortly after this, on the 9th day of July, 1755, in the morning I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door, which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood up on a wall and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gates, where were barrels of powder, bullets, flints, etc., and every one taking what suited; I saw the Indians also march off in rank entire—like-wise the French Canadians, and some regulars. After viewing the Indians and French in different positions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I was then in high hopes that I would soon see them fly before the British troops, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue me. I remained anxious to know the event of this great day; and, in the afternoon, I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch, I went to one of them, and asked him what was the news? He told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take to the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man alive before sundown. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenades, soldiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them. They brought the news of Braddock's defeat. After that, another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great number of scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts

and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose.

About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blackened—these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny river opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with fire-brands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screaming in the most doleful manner,—the Indians in the meantime yelling like infernal spirits. As the scene appeared too shocking to me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry. When I came to my lodgings I saw "Russel's Seven Sermons," which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present to me. From the best information I could receive, there were only seven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred British lay dead in the field, besides what were killed in the river on their retreat. The morning after the battle, I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort; the same day I also saw several Indians dressed in English Officers' dress, with sash, half moons, laced hats, etc., which the British then wore. A few days after this the Indians demanded me, and I was obliged to go with them. I was not well able to march, but they took me in a canoe up the Allegheny river, to an Indian town, that was on the north side of the river, about forty miles above Fort Duquesne.²⁴

Smith was taken from Fort Duquesne to Kittanning. He was a prisoner among the Indians for five years and in their nomadic life lived in many Indian towns in Ohio. He removed to Kentucky in 1788 and located near Paris, Bourbon county, where he was prominent during the rest of his life.²⁵ Before leaving Pennsylvania Smith was prominent in Bedford county, where he served as county commissioner, and on removing to Westmoreland county near the Yough river was elected to the same office. Smith accompanied Bouquet in the expedition to the Muskingum in 1763; served during the Revolution, obtaining the rank of colonel, and was with McIntosh's expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1778.²⁶

The Johnston letter referred to *ante* can be found in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History" (Vol. XI, pp. 93-96). The magazine editor has appended an explanatory footnote in which he says that the writer, William Johnston, was a commissariat officer attached to the expedition against Fort Duquesne, and that he committed the care of the letter to Captain Orme and that Orme's Journal will be found in Vol. V, "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," and that the Johnston letter is copied from the "English Historical Review." The Memoirs mentioned, Vol. V, is Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition," published by the Historical Society in 1855. "This goes by Capt. Orme, who in returning to England," Johnston wrote. The letter is to Johnston's brother. It will be observed that Johnston was not in the battle. He writes clearly and tells a most vivid story. His letter complete reads:

²⁴"An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences of My Life," James Smith (Edition 1870), pp. 9-13. Original edition published by himself; Lexington, Ky., 1799: "Account," also in "Incidents of Border Life," Lancaster, Pa., 1841: reprinted in "Indian Captivities," Sam'l G. Drake, 1853, pp. 182-184. For story of capture and events at Fort Duquesne, see also "Hist. West. Penna.," pp. 110, 111.

²⁵Cf. "History of Kentucky," L. Collins, Vol. II, p. 77.

²⁶"Historical Collections of Penna.," Sherman Day, pp. 117-121. Niles' "Register," Vol. III, pp. 57-58

WILLIAM JOHNSTON'S LETTER.

Dear Frank.—I did myself the pleasure of writing to you soon after my arrival at Williamsburgh, in Virginia, the later end of March last.

The 10th of June last Gen. Braddock with the troops under his command, consisting of about 2300 men, marched from Fort Cumberland towards Fort Duquesne, which is about 114 miles distant from Fort Cumberland, but finding his march greatly obstructed by a great number of provision wagons and other carriages for stores that we had with us, we moved but slowly, being obliged to cut a road through a wilderness and level little mountains to bring our carriages, etc., forward. These difficulties and obstructions induced the general to make a division of our little army that he might march with more expedition; accordingly at the Little Meadows about 20 miles from Fort Cumberland, he pursued his march with about 1200 men, taking no more baggage or stores than what was absolutely necessary, and left the command of the remaining part of the army to Col. Dunbar, with a great number of provision wagons, etc., who had orders to march after as fast as possible. In this last division I marched with the military chest, and it was very fortunate that I did, as it afterwards proved.

In this manner we pursued our route through a desolate country, uninhabited by anything but wild Indians, bears, and rattlesnakes, and as we had most of the wagons with our detachment, and our horses greatly reduced for want of forage, 'twas impossible to keep pace with the general, notwithstanding we made all the expedition we could. As we had not a sufficient number of horses for all our wagons, we were under a necessity of leaving a good many behind at every encampment we marched from, under a proper guard, and the next day halt to send back horses for those wagons to join us. In this manner we continued our march, sometimes five and sometimes six miles a day, without any interruption from an enemy except from a few straggling French Indians who killed and scalped three or four of our people. By these slow marches the detachment with the general was six days' march in our front, and as he had gone through several dangerous passes and finding the enemy had not taken advantage of any of them, it was imagined they were extremely weak and would not stand a siege, much less meet him in the woods. His detachment marched on cheerfully, passed the Monongahela twice, and when they were within six miles of the French fort called Duquesne on the river Ohio, the general's scouts who were at some distance in front, came back upon the advanced party and told them there were a body of Indians going to attack them, upon which Col. Gage, who commanded the vanguard, formed his men for the attack, which began immediately by a very heavy fire from the enemy which killed and wounded a great number of his men and put the rest in some confusion; nevertheless they fired away but without much execution, the enemy having secured themselves behind trees in such a manner that our people could not see them. The main body advanced immediately and the action became general for about three hours and a half, during which time we lost a great number of our men. Several attempts were made by our officers to make the men save their fire and advance briskly upon the enemy, but they could not be prevailed upon to do so, and retreated shamefully in great disorder and confusion, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage; nor could they be prevailed upon to stop till they came to a plantation of Gist's which is very near thirty miles from the place of action, and there only in parts, many of them proceeding as far as where our detachment was encamped under the command of Colonel Dunbar, which is about six miles from Gist's. You may easily imagine that I was greatly alarmed and shocked to hear of the general's defeat and to see so many gallant officers wounded and the men coming into our camps in small parties and most of them wounded. The general died of his wounds the 13th of July, being the second day after he joined us. It was a great happiness I was not with the general; if I had, the military chest, vouchers, and all my baggage would have been lost, and myself perhaps knocked on the head.

As our horses were greatly reduced, and having a great number of wounded officers and men which we were obliged to carry in wagons, it was judged necessary that we should destroy a great part of the ammunition and provisions that Colonel Dunbar had with him lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, which was done accordingly, and then we proceeded back again to Fort Cumberland with the utmost precipitation.

In this engagement we had about six hundred men killed and wounded. In our retreat I had not my clothes off till we arrived at Fort Cumberland, and lay every night upon a deer-skin on the ground. I did this to accommodate two wounded officers who lay in my tent, and notwithstanding this and other hardships I enjoyed a perfect state of health during the march from and back to Fort Cumberland, excepting a little touch of the flux for a day or two at the Little Meadows, as we marched upwards. Poor Billy Porter has had a tolerable share of health, but I dare say was he in Old England again he would not willingly take another trip to gather laurels upon the banks of the Ohio, nor should I be very solicitous to undertake it if I was to be subject to the same fatigue and hardship; but it is necessary we should sometimes taste these bitters, that we may enjoy the sweets more agreeable.

This much I had intended to have sent from Fort Cumberland when we came there, but had no opportunity, and therefore I shall now continue to give you some account of our march from Fort Cumberland to Philadelphia. After halting about eight days at the fort we proceeded on our march to this place, and arrived here the beginning of this month. Pennsylvania is much the best country of any I have ever been upon this continent, and much more plenty of provisions than Maryland or Virginia. The first town of note we came to in this province was Carlisle, which from a wilderness about eight years ago is now become a town, a number of good plantations round it, and well supplied with all kinds of provisions. There are about two hundred houses in it, and some very good ones built in a genteel taste.

One may pause here to lend an ear to the staccato tones of Thomas Carlyle, who in his "Frederick the Great" wanders off into little episodes of the war between France and England in America. He tells in his own peculiar way of the events preceding Braddock's Expedition and of Col. Washington's campaign of 1754, and after a paragraph or two telling of Braddock's arrival and preparations proceeds to express himself fully as follows, regardless of entire historical accuracy:

About New Year's Day, 1755, Braddock with his two regiments and complete apparatus, got to sea. Arrived, 20th February, at Williamsburg in Virginia ("at Hampden, near there," if anybody is particular); found now that this was not the place to land; that he would lose six weeks of marching, by not having landed in Pennsylvania instead. Found that his stores had been mispacked at Cork—that this had happened, and also that;—and in short, that Chaos had been very considerably prevalent in this Adventure of his; and did still, in all that now lay round it, much prevailed. Poor man; very brave, they say, but without knowledge; except of field drill; a heart of iron, but brain mostly of pipe clay quality. A man severe and rigorous in regimental points; contemptuous of the Colonial Militia, that gathered to help him; thrice contemptuous of the Indians who were a vital point in the Enterprise ahead.

Chaos is very strong,—especially if within oneself as well! Poor Braddock took the Colonial Militia Regiments, Colonel Washington as Aid-de-Camp; took the Indians and Appendages, Colonial Chaos much presiding; and after infinite delays and confused haggings, got on march; 2,000 regulars, and of all sorts say 4,000 strong.

Got on march; sprawled and haggled up the Alleghanies,—such a commissariat, such a wagon service, as was seldom seen before. Poor General and army; he was like to have starved outright, at one time, had not a certain Mr. Franklin came to him, with charitable oxen, with 500 pounds worth provisions live and dead, subscribed for at Philadelphia,—Mr. Benjamin Franklin, since celebrated over all the world; who did not admire this iron-tempered General with the pipe-clay brain. Thereupon, however, Braddock took the road again; sprawled and staggered at the long last, to the top; "at the top of the Alleghanies, 15th June"—and forward down upon Fort Duquesne, "roads nearly perpendicular in some places," at the rate of "four miles and even one mile per day." Much wood all about,—and the 400 Indians to rear, in a despised and disgusted condition, instead of being vanward keeping their brightest look.

July 8th (9th), Braddock crossed the Monongahela without hindrance. July 9th was within 10 miles of Fort Duquesne; plodding along; marching through a wood, when—ambuscade of French and Indians burst on him. French with defenses in front and store of squatted Indians on each flank,—who at once blew him to destruction; him

and his *Enterprise* both. His men behaved very ill; sensible perhaps they were not led very well. Wednesday, 9th July, 1755, about three in the afternoon. His two regiments gave one volley and no more; utterly terror-struck by the novelty, by the misguidance, at Preston Pans before; shot, it was whispered, several of their own officers, who were furiously rallying them with word and sword; out of sixty officers only five were not killed.

Brave men clad in soldiers' uniforms, victims of military chaos, and miraculous nescience, in themselves and others. Can there be a more distressing spectacle?

Braddock, refusing to fall back as advised, had five horses shot under him; was himself shot in the arm, in the breast; was carried off the field in a death stupor—forward all night, next day and next (to Fort Cumberland, seventy miles to rear);—and on the fourth day died. The Colonial Militias had stood their ground. Col. Washington now of some use again;—who were ranked well to the rearward; and able to receive the ambuscade as an open fight. Stood striving for about three hours. And would have saved the retreat, had there been a retreat, instead of a panic rout, to save. The poor General—ebbing homewards, he and his *Enterprise*, hour after hour—roused himself twice only, for a moment, from his death stupor; once, the first night, to ejaculate mournfully, "Who would have thought it?" And again once, he was heard to say, days after, in a tone of hope, "Next time we will do better!" which were his last words, death following in a few minutes.

Weary, heavy-laden soul; deep Sleep now descending on it,—soft, sweet cataracts of Sleep and Rest; suggesting hope, and triumph over sorrow, after all: "Another time we will do better," and in a few minutes was dead. ["Frederick the Great," Chapman & Hall, Edn. 1898; Vol. VI, pp. 431, 432].

Craig inserts the casualty list of officers in his History and in the "Olden Time":

CASUALTY LIST, OFFICERS.

Staff—Major General Braddock, died of his wounds; Robert Orme, Esq., Roger Morris, Esq., aides-de-camp, wounded; William Shirley, Esq., Secretary, killed; Sir John St. Clair, Deputy Quartermaster General, wounded.

Late Sir Peter Halket's Regiment—Sir P. Halket, Colonel, killed; Lieut. Col. Gage, wounded; Captain Tatton, killed; Captain Gethins, killed.

Subalterns—Lieutenant Littleler, wounded; Lieutenant Dunbar, wounded; Lieutenant Halket, killed; Lieutenant Treeby, wounded; Lieutenant Allen, killed; Lieutenant Simpson, wounded; Lieutenant Lock, wounded; Lieutenant Disney, wounded; Lieutenant Kennedy, wounded; Lieutenant Townsend, killed; Lieutenant Nartlow, killed; Lieutenant Pennington, wounded.

Colonel Dunbar's Regiment—Lieut. Col. Burton, wounded; Major Sparkes, wounded; Captain Rowyer, wounded; Captain Ross, wounded.

Subalterns—Barbut, wounded; Walsham, wounded; Crimble, killed; Widman, killed; Hanford, killed; Gladwin, wounded; Edmeston, wounded; Brereton, killed; Hart, killed; Montreseur, wounded; Macmullen, wounded; Crow, wounded; Sterling, wounded.

Artillery—Lieutenant Smith, killed; Lieutenant Buchanan, wounded; Lieutenant M'Cloud, wounded; Lieutenant M'Culler, wounded.

Engineers—Peter McKeller, Esq., wounded; Robert Gordon, Esq., wounded; ——— Williamson, Esq., wounded.

Detachment of Sailors—Lieutenant Spendelow, killed; Mr. Talbot, Midshipman, killed; Captain Stone, of General Lascelle's Regiment, wounded; Captain Floyer, of General Warburton's Regiment, wounded.

Independent Companies of New York—Captain Gates, wounded; Lieutenant Sumain, killed; Lieutenant Howarth, wounded; Lieutenant Gray, wounded.

Virginia Troops—Captain Stevens, wounded; Captain Poulson, killed; Captain Peronie, killed.

Subalterns—Hamilton, killed; Wright, killed; Splitdorff, killed; Stuart, wounded; Wagoner, killed.²⁷

²⁷"History of Pittsburgh;" N. B. Craig (Edition 1917), pp. 44-45. The "Olden Time;" N. B. Craig, Vol. I, pp. 68-69. "History of Western Penna.," etc.; p. 106 "Col. Recs.," Vol. VI, p. 489.

Some errors in names occur in the Virginia list: "Peronie" should be Peyronie. Stephen and Polson are the correct spellings. All three were captains under Washington at Fort Necessity.

The official list of the casualties can be found in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania (Vol. VI, p. 489). Sargent appends the roster of the officers to Orme's Journal, but there are some variations to be noted. The name Captain "Githius," of Halket's regiment, is Gethens in other lists. Captain Cholmondeley (found also "Chumley," as pronounced), was killed; in some lists (Craig's for one), he is marked as wounded. He commanded the company in the 48th Regiment (Dunbar's) in which Thomas Fausett served, whom traditions in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, yet say killed Braddock, for cutting down his brother, Joseph Fausett, for disobedience of orders in getting behind a tree. The Fausett story was strengthened by his own boastings to this effect for many years.

There were some noted British soldiers in Braddock's little army, several of whom fought the Americans in the Revolution; Lieuts. Disney and Kennedy; Lieut. Henry Gladwin, hero of Detroit in 1763, colonel in 1777 and major-general in 1782; and William Edmeston, major in 1778 and a prisoner at Easton, Pennsylvania, that year. Gladwin is as often found "Gladwyn;" Montreseur, Sargent has "Montressor;" "Spidolf" in Sargent's list (p. 363), was Ensign Carolus Gustavus de Splitdorph, a Swede, also found "Splitdorff," who was with Washington in 1754 and commanded the guard who took the French prisoners from the Jumonville affair to Williamsburg.

"Stevens," captain in the Virginia regiment, was Adam Stephen, one of Washington's captains at Fort Necessity, and an officer of high rank during the Revolution. There are two Stewarts listed—Capt. Robert Stewart and Ensign Walter Stewart. Of the former's 29th Light Horse, twenty-five were killed in the action. Ensign Stewart, says Sargent, became an officer in our army of the Revolution. Capt. Gates of the "Independents" was afterward Maj.-Gen. Horatio Gates of the Continental forces with more or less fame. Some of these names will be found frequently in history.

Of the privates in the Colonial forces there can be named: Daniel Boone and John Finley, celebrated in Kentucky and border history; Hugh Mercer, who fell at Princeton; John Neville, who came to Pittsburgh from Virginia in 1774 to command at Fort Pitt when Dunmore was governor; and there must be accorded special mention to Daniel Morgan, of Revolutionary fame, a wagoner in the Braddock expedition, a victim to the lash for violence to a British officer.

In the retreat Capt. Stewart and a sad remnant of the Virginia Light Horse accompanied the general as his guard. The captain had been unremitting in his attentions to him during the retreat. The faithful Orme, despite his severe wound, kept close to his dying chief. Washington Irving says:

Braddock was grateful for the attention paid to him, by Captain Stewart of the Virginia Regiment and Washington, and more than once expressed his admiration of

the gallantry displayed by the Virginians in the action. It is said, moreover, that in his last moments, he apologized to Washington for the petulance with which he had rejected his advice, and bequeathed to him his favorite charger and his faithful servant, Bishop, who had helped to convey him from the field.

Some of these facts, it is true, rest on tradition, yet we are willing to believe them, as they impart a gleam of just and generous feeling to his closing scene. He died on the night of the 13th, at the Great Meadows, the place of Washington's discomfiture in the previous year. His obsequies were performed before break of day. The Chaplain having been wounded, Washington read the funeral service. All was done in sadness, and without parade, so as not to attract the attention of lurking savages, who might discover and outrage his grave. It is doubtful even whether a volley was fired over it, that last military honor which he had recently paid to the remains of an Indian warrior. The place of his sepulchre is still known and pointed out.²⁸

After detailing the destruction of the stores and munitions by Dunbar, Sargent tells the finale of the ill-fated expedition:

It was not until Sunday, July 13th, that all this was finished; and the army with its dying General proceeded to the Great Meadows, where the close was to transpire:

Last scene of all,
That ends this strange, eventful history.

Ever since the retreat commenced, Braddock had preserved a steadfast silence, unbroken save when he issued the necessary commands. That his wound was mortal he knew; but he knew that his fame had received a not less fatal stab; that his military reputation, dearer than his own life to a veteran or those of a thousand others, was gone forever. These reflections embittered his dying hours; nor were there any means at hand of diverting the current of his thoughts, or ministering to the comfort of his body; even the chaplain of the army was among the wounded. He (Braddock) pronounced the warmest eulogiums upon the conduct of his officers (who indeed had merited all he could say of them) and seems to have entertained some compunctions at not having more scrupulously followed the advice of Washington, or perhaps at the loss of power to provide for that young soldier's interests as thoroughly as he would have done had he returned victorious. At all events, we find him singling out his Virginia aide as his nuncupative legatee, bequeathing to him his favorite charger and his body-servant Bishop, so well known in after years as the faithful attendant of the patriot chief. The only allusions he made to the fate of the battle was to softly repeat once or twice to himself—"Who would have thought it?" Turning to Orme—"We shall better know how to deal with them another time," were his parting words. A few moments later he breathed his last. Thus about eight on the night of Sunday the 13th of July honorably died a brave old soldier, who, if wanting in temper and discretion, was certainly, according to the standard of the school in which he had been educated, an accomplished officer; and whose courage and honesty are not to be discussed. The uttermost penalty that humanity could exact, he paid for his errors; and if his misfortune brought death and woe upon his country, it was through no shrinking on his part from what he conceived to be his duty. He shared the lot of the humblest man who fell by his side.²⁹

"So terminated the bloody battle of the Monongahela, a scene of carnage which has been truly described as unexampled in the annals of modern warfare," observes Sargent.

Three officers must receive further brief mention, especially Dunbar, "a most indifferent soldier." Thomas Dunbar, colonel of the 48th Regiment, was superseded in November, 1755, because of his "injudi-

²⁸"Life of Washington;" W. Irving, Vol. I, p. 200. "Washington's Life and Military Career;" Hancock, p. 85.

²⁹"Braddock's Expedition;" pp. 236-237.

cious conduct" and was sent "into honorable retirement" as lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar. He was never again actively in service. He died in 1777.

Col. John St. Clair, also found spelled "Sinclair," remained a long time in service in America. In 1756 he was made a lieutenant colonel of the 60th Regiment, and in 1762 became a colonel. In the battle he was shot through the body.

Lieut.-Col. Thomas Gage was also wounded. He lived to become one of the most obnoxious of British commanders prior to and during the Revolution.

John Campbell is a celebrated name in Pittsburgh history, for he laid out the first plan of the town in 1764, known as the "Old Military Plan." The following letter from him will show the difficulty and uncertainty of communication in those days as compared with these, when but eight hours take the traveler from Braddock's Field to Philadelphia, the following letter received by the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania on July 23rd, fourteen days after the battle, is inserted. It is curious also for the simplicity of primitive days which it discloses:

Sir, I thought it proper to let you know that I was in the battle where we were defeated; and we had about eleven hundred and fifty private men besides officers and others, and we were attacked the 9th day about twelve o'clock, and held till about three in the afternoon and then were forced to retreat when I suppose we might bring about three hundred whole men besides a vast many wounded; most of our officers were either wounded or killed; General Braddock is wounded but I hope not mortal. All the train is cut off in a manner. Sir Peter Halket and his son, Captain Polson, Captain Gethen, Captain Rose, Captain Tatten killed and many others; Capt. Orde of the train is wounded but I hope not mortal. We lost all our artillery entirely and everything else.

To Mr. John Smith and Buchannon, and give it to the next Post and let him shew this to George Gibson, in Lancaster, and Mr. Bingham, at the sign of the ship and you'll oblige,

Yours to command,

JOHN CAMPBELL,
Messenger.

P. S. And from that to be told to the Indian King.

N. B. The above is directed to Mr. Smith and Buchannon, in Carlisle.⁸⁰

A few of the contemporary newspaper accounts from leading British journals are presented, as showing graphic descriptions and what was thought of the whole affair.

The Public Advertiser—Extract of a letter from Will's Creek, July 10, 1755:

Dear Sir, I send you the following melancholy account: On the 6th of July, General Braddock near Frazier settlement, six miles to the south of Fort DuQuesne on the Monogahela river, came up with the French army of 1500 regulars and 600 irregulars drawn out of their lines, they having made choice of a very advantageous ground and intrenched in a masterly manner; General Braddock with Sir Peter Halket's regiment of 700 and Col. Dunbar's of 700, with 1200 Virginians, Marylanders and Carolinians, and 100 Indians advanced against them.

Before our men could get within musket shot of the French, the Indians in ambuscade surprised our army by firing singly at the General and other particular officers, and as soon as Colonels Gage and Burton had begun the attack, which was very fierce, the

⁸⁰"Colonial Records," Vol. VI, p. 481. Orde, of the artillery, was not wounded. He was sick, and was hauled all the way out in a chaise. ["Braddock's Expdn.," p. 364].

Indians immediately gave the war-hoop, and rising from the thickets, discovered themselves, when the advanced guard being between the fires gave way and was rallied by their officers, gave one fire, and then retreated in the greatest confusion imaginable, till they had thrown Dunbar's regiment in to disorder; their officers with a great deal of trouble, after having run several times through, rallied them the second time, when they stood a fire from the French, and without returning it retired in great disorder with Dunbar's regiment, and left their officers a sacrifice to the enemy, and out of sixty of them but five escaped, being either killed or wounded. The Virginians, etc., engaged afterwards closely for three hours, but were obliged to retire. Gen. Braddock, after having five horses shot under him, was wounded in the lungs, and died on the fourth day after the battle at Will's Creek. Among the slain are reckoned Sir Peter Halket and his two sons, Capt. Morris, Capt. Cholmondley, Secretary Shirley, in all about 14 officers, and near 600 men missing; amongst the wounded are Colonel Gage and Burton mortally wounded; Col. Sinclair and Capt. Orme. The General declared that never did officers behave better, nor private men worse, this being the second time of their sacrificing their officers, being the same regiment that deserted Sir Peter at the battle of Preston-Pans under Sir John Cope. Our army lost all its baggage, provisions, etc., and had these two regiments stood the ground, it would very probably have put an end to the contest in America.

London Evening Post, August 26 to 28, 1755—It is rumored that most of the officers were killed by the European Troops firing upon them when they endeavored to rally them; and that very few of our men were killed by the enemy; in short, that a full account of this action would disclose such a scene as was never seen before in our, or perhaps in any other army. As many prejudiced, or misinformed, people take occasion from a little inaccuracy in the first account of the defeat of the forces that went to attack Fort Duquesne, to cause very unjust reflections on the Irish nation in general, and lay the whole blame of that unfortunate affair on the two regiments that were sent over from Ireland to Virginia; it is fit to take notice, that regiments of the Irish establishment are not properly speaking Irish Troops, but consist of English and Scotch, with a few natives of Ireland mixed with them, and sometimes none at all. And from divers circumstances we are inclined to conclude that the defeat of General Braddock was not owing to the misbehavior of the two regiments in question, but to the want of sufficient numbers of Indians to fight those on the French side in their own way; for according to some private accounts, when the Regular Troops ran away they told their officers it was in vain to stand and spend their ammunition to no purpose against trees and bushes, but that they could have a sight of the enemy, they would fight him. If this was really the case it should seem that a retreat ought to have been resolved upon, the moment they found they had fell into an ambuscade and were flanked on both sides by the Indians and French Rangers, who being excellent marksmen and having the advantage of the woods, were an overmatch for any regular troops.

London Evening Post, September 9 to 11, 1755—As for this unfortunate battle, the accounts are very confused. It is generally allowed that the troops never saw above 300 Frenchmen, Indians and all included; that the flight of men was occasioned by the great disgust they had to their officers. The soldiers from their first arrival, had shewed much discontent; and the officers resolved to get the better and punish them frequently, but the more the punishments, the more the discontents increased. They say the troops were shot at from behind trees, and could not see their enemies, on which they ran away, the officers have forced them to stand, and killed some of the men for not standing, so it became a fight between the men and officers, for the men fired on the officers that struck them, and ran quite away to the meadows, where Col. Dunbar was with 800 fresh men; they carried him with them and all went to Will's Creek, and I fear they will not long stay there. Their leaving the meadows in such haste and disorder has had a worse effect than defeat on General Braddock, there our men were charged by an enemy, but they left their forts in the meadows, nobody can guess why.⁸¹

In the issue of the "Register" of May 9, 1818, Niles has handed down to us another letter which is most valuable from the standpoint of

⁸¹See "Penna. Magazine of History, 1899;" Vol. XXIII, pp. 310-318.

Pittsburgh history, and his opening paragraph shows his appreciation of the letter and the fact that he was alive to the value of preserving anything of first record. He headlines the article, "The following extract of a letter from the venerable William Findley, Esq., to the editor, dated at Youngstown, Pa., March 27, 1818, contributes something to the stock of information we are so desirous to collect as to the earlier events in the history of the United States, and pays a handsome tribute in the virtues of the Father of His Country."

WILLIAM FINDLEY'S LETTER.

Sir: On perusing the different accounts given of Braddock's defeat, in the Register of June 15, Vol. X., my attention was forcibly struck by the statement of Smollett, page 351, in which he says, "at last the general, whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, after having had some horses shot under him, received a musket shot through his right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, having been carried off the field by the bravery of Lieut. Col. Gage and another of his officers." I was surprised, indeed, to see Gage's bravery boasted of, to whom I had always heard cowardice ascribed, from the time I first heard of his name. Officers engaged in the same battle frequently vary in their accounts of it, yet paying a strict regard to truth; but this is an absolute falsehood; I am enabled to say on the authority of Gen. Washington himself, to whom falsehood, misrepresentation, or vain boasting never was imputed.

It was well known to those acquainted with him that Gen. Washington rarely, if ever, in mixed companies, introduced or engaged in conversation on the event of the Revolutionary War; but he was much less reserved with respect to earlier scenes, and particularly about the Western country; and as I, for some time was the only member of Congress from the Western counties of Pennsylvania, and before this time acquainted with the President, he frequently introduced conversation about that country with me. On one occasion in a mixed company, some question being asked of me, then sitting next the President, about the Big Meadows and Dunbar's Run, by Col. Sprigg of Maryland, which I could not answer, the President, to whom I referred the question, in answering them, described Dunbar's camp, to which the remains of Braddock's army retired after the defeat. From this, in compliance with such inquiries as I suggested, he entertained us with the most particular information of that defeat that I had heard. He asked me if I knew Braddock's road—I said I did, but that it was now changed in many places. He said it was then new and hard to find in the dark; that there had been a coldness between the General and Dunbar, a circumstance which too frequently took place between the first and second in command; that in consequence of this he, as aid-de-camp, was under the necessity of going with the orders to Col. Dunbar, but first to stop the retreat in a proper situation, which was the easier done, as the enemy did not pursue. That he overtook Col. Gage three miles ahead of the place in which he had halted the retreating army, and to which he sent Gage back; that this being done, he, with two men in company, in one of the most wet and darkest nights, in which they had often to alight and grope for the road, and after traveling 40 miles, arrived at Dunbar's camp about sunrise. He said he had taken care of the wounded general and had carefully brought him to Dunbar's camp in a tumbril; and that on a retreat over the mountains being determined on by Dunbar, without necessity, he buried Gen. Braddock's corpse in the middle of the road, making wagons and horses to pass over it, to conceal it from the Indians, designing at some future day to erect a monument to his memory, which he had no opportunity of doing till after the Revolutionary War, when he made diligent search for his grave, but the road had been so much turned and the clear land so extended that it could not be found.

I had, in the course of conversation, mentioned the bad impression I had received of Gen. Braddock as an officer, both in Ireland and this country, ever since I was a small boy. "True, true," says he, "he was unfortunate, but his character was much too severely treated; he was one of the honestest and best men of any British officer with whom he had been acquainted; even in the manner of fighting he was not more to blame than others—that of all that were consulted only one person objected to it" (prob-

ably himself), and looking around seriously to me, he said, "Braddock was both my general and my physician. I was attacked with a dangerous fever on the march and he left a sergeant to take care of me, and James' fever powders, with directions how to give them, and a wagon to bring me on when I would be able, which was only the day before the defeat, the first day I had ridden a horse for a considerable time, and then had to ride with a pillow under me." This conversation, though I thought it interesting at the time, is of little importance now further than to show the absolute falsehood of Smollett's character of Gage; that instead of conducting the retreat, carrying off the body of the general, etc., he was among the foremost to run away and run the furthest—which justly entailed on him the character of cowardice ever after.

Since I am in the way of writing about Washington, I will add one serious scene through which he passed, which is little known, and with which he concluded this conversation. He asked me how near I lived to Loyalhana Old Fort, and if I knew a run from the Laurel Hill that fell into the creek near it. I told him the distance of my residence, and that I knew the run. He told me that at a considerable distance up that run his life was in as great hazard as ever it had been in war. That he had been ordered to march some troops to reinforce a bullock guard on their way to the camp; that he marched his party in single file with trailed arms, and sent a runner to inform the British officer in what manner he would meet him. The runner arrived and delivered his message, but he did not know how it was that the British officer paid no attention to it, and the parties met in the dark and fired on each other, till they killed thirty of their own men; nor could they be stopped till he had to go in between the fires and threw up the muzzles of their guns with his sword.

The fort, which, in conversing with me, he and many others always called Loyalhana, after the name of the creek, was also named Ligoniers, near which there is now a town of that name. This took place during Gen. Forbes' campaign.

William Findley, by whom this letter was written, was a native of Ireland, who came to Pennsylvania in early life, served in the Revolution, and settled in Westmoreland county, where he became active in politics. He was a member of the Legislature and of the State Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution. This he actively opposed on the ground of its centralized power. He was eleven times elected to Congress, serving from 1791 to 1799 and from 1803 to 1817. He was an ardent supporter of the Jeffersonian party and was a great power as a speaker.

Youngstown, the home of William Findley, still exists, a village, a few miles from Latrobe. It has been a borough since about 1840. In the early days of Westmoreland county it was a place of some importance. The building of the Pennsylvania railroad relegated it to obscurity, Latrobe becoming the chief town of the region. William Findley was well known as the author of the "History of Western Insurrection," the whiskey insurrection of 1794, during Washington's second term.

Smollett, the author referred to in the letter, was Dr. Tobias Smollett, novelist and poet, in the colonies best known from his "History of England," to which reference is made.

Col. Gage, promoted to major-general at the beginning of the Revolution, was in command of the British troops in Boston. The American school children probably know more of his history than of any British general that ever lived. Gage was at one time in supreme command of the British forces in North America. Of a certainty Washington knew whether Gage ran away or not, but that Gage was a coward seems

hard to believe. There was a panic at Braddock's battle. His regulars certainly misbehaved. It is equally hard to believe that Gage, too, was panic-stricken. The affairs at Lexington and Concord and the battle of Bunker Hill proved Gage's undoing. Blamed for mistakes of the ministry, he resigned in 1776. He died in 1787, aged sixty-six.

Among the documents known as the Burd Papers is one containing the report of the Commission on the Wagoners' Accounts relating to Braddock's Expedition, of which the following is the preface:

On January 31, 1756, Governor Robert Hunter Morris appointed and commissioned Edward Shippen, Samuel Morris, Alexander Stedman and Samuel McCall, Jr., to "audit, liquidate and settle" the accounts of the owners of All Wagons, Teams and Horses hired or destroyed in the expedition of General Braddock against Fort Du Quesne. This commission is printed in the First Series of Pennsylvania Archives, Volume II, page 598.

The following is endorsed as the account settled by the above named four gentlemen; it is, however, entirely in the handwriting of Edward Shippen.

It is believed that this account, printed from the original, in the possession of the editor, is of sufficient interest to students of American History to warrant its publication.

In this little book there are accounts of 195 persons who were with the expedition. A silhouette of Edward Shippen forms the frontispiece of the book.³²

Soon after the Pennsylvania railroad was opened through to Pittsburgh, a guide book was published in Philadelphia in which a brief account was given concerning each station. Of Braddock's Fields Station much was written. From this small work the following paragraphs have been extracted:

Braddock's Fields is the battle ground on which Gen. Braddock was totally defeated by the French, and Indians on the 9th of July, 1755. At an early day in the history of this country, the French, ascending from the mouth of the Mississippi, and descending from Canada, had penetrated the west in various directions, and had made many settlements still indicated by their names, as Vincennes, Vandalia, St. Louis, etc. Among these was Fort Du Quesne, on the point at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers, on the ground now occupied by the freight depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad, appropriately named "Du Quesne Depot." In June, 1775, while the war was raging which made the noblest of modern orators, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the greatest of English ministers, which carried British arms in triumph by sea and land around the circumference of the globe, and first taught the American colonists their growing power, an army composed of British regulars and Provincial militia marched, under command of Gen. Braddock, from Cumberland to attack the French in the western wilderness. Pitt, the orator, sent out this expedition. Franklin, the philosopher, furnished the means of transportation. Washington, the patriot, accompanied it. Does history record any event which united in a common enterprise men such as these three?

Slowly, with difficulty, encumbered with baggage, still more encumbered by military formulas unsuited to the warfare of the woods, this army proceeded westward, and on the 9th of July crossed to the right bank of the Monongahela at a ripple about a mile below the mouth of Turtle Creek, and within ten miles of Fort Du Quesne.

If a traveler will look to the left soon after passing Brinton's Station, he will see the pool made by a dam across the river. This is the spot where the army crossed.

³²*The Burd Papers.*—The Settlement of the Waggoner's Accounts Relating to General Braddock's Expedition toward Fort Du Quesne by Edward Shippen, *et. al.*, Commissioners. Edited by Lewis Burd Walker, 1899.

Ascending from the river, he will perceive for some distance an alluvial bottom, interspersed with ravines of various extent. These increase in number and depth as you approach and ascend the bank above the railroad. In these ravines the enemy (completely concealed by the dense forest) was posted. The British forces, "in all the pomp and circumstances of glorious war," crossed the river, marched through the level ground, and, as the advance guard approached the hills, a heavy and quick fire was opened upon them by their concealed enemy.

The author of this work justly observes "that this catastrophe was the result of the presumptuous confidence of the English officers there can be no doubt. The stubborn Anglo-Saxon spirit which despises danger and sometimes makes courage rashness, is still unchanged, and has been recently shown by Lord Cardigan in the Crimea, as it was one hundred years ago by Gen. Braddock on the Monongahela."

No history of Braddock's Expedition is complete that omits the story of Thomas Fausett, known throughout Fayette county for generations as the man who killed Braddock because he regarded Braddock as a madman and to save the few who were permitted to escape after Braddock's fall. Fausett was a large, ungainly, illiterate man of great strength and rude habits and strong passions, a veritable lout. In Braddock's army he and his brother served as privates in Capt. Chomondely's company of the 48th Regiment. They had been enlisted at Shippensburg by Capt. William Polson, who had served under Washington the preceding year. It is reasonable to conclude that Fausett was the type of a man to have shot Braddock. We have equally vengeful creatures today of greater mentality—to lay aside any references to personal bravery. Fausett's untutored mind and brutal instincts must be taken into consideration in the contemplation of the act alleged. It is not to be denied that Fausett fought in the battle, that he was a hard character who lived for years afterward in the neighborhood of Wharton township, Fayette county, and that fifty-seven years after Braddock's death he pointed out the exact spot where Braddock had been hastily interred. Upon digging, the bones were found and this was done in 1812 by Abraham Stewart, father of the elder Andrew Stewart, member of Congress from the district, and widely known as "Tariff Andy." Mr. Stewart, William Darby, a historical writer; Judge James Veech, his assistant, Freeman Lewis and various old residents of Fayette county attest this story. It is well authenticated, for others were present with Mr. Stewart when the bones were disinterred.

Sargent endeavors to disprove the story that Fausett shot Braddock. It is known that Braddock had five horses shot under him. He was conspicuous enough mounted and in full uniform, so that it is evident he was "under a heavy fire," and it took a good eye to follow the bullet that brought him low. Fausett is alleged to have lived to be 109 years old and for some years previous to his death was a public charge. A variation of the reason for killing Braddock is that the general struck down—some say killed—a brother of Fausett's named Joseph. The last mention of Fausett in Fayette county records is in 1820, when the overseers of the poor of Wharton township claimed credit for sundry amounts for his keeping. Fausett lived in his last years about two

miles from Ohiopyle. His grave is near there, the stone attesting he died March 23, 1822, "aged 109 years 9 mos."⁸⁸

Sargent tells the story of French preparations and of the inspired Beaujeu:

There is little reason to doubt that as Braddock drew near, M. de Contrecoeur was almost decided to abandon his position without striking a blow, and, withdrawing his men, abandon as did his successor, Ligneris, in 1758, leave to the English a bloodless victory. He certainly was prepared to surrender on terms of honorable capitulation. A solitary gun was mounted upon a carriage, to enable the garrison to evacuate with the honors of war; it being a point of nice feeling with a defeated soldier that he should retire with drums beating a national march, his own colors flying, and a cannon loaded, with a lighted match. This deprives the proceeding of a compulsory air; and to procure this gratification, Contrecoeur made his arrangements. The British army was so overwhelming in strength, so well appointed and disciplined that he, perhaps, deemed any opposition to its advance would be not less fruitless than the defence of the works. However this may be, he had as yet on the 7th of July, announced no definite conclusion, though possibly his views were perceptible enough to his subordinates. On that day it was known that the enemy, whose numbers were greatly magnified, were at the head-waters of Turtle Creek. On the 8th, when his route was changed, M. de Beaujeu, a captain in the regulars, proposed to the commander that he might be permitted to go forth with a suitable band to prepare an ambuscade for the English on the banks of the Monongahela, and to dispute with them the passage of the second ford. If we may believe the tradition, it was with undisguised reluctance that Contrecoeur complied with this request, and even then, it is said, refused to assign troops for the enterprise; bidding him call for volunteers as for a forlorn hope. To that summons the whole garrison responded. If this tale be true, Contrecoeur recanted his determination, and wisely preferred making him a regular detachment conditioned on his success in obtaining the union of the Indians, who, to the number of nearly a thousand warriors, were gathered at the place. Accordingly, the savages were at once called to a council. These people, consisting of bands assembled from a dozen different nations, listened with unsuppressed discontent to the overtures of the Frenchman. Seated under the palisades that environed the fort, or standing in knots about the speaker, were gathered a motley but a ferocious crew.

To these reluctant auditors Beaujeu stated his designs. "How, my father," said they in reply, "are you so bent upon death that you would also sacrifice us? With our eight hundred men you ask us to attack four thousand English? Truly, this is not the saying of a wise man. But we will lay up what we have heard, and to-morrow you shall know our thoughts." On the morning of the 9th of July, the conference was repeated and the Indians announced their intention of refusing to join in the expedition. At this moment a runner,—probably one of those dislodged by Gage in the early dawn—burst in upon the assembly and heralded the advent of the foe. Well versed in the peculiar characteristics of the savages, by whom he was much loved, and full of tact and energy, Beaujeu took ready advantage of the excitement which these tidings occasioned.

"I," said he, "am determined to go out against the enemy. I am certain of victory. What! will you suffer your father to depart alone?" Fired by his language and the reproach it conveyed, they at once resolved by acclamation to follow him to the fray. In a moment, the scene was alive with frantic enthusiasm. Barrels of bullets and flints, and casks of powder, were hastily rolled to the gates: their heads were knocked out, and every warrior left to supply himself at his own discretion. Then painted for war and armed for the combat, the party moved rapidly away, in numbers nearly 900 strong, of whom 637 were Indians, 146 Canadians, and 72 regular troops. Subordinate to Beaujeu were MM. Dumas and De Ligneris, both captains in the regular army, four lieutenants, six ensigns, and twenty cadets. Though his numbers were thus not so

⁸⁸See "Washington's and Braddock's Expeditions;" James Hadden, 1910, pp. 114-139. "History of Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, pp. 244-253. "Monongahela of Old," Veech; pp. 70-72.

greatly inferior to Braddock's it is not likely that Beaujeu calculated on doing more than giving the English a severe check, and perhaps delaying for a few days their advance. It is impossible that he should have contemplated the complete victory that was before him.

On the evening of July 8th, the ground had been carefully reconnoitred and the proper place for the action selected. The intention was to dispute as long as possible the passage of the second ford, and then to fall back upon the ravines. But long ere they reached the scene, the swell of military music, the crash of falling trees, apprised them that the foe had already crossed the river, and that his pioneers were advanced into the woodlands. Quickening their pace into a run, they managed to reach the broken ground just as the van of the English came in sight. Braddock had turned from the first bottom to the second, and mounting to its brows was about to pass around the head of the ravines to avoid the little morass caused by the water course before described. His route did not lay parallel with the most dangerous defile, where the banks are so steep and the cover so perfect, but passed its head at an angle of about 45 degrees; thus completely exposing his face and flanks from a point on the second bottom, at a hundred yards distant, to another within thirty, where he would turn the ravine. Of course the further he advanced the nearer he would approach to its brink, till the whole should finally be left behind; thus opening a line of two hundred yards long, at an average distance of sixty, to the enemy's fire. Had he possessed the least knowledge of these defiles, he would undoubtedly have secured them in season, since nothing would have been easier than their occupation by Gage's advanced party. But not a man in his army had ever dreamed of their existence.³⁴

Any one of the million or more soldiers who were in action in our late war can here ask: Why did not Braddock shell the woods and ravines with his artillery mounted on Kennywood heights?

The most interesting of the French accounts of the battle is that furnished by M. Pouchot in his posthumous work, "*Memoirs of the Late War in North America.*" It is a hearsay account but graphic and in most particulars agrees with the English accounts. Sargent furnishes the following information of M. Pouchot and his book:

"*Memoirs sur la Derniere Guerre de l'Amerique Septentrionale, par M. Pouchot*" (Yverdon, 1781, Vol. I., p. 8). These two volumes contain much curious and authentic information respecting the subject to which they relate. The author was born at Grenoble, in 1712, and at the age of twenty-two was an officer in the regiment of Bearn. His talents as an engineer under such masters as Vauban and Cohorn, early pointed him out to favourable notice, and in season he acquired a captaincy in that regiment, and was created a knight of St. Louis. He came to America on the breaking of the war of 1755, and gained much honor by the part he took therein, particularly in the defence of Forts Niagara and Levis, where he was in command. He was slain in Corsica, 8th May, 1769, during the warfare between the French and the natives of the island. His memoirs, prepared by himself for publication, did not see the light for several years after his death. They are accompanied with explanatory notes, apparently by a well-informed hand. My opinion of their value is confirmed by that of M. Garneau.³⁵

Justin Winsor in his "*Narrative and Critical History*" also attests the value of Pouchot's Memoir, stating that he made it clear that the French had no expectation of doing more than check the advance of Braddock. An English edition of Pouchot's work appeared in two volumes in 1886, from which the following has been extracted with the accompanying footnotes, found in Vol. I, *ibid*, pp. 39-43.

³⁴"History Braddock's Expedition;" pp. 221-226.

³⁵"History of Braddock's Expedition;" p. 38.

M. POUCHOT'S ACCOUNT.

We will here give an account, as received from some Canadian officers who were present, of the order of battle in which the English were found.

M. de Contre-cœur being apprised by the Indians of the march of a large body of English from Fort Cumberland, who were opening the road from day to day as they advanced;—sent a detachment of two hundred Canadians and colonial troops, under Captains Beaujeu and Dumas, with several other officers, having under them Indians of the upper country, and our domiciliated Indians, to the number of five hundred. This detachment expected to meet the English at some distance, and hoped by some surprise or check, to retard their march, rather than to prevent them from reaching Fort Duquesne, as the officers were told that the enemy was in greatly superior force.

But the latter, confident in their numbers, proposed to come and form an establishment, feeling assured that it would cost them little beyond the trouble of showing themselves, and convinced that they could take the fort in a day. They, however, marched with great caution, and upon arriving within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, they halted, after crossing a little stream near the house of a blacksmith named Frazier, a German who had settled there to begin his trade with the Indians, but had left when the French to occupy upon the Ohio.

About eleven o'clock in the morning, the English began to defile over a hill forming a little mountain, with twenty cavalymen at the head, ten carpenters, two companies of Halke's grenadiers, the seven companies of that regiment, six recent companies of Virginia troops, three on the right and three on the left, while the regiment of Dunbar, and its grenadiers formed the rear guard. Then followed the laborers and twenty horsemen, forming the column under the orders of General Braddock. The artillery was in the center, and the regimental baggage, munitions and provisions were in the rear. All these equipages were well protected by troops who were ranged by companies in alternate order.

The cavalry upon reaching the hill top, having discovered the French who were marching down a hill, fell back upon the advance guard, who were distant from them a full musket shot.

The French, on their part, upon seeing the English threw themselves behind trees and began to fire, while the Indians passed to the right and left of the hill. They were thus exposed to a fire of musketry and artillery from the column, and were not accustomed to hear such loud discharges, but seeing the French remain firm, and noticing that the fire was not very destructive, they with their accustomed cries, resumed each a place behind every tree.

The English were not expecting this attack, yet they held a firm aspect, facing to the front and flanks, but seeing that they covered too much ground, they made a movement to advance, and returned a very sharp fire, the officers on horseback, sword in hand, animating their men. After the death of M. de Beaujeu, who was killed on the first fire, M. Dumas took command of the French, or rather, they continued each one to do his best in the place they were in.

Soon afterward, the English abandoned two pieces of artillery, and fell back toward the rear of their column, which still pressed towards the front, to attack, but they lost their cannon one by one, and were thinned out by the musketry during a space of five hours. The Indians taking this movement of the column from the front towards the rear, as a tendency to retreat, rushed upon them with their tomahawks, as did the French also, when they disbanded, and a great massacre followed.

They pursued the English, who threw themselves into the stream to swim, and many were killed in crossing. They did not, however, pursue far, because the Indians could not wait to plunder and drink. They counted on the battlefield six hundred, on the line of retreat about four hundred, and along a little stream three hundred men. The total loss was estimated at 1,270.⁸⁶ They abandoned their wounded, who mostly perished in

⁸⁶The most careful returns of the English showed a total number of 456 killed, 421 wounded, and 583 safe. This did not include women and servants. The French loss was reported at three officers killed and two wounded; two cadets wounded; twenty-five soldiers and Indians killed, and as many more injured. [This footnote and No. 38 are by Pouchot, Amn. Ed.; Nos. 37 and 39 are in the original].

the woods.⁸⁷ Of one hundred and sixty officers, only six escaped. They took two twelve pounders, four sixty pounders, four howitzers, twelve Cohorn mortars, their ammunition and provisions, a hundred covered wagons, military chest, and all the baggage of the officers, who were well equipped, and from whom the Canadians and Indians derived great profit.⁸⁸

Pouchot proceeds with his account thus:

This action, the most important and glorious that the Indians had ever witnessed, and which was partly won by the accuracy of their own fire, only cost them eleven killed, and twenty-nine wounded. If on a battlefield, with no natural advantage, this event could happen to brave and well disciplined troops, from knowing how to fire steadily, and not being acquainted with the kind of enemy they had to deal with, it is an impressive lesson upon these two points. This victory, which was received on the 9th of July, put the whole country in good spirits for the campaign, and averted the project of a general invasion of Canada. According to the plan which had been concerted between Shirley and Lawrence, governor of Acadia, who had formerly been sent on this business to London, it was agreed:

1st. That Col. Monckton should at once attack the French forts in Acadia, who executed without delay these orders in the expedition of which we have already noticed the success.

2nd. It was agreed that Johnson, with a army of about four thousand men, raised in the northern colonies, should surprise Fort Frederic, and render himself its master.

3rd. That Shirley with his own and Pepperell's Regiment, should attack Fort Niagara, that he should receive a sufficient number of bateaux to transport his troops and artillery by way of Lake Ontario, and that he should reinforce the garrison of Oswego, so that it might become a place of safety, in case it was necessary to retreat under pursuit.

4th. Besides attacking Fort Frederic, Col. Johnson was charged with important negotiations with the Five Nations, whom they wished to engage absolutely for the war. He was to deliver speeches already prepared and two thousand pounds were to be used as presents.

5th. The remainder of the expedition was reserved by General Braddock for himself. It was agreed that he should leave on the 20th of April for Frederickstown, so as to reach the mountains early in May, in order to finish in June, the business he proposed to accomplish upon the Ohio, or the Beautiful River.⁸⁹

Frederickstown refers to what was later known as Frederick City, now simply Frederick. The plans of campaign Pouchot mentions are those decided on by the conference between Braddock and the Colonial governors at Alexandria in April, 1755. The French accounts of the battle were collected and published in French by Dr. Shea in 1860. This volume contains all the contemporary French accounts that the editor was able to collect. Among them are: (1) an account of the battle by M. de Godefroy; (2) the same by M. Pouchot; (3) the relation of events after the departure of the troops from Quebec to September 30, 1755;

⁸⁷About 2,000 effective men were in this action, as shown by the papers of Gen. Braddock, who lost his life after having five horses shot under him.

⁸⁸The official return of the captures reported 4 brass pieces of calibre of 11 lbs.; 4 do. of 5½ lbs.; 4 brass howitzers of 7½ inches; 3 grenade mortars of 4½ inches; 175 balls of 11 lbs.; 57 howitzers of 6¾ inches, 17 bbl. powder of 100 lbs., 19,740 musket cartridges, large quantities of articles for a siege, 4 to 500 horses, about 100 head of cattle, a large amount of flour and other stores, besides the booty and plunder of money, utensils, clothing, etc.

⁸⁹We derive these details from the French "*Memoire Justificatif*" prepared from the papers of Gen. Braddock. We have deemed them necessary to illustrate the events of this campaign.

(4) the official reports from the Archives from the War Department in Paris; (5) Letter of M. de Lotbiniere to the Count d'Argenson; and (6) extracts from the Register of Fort Duquesne. Sparks had copies of three of these (Nos. 3-4-5, *supra*), which Sargent published for the first time *en bloc*, though their gist had been given by Sparks in his second volume of Washington.⁴⁰

Two accounts have been translated from the French and have been inserted in the account of the battle in "Frontier Forts of Penna." (Vol. II, pp. 62-63). Schoolcraft, writing in 1857, says:

It has been asserted that there were but 637 Indians engaged in the action which resulted in Braddock's defeat. These consisted principally of Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Pottawattamies, from Michigan; Shawanese from Grave Creek, and the river Muskingum; Delawares from the Susquehanna; Abinakis and Caughnawages from Canada; Hurons, or Wyandots, from the mission of Lorette and the Montreal falls, under Athanase, a Canadian. The whole were commanded by the popular Beaujeu, who was killed early in action. This force, including the recreant Abinakis, was, as may be seen, entirely of the Algonquin family, with the exception of the Hurons, a segregated Iroquois tribe, who had always sided with the French, and a few "scattered warriors from the Six Nations." To this force were added 146 Canadian militia, and 72 regular troops, who fought according to the Indian mode. It is impossible that such a defeat could have occurred under ordinary circumstances; and the fact conclusively attests the efficiency of an Indian auxiliary force as a vanguard to regular troops, in a wild forest country, where they can screen themselves from observation, and bid defiance to the death-dealing artillery, or the attacks of dragoons. No event in American military annals cast such a blight on American hopes, as this defeat. After the lapse of a full century, a thrill of horror still creeps through the veins at the recital.⁴¹

Egle has this paragraph pertaining to Beaujeu:

L'an mille sept cinquante cinq le neuf de Juillet a este tue au combat donne contre les Anglois et le mesme jour que dessus, Mr. Leonard Daniel, escuyer, Sieur de Beaujeu, capitaine d'infanterie commandant du Fort Duquesne et de L'armee, lequel estoit age d'environ de quarante cinq ans ayant este en confesse et fait ses devotions le mesme jour, son corps a este inhume le douze du mesme mois dans le cimetiere du Fort Duquesne sous le titre de l'Assomption de la Ste Vierge a la belle Riviere et cela avec les ceremonies ordinaires par nous pre Recolet soussigne aumonier du Roy au susdit fort en foy de quoy avons signe.⁴²

Egle partly translated the paragraph in a footnote, thus:

M. Leonard Daniel, Esqr., Sieur de Beaujeu, captain of infantry, commander of the Fort Duquesne, and of the army, on the 9th day of July, in the year 1755, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. The same day, after having confessed and said his devotions, he was killed in the battle with the English. His body was interred on the twelfth of the same month, in the cemetery of the Fort Duquesne, at the Beautiful river.

⁴⁰Appendix No. IV, "Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, pp. 409-413. Shea's compilation is entitled: "Relations diverses sur la bataille du Malanguelé gagnée le 9 Juillet 1755 par les Francois sous M. de Beaujeu, Commandant du Fort Du Quesne, sur les Anglois sous M. Braddock." Shea aims to show that Beaujeu and not Contrecoeur was commandant at Fort Duquesne at the time of their victory over Braddock. Dr. Shea has much of the same matter in the "Penna. Magazine of History" (1884); Vol. VIII, pp. 121-128.

⁴¹"History Indian Nations, etc.;" Schoolcraft, Vol. VI, p. 218. Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition;" p. 222. See also *Ibid.*, Appendix IV, p. 411, "Relation Depuis le Depart des Troupes, etc." Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," and his "Conspiracy of Pontiac"—difficult to cite pages from the many editions of Parkman.

⁴²"The History of Pennsylvania;" William H. Egle, p. 89. See also "Baptismal Register, Fort Duquesne;" Lambing, pp. 62, 63; 93, 94.

Egle thought the rest immaterial; the title of the cemetery, "the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin," and that he was buried with the usual ceremonies.

That there were some spoils from Braddock's defeat can be inferred from the list below. The losses of the British were much greater than here given. Dunbar destroyed all his ammunition and most of his stores. The following is a copy of a French report:

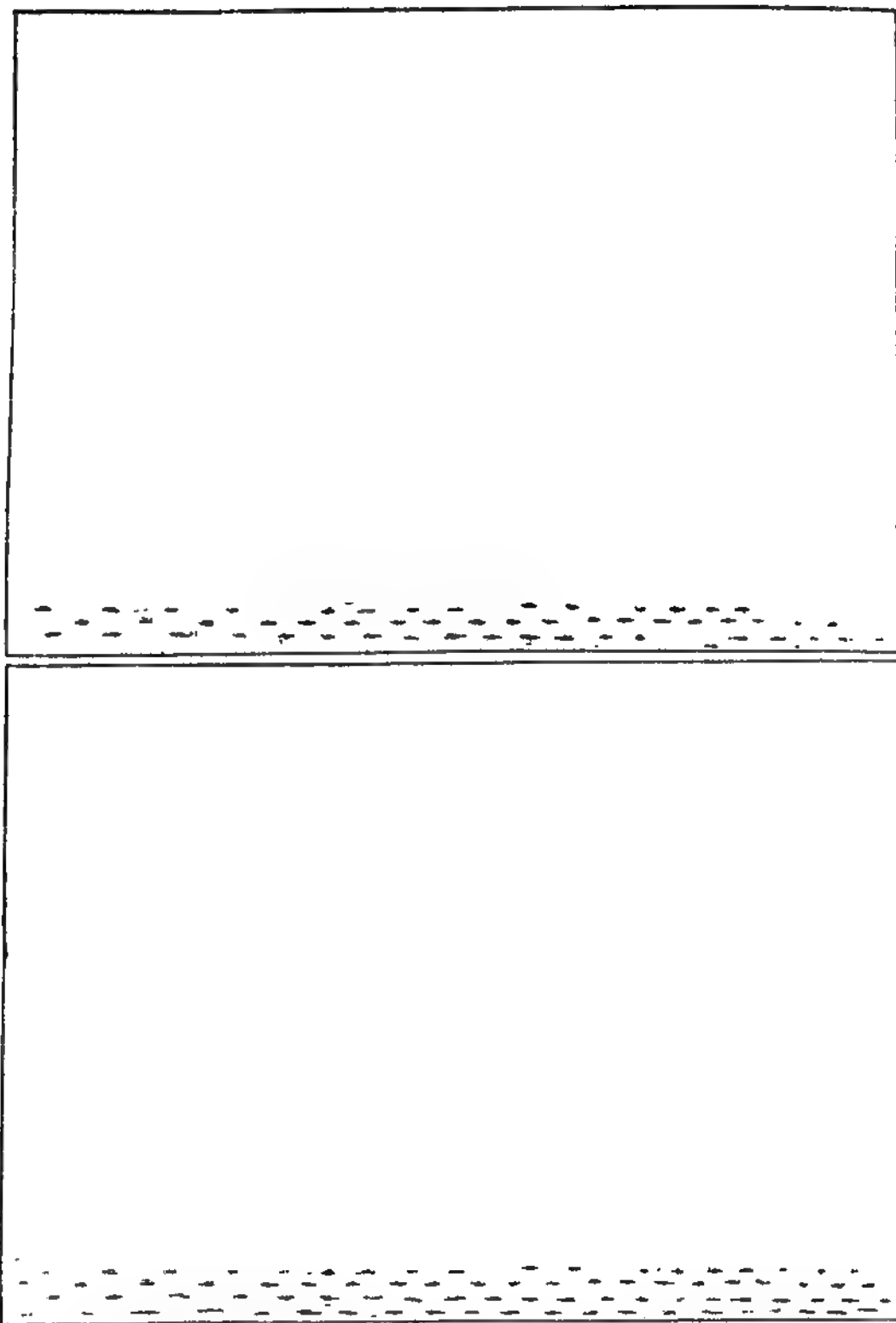
Return of the artillery, munitions of war and other effects belonging to the English, found on the field of battle after the action which took place on the 9th of July, 1755, within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, on the River Oyo, between a detachment of 250 Canadians and 650 Indians, commanded by Captain de Beaujeu and a body of 2,000 Englishmen under the command of Gen. Braddock, exclusive of the considerable plunder that the Indians took. Four brass pieces with the arms of England, of the calibre of 11 lbs.; 4 ditto of 5½ lbs.; 4 brass mortars or howitzers of 7½ inch diameter; 3 other grenade mortars, of 4¼ inch; 175 balls of 11 lbs.; 57 howitzers of 6¾ inch; 17 barrels of powder, of 100 lbs.; 19,740 musket cartridges; the artifices for the artillery; the other articles necessary for a siege; a great quantity of muskets, fit and unfit for service; a quantity of broken carriages; 4 or 500 horses, some of them killed.

About 100 head of horned cattle; a greater number of barrels of powder and flour, broken. About 600 dead, of whom a great number are officers and wounded in proportion; 20 men or women taken prisoners by the Indians; very considerable booty in furniture, clothing and utensils; a lot of papers which have not been translated for want of time; among others, the plan of Fort Duquesne with its exact proportions.*

A few lines on the French commanders are pertinent, especially of M. Dumas, the French captain who assumed command when Beaujeu fell—almost at the first fire—a victim of excessive zeal, one of the few who exposed himself to the fire of his protected foe, and in the gorgeous uniform of his rank. Dumas served at Fort Duquesne, commander in place of Contrecoeur, until late in 1756 or early in 1757, when he was transferred to Canada. Contrecoeur remained in command for several months after the battle. Dumas served in the operations against Fort William Henry and evoked the commendation of Montcalm, who mentioned him in the official dispatches as "An officer of great distinction." The merits of Dumas were fully recognized by Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada from July 10, 1755, to September 7, 1760, the end of the French power. Dumas served during the siege of Quebec and returned to France in 1761 when he was appointed governor of Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon. He was succeeded in the command at Fort Duquesne by Capt. de Ligneris, or Lignery, as it is most frequently found. Contrecoeur had succeeded at French creek Legardeur St. Pierre, the one-eyed old warrior who had received Washington in 1753, and came to Duquesne in April, 1754, to drive Ward away and build the French fort. Sargent has no word of Contrecoeur's subsequent history—so we must dismiss him from ours. De Ligneris burned the famous fort to prevent it from falling into Forbes' hands in November, 1758.

Maj. Patrick Mackellar, who afterward attained distinction at Quebec, accompanied Braddock as engineer, with Robert Gordon and one Williamson as assistants. All three were wounded. It is remarkable that amid the turmoil and panic of that terrible day they were able to make the maps which are still available. Parkman, who has used everything

*Note.—The Indians have plundered a great deal of gold and silver coin.



Mackellar's Maps of Braddock's Battle. Charts signed "Pat. Mackellar, Esq.," the upper showing beginning and lower the end of battle. In both, the rectangular figures show the British, and the small circles the French and Indians. In upper, A is the advancing French and Indians. In lower, the French and Indians are shown almost surrounding the British. [Reproduced from "Montcalm and Wolfe," Parkman; courtesy of Little, Brown & Co., owners of copyright.]

pertaining to this history, reproduces them in his work "Montcalm and Wolfe."

For the purpose of illustrating the ground, Mackellar's maps as printed by Parkman are presented, and the references also, and afterwards apportioned to the present locus, that is, as we know the ground. The following notes are from Mackellar's map No. 1, entitled: "A sketch of the Field of Battle of July 9th upon the Monongahela seven miles from Fort Du Quesne, showing the Disposition of the Troops when the Action began."

It is obvious Mackellar's reference characters must be described. The parallelograms indicate British troops, the long lines expressing the number of files. Small circles show French and Indians; black crosses, cannon and howitzers; square with a short vertical line on the top, wagons, carts and tumbrils; the heavy letter I, cattle and pack horses. Mackellar's verbatim references are: A—French and Indians when first discovered by the Guides. B—Guides and six light Horse. C—Vanguard of the Advanced Party. D—Advanced Party commanded by Lt. Col. Gage. E—Working Party commanded by Sir John St. Clair. F—Two Field Pieces. G—Waggons with Powder and Tools. H—Rear Guard of Advanced Party. I—(light letter) Light Horse leading the Convoy. K—Sailors and Pioneers with a Tumbril of Tools, etc. L—Three Field Pieces. M—The General's Guard. N—Main Body upon the Flanks of the Convoy, with the Cattle and Pack Horses between them and the Flank Guard. O—Field Piece in ye Rear of ye Convoy. P—Rear Guards. Q—Flank Guards. R—A Hollow Way. S—A Hill which the French and Indians did much of their Execution from. T—Frazier's Horse. The tumbrils were two-wheeled carts conveying tools, etc.

Mackellar's map No. 2 is entitled: "A sketch of the Field of Battle showing the disposition of the troops about 2 o'clock when the whole of the main body had joined the advanced and working partys, then beat back from the ground they occupied as in plan No. 1."

His notes are as follows: A—French and Indians skulking behind Trees round the British. B—Two Field Pieces of advanced Party abandoned. C, D, E, H, K, M, N, Q—Whole body of British joined with little or no Order; but endeavoring to make Fronts towards ye Enemies Fire. L—The 3 Field Pieces of the Main Body. P—Rear Guard divided (round rear of Convoy now closed up) behind Trees having been attacked by a few Indians. N. B.—The Disposition on both Sides continued about two hours nearly as here represented, the British endeavoring to recover the guns (F) and to gain the Hill (S) to no purpose. The British were at length beat from the Guns (L). The General was wounded soon after. They were at last beat across the Hollow Way (R) and made no further stand. The Retreat was full of Confusion and Hurry, but after a few Miles there was a Body got to rally.

With reference to present topography, the first map shows that the British left was at the Pennsylvania railroad and Corey avenue, the right at the river and Turtle Creek at Frazier's; the convoy spread out from this point as far west as Thirteenth street. The "Hollow Way"

is just beyond Braddock Station on the Pennsylvania railroad. The British advance got as far north as Kirkpatrick avenue and Corey street in North Braddock borough. The French and Indians were massed on the south side of the railroad about Copeland Station; the main body of the British were north of the present line of the Pennsylvania tracks.

The second map shows the British huddled about the location of Braddock Station of that road, perhaps slightly above, surrounded on three sides, with an open way to the east. The convoys are shown at the railroad in front of the furnaces, a few Indians are on their left flank; French and Indians on right flank (though scattered) as far east as Bessemer Station, with skulking parties behind trees endeavoring to entirely surround the British. At the time of the battle Frazier's house was deserted. From there it was eight miles to Fort Duquesne by a rough path.

Mackellar was with Gage in the advance. Parkman says his map was never fully approved by the chief officers, presumably Gage and Burton, but it does correspond closely to one made by Capt. Orme, whose plan, the last of six, was engraved in 1758 and published by Jeffreys in his work, "General Topography of North America and the West Indies," London, 1768. This work contains a plan of Fort Duquesne also, which Jeffreys calls "le Quesne."



E Braddock.

BRADDOCK'S GRAVE

CHAPTER XVII.

Edward Braddock, Generalissimo, Continued.

The reader has reached a point in the story of Braddock where some of the many personal characterizations of this singular man must have place. Despite the traditions of brutality and dissoluteness that have been handed down through the years, it will be seen that there was nevertheless, much good in him—much that appeals. In the language of Sargent: "His faults were evidently considered by men of worth rather as foibles than vices; his intimacies were with persons of character and honor; in many respects he was worthy of their confidence, though his excesses must often have lost it."

Admitting that in private life Braddock was dissolute in disposition, "a very Iroquois," according to Walpole, "on the other hand it need not be forgotten that Braddock was for forty-three years in the service of the famed Coldstream Guards; that he probably conducted himself with courage in the Vigo expedition and in the Low Countries, and was a survivor of bloody Dettingen, Culloden, Fontenoy, and Bergen-op-Zoom. In 1753 he was stationed at Gibraltar where "with all his brutality," writes Walpole, "he made himself adored, and where scarce any governor was endured before."¹

But Braddock has had eulogists and some softened tones. can be heard. Washington said of him: "Thus died a man whose good and bad qualities were intimately blended. His attachments were warm and there was no disguise about him. He was brave even to a fault."

Washington, too, was as vexed as Braddock by the conduct of the Pennsylvania people and, excusing Braddock's intemperate counsels as expressed in Braddock's letters, Washington said: "A people who ought rather to be chastised for their insensibility to danger and disregard of their sovereign's expectations."²

Braddock, like John Forbes and James Grant, was a Scotchman, born in Perthshire, about 1695. He was, therefore, sixty years old at the time of his defeat. He entered the British service in the celebrated Coldstream Guards as an ensign, at the age of fifteen, and served in Flanders. Sargent says that it is not known where Braddock was born. ("Braddock's Expedition," p. 115). Nevertheless, all the Encyclopedias consulted for this work, including the "Brittanica," state that Braddock was born in Perthshire. In a note in a subsequent quotation Hulbert directly contradicts the Encyclopedias. Sargent thinks the name "Braddock" is Saxon, rather than Celtic or Erse, and its meaning is "Broad Oak."

If veracious historians are to be believed in their accounts of Braddock's lurid language on his expedition, he was one of that renowned

¹"Walpole's Letters;" Vol. II, p. 461. London Edition, 1877.

²"Writings of Washington;" Sparks, Vol. I, p. 78. For Braddock's correspondence, see "Olden Time;" Vol. II, pp. 225-240.

army in Flanders that gave it its ever-memorable reputation for profanity. His private life was not above reproach but he was a brave man and a good soldier—in Europe. He was made a brigadier in 1746, hence had had a general command for nine years before coming to America. He was made a major-general in 1754. His appointment to this came through the Duke of Cumberland. We learn further of his career:³

He was a lieutenant-colonel of the line and a major of the Foot Guards, the choicest corps of the British army—a position which cost the holder no less than eighteen thousand dollars. He was born in Ireland but was not Irish, for neither Scotch, Irish, nor Papist could aspire to the meanest rank of the Foot Guards. He was as old as his century. His promotion in the army had been jointly due to the good name of his father, Edward Braddock, who was retired as major-general in 1715, to his passion for strict discipline, and to the favor of His Grace the Duke of Cumberland. Braddock's personal bravery was proverbial; it was said that his troops never faced a danger when their commander was not "greedy to lead."

Anecdotes of Braddock furnished by Walpole have been accorded insertion in Irving's "Life of Washington" and in Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," to which reference may be had.⁴

Careful consideration must be given estimates of Braddock's character and many can be cited. Walpole sums up Braddock's character in these words, quoted by Sargent ("Expedition," p. 112): "Desperate in his fortunes, brutal in his behavior, obstinate in his sentiments, he was still intrepid and capable." In the opinion of Samuel Adams Drake, the estimation of Franklin, taken with that of Walpole's, "probably hits off Braddock quite accurately."

Drake is not quite sure, one may observe, and just how accurately Braddock was hit off has an equal measure of uncertainty.

One of the most incisive of the maligners (or shall we say acerb critics?) of Braddock is Julian Hawthorne:

Braddock was ready to advance in April, if only he had "horses and carriages," which by Franklin's exertions were supplied. The bits of dialogue and comment in which the grizzled nincompoop was an interlocutor, or of which he was the theme, are as amusing as a page from a comedy of Shakespeare. Braddock has been called brave, but the term is inappropriate; he could fly in a rage when his brutal or tyrannical instincts were questioned or thwarted, and become insensible for a time, even to physical danger. Ignorance, folly and self-conceit not seldom make a man seem fearless who is a poltroon at heart. Braddock's death was a better one than he deserved; he raged about the field like a dazed bull; fly he could not; he was incapable of adopting any intelligent measures to save his troops; on the contrary he kept reiterating conventional orders in a manner that showed his wits were gone. The bullet that dropped him did him good service, but his honor was so little sensitive that he felt no gratitude at being thus saved the consequences of one of the most disgraceful and wilfully incurred defeats that ever befell an English general.⁵

³"Braddock's Roads, etc.," A. B. Hulbert, pp. 36-37. A most admirable little work. See also "Braddock's Expedition," etc.; Sargent, p. 123.

⁴Cf. "Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second," 1847, Vol. II, pp. 29-32. It is to be noted that later historians have usually followed Walpole in the characterization of Braddock.

⁵"United States from the Landing of Columbus to the Signing of the Protocol with Spain," J. Hawthorne, Vol. I, p. 315.

From acerbity, Hawthorne passes in a moment to praise:

In that hell of explosions, smoke, yells and carnage, Washington was clear-headed and alert, and passed to and fro amid the rain of bullets as if his body were no more mortal than his soul. The contingent of Virginia troops—the "raw American militia" as Braddock had called them,—“who have little courage or good will, from whom I expect almost no military service, though I have employed the best officers to drill them;” these men did almost the only fighting that was done on the English side, but they were too few to avert the disaster.

Gentler far the remarks of Drake:

Braddock! He, poor general, died of his wounds after reaching the Great Meadows, there finding in a soldier's grave full and entire immunity from the reproaches that everywhere followed the mention of his name. Once only did he open his lips on the night of the battle to feebly articulate the words, so full of meaning for him: "Who would have thought it."⁶

There is great extenuation for the misguided, erring Braddock. More than a century and a half after the tragedy on the banks of our Monongahela, July 9, 1755, comes Arthur Granville Bradley and softens the aspersions upon the character of this slain soldier of Britain—in fact, endeavors to remove them, to show the general in a better, truer light. Sorry the lot of the soldier who fails, even though he fall. Braddock came to America in command of the first substantial force of British regulars that had ever landed on American soil up to that time. Bradley places Braddock in the newer, truer light especially for us of Pittsburgh and vicinity who have heard his name only in execration. It is well to ponder deeply on Bradley's words. He says:

Concerning Braddock, seeing that his name has been immortalized by the tragedy for which some hold him, in part, accountable, a word or two must be said. He was over sixty years of age, and was the choice of the Duke of Cumberland, then commander-in-chief. As he had neither wealth nor influence, American warfare not being in request by fortune's favorites, we may fairly suppose that he was selected on his merits. No name has been more irresponsibly played upon and few reputations perhaps more hardly used than Braddock's by most writers of history and nearly all writers of fiction. His personality, from its very contrast to the wild woods in which he died, has caught the fancy of innumerable pens and justice has been sadly sacrificed to picturesque effect. One is almost inclined to think that the mere fact of his name beginning with a letter which encourages a multiplication of strenuous epithets, has been against him. He is regarded as a typical red-coat of the Hanoverian period by all American writers—burly, brutal, blundering, blasphemous, but happily always, and without a dissentient note—brave, indeed, as a lion. The familiar picture of our poor general as a corpulent, red-faced, blaspheming bull-dog, riding roughshod over colonial susceptibilities, tones down amazingly when one comes to hard facts. Legends of his former life are, with peculiar lack of generosity, quoted for what they are worth, and when examined they seem to be worth nothing. Walpole airs his wit in one or two doubtful aspersions, and a play of Fielding's⁷ is in little reason supposed to satirise the general's earlier years. What is really known about Braddock is in his favor. Vanquished in a duel, he had been too proud to ask his life. In command at Gibraltar, he was "adored by his men," and this, though he was notorious as a strict disciplinarian, a quality which Wolfe at this very time declares to be the most badly needed one in the British army. Braddock had been in the Guards, had enjoyed a private income of some £300 a year, which, it may be noted, since "spendthrift" is one of the epithets hurled at him, he slightly

⁶"Making of Ohio Valley States;" Drake, p. 71.

⁷"The Covent-Garden Tragedy."

increased during his lifetime. The night before he sailed he went with his two aides, Burton and Orme, to see Mrs. Bellamy, and left her his will drawn up in favor of her husband. He also produced a map and remarked with a touch of melancholy that he was "going forth to conquer whole worlds with a handful of men and to do so must cut his way through unknown woods." He was, in fact, the first British general to conduct a considerable campaign in a remote wilderness. He had neither precedents nor the experience of others to guide him, and he found little help in the Colonies, where he had been taught to look for much. He has been accused of disparaging the Colonial irregulars and neglecting to utilize the Indians. As to the first taunt, having regard to the appearance and discipline of the provincial troops that were paraded before Braddock, he would not as a soldier trained on European fields, have been human had he not refrained from open criticism; as to the second, we shall see that was untrue. Braddock had been given to understand that the transport and commissariat would be provided by Virginia and her neighbors, whereas he found that not only was nothing ready, but that there was no ground even for future expectations in that particular. If as an officer of the Cumberland regime he had used the vigorous language of that school, it would surely have been almost justified by circumstances; but there is no particular evidence that he did even so much. His accomplishments in this line are in all probability part of the more or less fancy dress in which writers have delighted to clothe him. Robert Orme, of the 35th Regiment, but recently of the Coldstreams, was one of the general's aides-de-camp, and has left us an invaluable journal of the expedition. Orme was highly thought of, both by regulars and provincials and regarded as a man of great sense and judgment, even by those who did not like Braddock and thought him, from their Colonial point of view, unconciliatory and overbearing. Orme in his private diary gives no hint that Braddock was the violent, foul-mouthed person of the magazine writer. He was as much disheartened as his chief by the appearance and seeming temper of the Colonial troops, and dwells on the trying conditions which Braddock had to meet and the energy and honesty with which he endeavored to do his duty.⁸

To the charge that Braddock refused or neglected to utilize the Indians who attached themselves to the expedition, he had an adequate and unassailable defense. These allies, of whom but forty or fifty were warriors, were awaiting Braddock at Wills Creek. Nine actually remained, including Monocatootha and his son, who was killed. These Indians were Iroquois and had their families with them, and they composed the hundred of whom Franklin speaks. There being no provisions for the entertainment of the Indian women and children while the braves were on the warpath, it was absolutely imperative that these non-combatants be sent to their homes. The chief reason for sending them away was a moral one. The presence of the Indian women in the neighborhood of the troops was more than indiscreet—it led to a state of licentiousness that was open and disgusting. Richard Peters, secretary of Pennsylvania, who was in the camps, stated that there were high quarrels among the Indians, and the great cause of discontent among them other than not being frequently consulted by the general, was the conduct of the royal officers towards the Indian women. Peters said that the officers were so scandalously fond of their swarthy lovers that the general was compelled to issue an order forbidding admission to the camps of any Indian women.⁹

Bradley has not heard of Shirley's letter (Braddock's secretary) to Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, from Fort Cumberland, May 23, 1755,

⁸"The Fight with France for North America;" A. G. Bradley, pp. 82-84.

⁹"Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, p. 172, and the citations in footnote thereon, Croghan's statement.

and perhaps Bradley has not read Sargent's work entirely, for Sargent records that July 8th, when Braddock was at Crooked Run, William Shirley, the general's secretary, was out of all patience at the manner in which the expedition had been conducted, and was determined to go back to England the moment a campaign was brought to a close, the success of which he was more than doubtful. Poor Shirley, the son of Governor and Gen. William Shirley, fell on the fatal 9th of July, shot through the head. Six weeks before, he wrote Governor Morris a long letter in which he expressed his doubts of his general's ability and the success of the expedition. The Peters he mentioned was Richard Peters, then secretary of the Colony of Pennsylvania. In part Shirley wrote:

I don't know what description Mr. Peters will give you of our camp and the principal persons in it, but as this goes into his pocket, I will give you mine, grounded upon the observations of several months. We have a G———, most judiciously chosen for *being disqualified for the service he is employed in*, in almost every respect. He may be brave for what I know; and he is honest in pecuniary matters; but as the King said of a neighboring governor of yours, when proposed for the command of the American forces about a twelve-month ago, and recommended as a very honest man, though not remarkably able: "*A little more ability and a little less honesty upon the present occasion might serve our Force better.*" If it is to happen that secondary officers can make amends for the defects of a first, the main spring must be the mover, others in many cases can do no more than follow and correct a little its motions. As to these I don't think we have much to boast; some are insolent and ignorant; others capable, but rather aiming at their own abilities than making a proper use of them. I have a very great love for my friend Orme, and think it uncommonly fortunate for our leader that he is under the influence of so honest and capable a man; but I wish for the sake of the public, he had more experience of business, particularly in America.

As to myself, I came out of England expecting that I might be taught the business of a military secretary, but I am already convinced of my mistake. I would willingly hope my time may not be quite lost to me. You will think me out of humor. I own I am so, I am greatly disgusted at seeing an expedition (as it is called) so ill concerted originally in England, and so ill appointed, so improperly conducted since in America, and so much fatigue and expense incurred for a purpose which, if attended with success, might better had been left alone. I speak with regard to our particular case; however, so much experience as I have had of the injudiciousness of public opinion, that I will have so little reputation when we return to England, of being received with great applause. I was likewise farther chagrined at seeing the prospect of affairs in America, while we were in Alexandria. I looked upon the very great and preventing causes through delays and disappointments, which might have been prevented till all is grown cloudy, and in danger of ending in little or nothing. I have hopes, however, that the attempt against Niagara will succeed, which is the principal thing—I don't know whether there are any more but yourself to whom I would have written some facts of his letter, or could have, at present, justified myself in doing it; but there is a pleasure in unburthening one's self to a friend. I shall be very happy to have reason to retract hereafter what I have here said, and submit to be censured as moody and apprehensive. I don't comprehend my Father's reasons for building the vessel which you mention. I hope, my dear Morris, to spend a tolerable winter with you. Pray take no notice of any fact of this letter to me in your answer, for fear of accidents. I refer you to Mr. Peter's for business.

Yours most sincerely,

W. SHIRLEY.¹⁰

¹⁰See letter in "Colonial Records of Penna.;" Vol. VI, pp. 404-406, and in "History Western Penna., etc.;" Rupp, p. 106.

The records say that "The Governor then in confidence communicated to Mr. Peters a private letter he had received from Mr. Shirley, and as it contained Truths of Importance, he desired him to enter it in the Council Minutes. After they were read that it might remain there, and none at present be made acquainted with it."

Bradley has something to say of Washington, whose estate at Mount Vernon lay within a few miles of the camp at Alexandria, where Braddock's troops had disembarked, and to which camp Washington was a frequent visitor. "A stickler for punctilio, and with a keen sense of justice, Washington," says Bradley, "had resented an order which placed all King's officers over all provincial officers, irrespective of rank or experience, and before Braddock's landing had resigned his commission. Such a keen soldier as he was sorely tantalized, we may be sure, by all this pomp of war. Nobody ever seems to have thought of snubbing Washington, and to save him the indignity he would not stomach, namely, that of ranking colonel as he was, under a British ensign, Braddock with kindly forethought placed him on his personal staff."

Regarding the Indian help for Braddock, Bradley explains that Governor Dinwiddie had undertaken that 120 warriors should be at his service. It was not his fault that less than half that number, and those anything but zealous, came straggling in. They were so hampered, moreover, with women and children, that the provincial officers assured Braddock that the tax on the commissariat would be greater than the assistance of so small a number was worth. The general has been roundly accused of despising Indian help, whereas he never had a chance to reject it in any substantial form, though he made all the advances which his somewhat helpless position admitted of; indeed he made their backwardness one of his chief complaints. As it was, less than a dozen went through to the end with him as scouts.

After Braddock had been two months in Virginia, in spite of indefatigable exertions, he found himself thwarted and balked at every turn. "If he showed some temper," remarks Bradley, "and used strong language, he may well be excused, for though 1,500 horses and 125 wagons were needed by the end of April, 25 wagons only had been secured and these mostly by his own exertions. No wagons were to be had in all Virginia. Now comes Franklin, then postmaster at Philadelphia, on the scene, and becomes the general's right hand," says Bradley, "dining daily at his table—the first capable and sensible man I have met in this country," wrote poor Braddock to his government."

The story of how Braddock was fitted out with wagons by Franklin is well known history. Not only with means of transportation was poor Braddock worried, but by rascally contractors for food. Rancid meat and short weight in flour would exasperate a modern general; then, too, some of the horses furnished Braddock were stolen by the very men who sold them to him. Whatever may have been Braddock's faults, admitting he cursed both the country and the government which sent him there, "he at least spared neither himself nor his private purse,

which last he drew upon freely, Orme tells us, in his struggle for ways and means."¹¹

Bradley sums up thus:

Braddock, to be sure, was no great general. He was sent to carry out an undertaking arduous and unprecedented in British experience and he did his best in the face of immense difficulties, human and physical. Both he and his people had perhaps grown a little too confident after crossing the second ford. Till then, however, he was entirely successful, and even so it was no ambush in the ordinary sense of the term. With his scouts farther forward he would have had, it is true, a little more notice; but under no circumstances were his regulars qualified to face even a lesser number of Indians in their native woods, while there were not 200 provincial combatants on the field of battle and many of these had no backwoods experience whatever. ("Struggle, etc.," Bradley, p. 103).

In the pathos of his dying hours can be seen the proud spirit of Braddock crushed by the awe of defeat. Too late he saw his error and was repentant. The briefest of soliloquies, a mere ejaculation, the first evening after the battle, gives clue to his thoughts: "Who would have thought it?" he asked. Throughout the next day he was silent as on the preceding, yet hope had not departed. Again he ejaculated: "We shall know better how to deal with them another time." Who can say that as his heartbeats slackened, the dying Braddock was not fully conscious that he was leaving for all time his name a synonym for disaster and his fame would be that of a leader utterly routed. We can present Irving's estimate of Braddock with the others:

Reproach spared him not even in his grave. The failure of the expedition was attributed both in England and America, to his obstinacy, his technical pedantry and his military conceit. He had been continually warned to be on his guard against ambush and surprise, but without avail. Had he taken the advice urged on him by Washington and others to employ scouting parties of Indians and rangers, he would never have been so signally surprised and defeated. Still his dauntless conduct on the field of battle shows him to have been a man of fearless spirit; and he was universally allowed to have been an accomplished disciplinarian. His melancholy end, too, disarms censure of its asperity. Whatever may have been his faults and errors, he in a manner expiated them by the hardest lot that can befall a brave soldier, ambitious of renown—an unhonored grave in a strange land, a memory clouded by misfortune, and a name forever coupled with defeat.¹²

The character of Braddock has been well drawn by James Grahame, a Scotch historian of the last century:

Braddock was a man of courageous and determined spirit, and expert in the tactics and evolutions of European regiments and regular warfare. But, destitute of real genius, and pedantically devoted to the formalities of military science, he was fitter to review than to command an army; and scrupled not to express his contempt for any troops, however sufficient in other respects, whose exercise on parade did not display the same regularity and dexterity which he had been accustomed to witness, and unfortunately to overhaul, in a regiment of English guards in Hyde Park. Rigid in enforcing the most trifling punctilios and in inflicting the harshest severities of military discipline, haughty, obstinate, presumptuous, and difficult of access, he was unpopular among his own troops, and excited the disgust of both the Americans and the Indians. There are two sorts of vulgarity of mind; to the one of which it is congenial timidly to over-

¹¹"Fight with France, etc.," Bradley, p. 89.

¹²"Life of Washington;" W. Irving, Vol. I, p. 202.

rate, and to the other presumptuously to underrate, the importance of scenes and circumstances remote from the routine of its ordinary experience. The latter of these qualities had too much place in the character of Braddock, who, though totally unversant with American warfare, and strongly warned by the Duke of Cumberland that ambush and surprise were the dangers which he had chiefly to apprehend in such cases, scorned to solicit counsel adapted to the novelty of his situation from the only persons who were competent to afford it. Despising the credulity that accepted all that was reported of the dangers of Indian warfare, he refused, with fatal skepticism, to believe any part of it. It seemed to him degrading to the British army to suppose that he needed directions of provincial officers, or could be endangered by the hostility of Indian foes.¹⁸

Craig naturally had recourse to Franklin's Memoirs for that worthy's opinion of Braddock, and in "The Olden Time" (Vol I, p. 89), there will be found the following headings and introductory lines with Franklin's observations following:

DR. FRANKLIN'S

NOTICE OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT AND OF THAT OFFICER'S CHARACTER.

Dr. Franklin was a good deal in his camp, had much personal intercourse with him, and thus speaks of him in his Memoirs:

"This General was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, etc., if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him. In conversation with him, one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. 'After taking Fort Duquesne,' he said, 'I am to proceed to Niagara; and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I will then see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara.' Having before resolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of one thousand five hundred French, who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, 'To be sure, Sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians who, by constant practice, are dextrous in laying and executing them, and the slender line, near four miles long which your army must take, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and not be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other.' He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, Sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.' I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man, in matters of his profession, and said no more. The enemy, however, did not take advantage of his army which I apprehended its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance, without interruption, till within nine miles of the place; and then, when more in a body, and in a more open part of the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard, by a heavy fire from behind the trees and bushes; which was the first intelligence the General had of any enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the General hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion, through wagons, baggage and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank; the officers on horseback were more easily distinguished,

¹⁸"History, etc., U. S. of North America;" Vol. III, p. 394, quoted by I. D. Rupp, in "Hist. Western Penna. and West;" p. 115.

picked out as marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at, till two-thirds of them were killed; and then, being seized with a panic, the remainder fled with precipitation. The wagoners took each horse out of his team and scampered; their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery and stores were left to the enemy. The General being wounded, was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side, and out of eighty-six officers sixty-three were killed or wounded; and seven hundred and fourteen men killed out of eleven hundred. These eleven hundred had been picked men from the whole army; and the rest had been left behind with Col. Dunbar, who was to follow with the heavier part of the stores, provisions, and baggage. The flyers, not being pursued, arrived at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seized him and all his people. And though he had now above one thousand men, and the enemy who had beaten Braddock did not exceed four hundred Indians and French together, instead of proceeding and endeavoring to recover some of the lost honor, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, etc., to be destroyed, that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements, and less number to remove. He was there met with requests from the Governors of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania that he would post his troops on the frontiers, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continued his hasty march through all the country, not thinking himself safe, till he arrived at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him. This whole transaction gave the Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular forces had not been well founded.

"In the first march, too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing and confining the people if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders, if we really wanted any. How different was the conduct of our French families in 1781, who, during a march through the most inhabited part of our country, from Rhode Island to Virginia, near 700 miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint, for the loss of a pig, chicken, or even an apple!

"Captain Orme, who was one of the General's Aides-de-Camp, and being grievously wounded, was brought off with him, and continued with him to his death, which happened in a few days, told me he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, 'Who would have thought it?' That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, 'We shall better know how to deal with them another time,' and died in a few minutes after.

"The doctor mentions one anecdote of a favorable cast: 'As to the rewards from himself, I asked only one, which was that he would give orders to his officers not to enlist any more of our bought servants, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly returned to their masters, on my application.'

"In another circumstance, we are bound to recognize a just and elevated accident, Franklin learned afterwards, that Braddock in his despatches to Government had borne earnest testimony to the Doctor's zeal and efficiency.

"The Secretary's papers, with all the General's orders, instructions and correspondence, falling into the enemy's hands, they selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed, to prove the hostile intentions of the British Court before the declaration of war. Among these I saw some letters of the General to the ministry, speaking highly of the great services I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice."

Bradley notes with regret that Dr. Franklin did not return Braddock's regard.

Some extracts from historians of Braddock's times have peculiar interest for us now. Thus John Entick:

Thus ended the tragical expedition, whose bad consequences to the British interest were rendered worse by increasing the spirit and activity of our enemies, and confirming the Indians in the interest of their new allies. Besides, the Indians, in the Brit-

ish interest, despised us for not being able to protect ourselves; and such an universal panic seized on all our colonies, that they seemed, for some time, to give up all for lost.

At home great pains was taken by the public to fix the cause of his misfortune. Some cast the whole blame upon the general; others were as sanguine against the ministry. But a little impartiality and cool attention, will discover both the general and the ministry at fault. The capital mistake was his orders to land in Virginia instead of Pennsylvania, for the reasons already given. Then his march would have been shortened six weeks and performed with less fatigue and expense. His obstinacy, severity and inattention to the advice of his officers, etc., his contemptuous behaviour towards the provincials, and his neglect to reconnoitre the enemy and to make a proper disposition and use of his artillery on the day of action, fell heavy upon Braddock.¹⁴

These paragraphs from the scholarly Burk appeal to us:

The absence of Dunbar from the battle of Monongahela was esteemed a fortunate incident. For amidst the panic that prevailed, numbers would have been rather an injury; and but for the provisions found in his camp, no human expedient could have saved the lives of the army. * * *

At this place died general Braddock, a man by his ardour and resolution, his noble contempt of death, his generous thirst for fame, deserving a better fate. His misfortunes and those of the army arose from a fatal mistake, into which he had fallen in common with all the officers of the regulars serving in America; an obstinate perseverance in the principles of the art of war conducted by large armies in Europe; a too high an opinion of the courage and discipline of British regulars, one somewhat bordering on contempt for the provincial troops. It was owing to this blind and fatal presumption that the provincial corps was left behind at Fort Cumberland at the Little and Great Meadows and with Dunbar: and only three companies of Virginians were retained with the main army, and even these, perhaps, merely in compliment to Mr. Washington and the colony, which was the immediate theatre of action.

But a mistake so general, that it becomes a sort of popular belief, ought to affect only in a slight degree the fame of the commander in chief. In Europe his adherence to system, added to his genius and courage, would have probably insured success to his efforts. In any event, his magnanimous courage, added to his misfortunes, will raise up for him advocates among the brave; and the traveller as he walks on the banks of the Monongahela, and contrasts the proud array and majestic spectacle of Braddock's passage of the river in the morning, with the afflicting view of a shattered army with their dying general repassing it in the afternoon, will mingle with his reflections on the capricious tenure of human greatness, a sentiment of sorrow for the fate of this gallant spirit.¹⁵

Coming back to modern writers, Worthington Chauncey Ford, biographer of Washington, furnishes his estimate of Braddock to go with those who wrote before him. He is decidedly unfavorable. However, his remarks are to be considered. He says:

Braddock possessed faults of character, and faults that rendered him unfitted for the service he was about to undertake. Ignorance of the country and the people was not the greatest defect, for that could be overcome in part by the counsel of those who did know this important matter. To this ignorance no greater than that of his superiors in England, was joined a contempt of the enemy to be encountered. A small body of French, assisted by a few uncivilized and unnecessary natives who had never been able to stand against the discipline and equipments of the regular forces, not even against the crudely constituted armies of the colonies, was nothing to present a serious obstacle to a commander confident of easy success. Even this great trust in his own strength and abilities could be modified by the judicious advice of those who had faced the Indians and met defeat at the hands of the French. The most difficult attitude to overcome was an insolent contempt for his allies—the regiments and companies raised

¹⁴"History Late War;" John Entick, London, 1766; Vol. I, p. 147.

¹⁵"History of Virginia;" John D. Burk, Vol. III, pp. 205-206.

by the colonies, and the bands of Indians who had thrown their fortunes on the side of the English. No persuasion, no warnings, no threats, could soften this crying fault, one that was shared by commander and royal officers alike. However able and even brilliant Braddock might be in other directions, his offensive treatment and disregard of what might have been the most useful part of his command threatened disaster from the beginning.

Washington at every opportunity urged the necessity of modifying the methods of advance and attack to meet those employed by the French and Indians. The very nature of the country called for this, for the mountains and covered country did not lend themselves readily to the tactics of the regular army. Discipline and the rule of thumb laid down in military manuals proved stronger, however, and ruled the policy of the General.¹⁶

A recent historian, the Honorable John William Fortesque, says of Braddock:

It was as a favorite exponent of Cumberland's military creed that Braddock was sent to North America. He was born and trained for such actions as Fontenoy; and it was his fate to be confronted with a difficult problem in savage warfare. His task was that which since his day has been repeatedly sent to British officers, namely to improvise a new system of fighting wherewith to meet the peculiar tactics of a strange enemy in a strange country. Too narrow, too rigid, and too proud to apprehend the position, he applied the time-honored methods of Flanders and he failed. Other officers have since fallen into the like error, owing not a little to a false system of training and have likewise failed; and vast as is our experience in savage warfare, it may be that the tale of such officers is not yet fully told. Nevertheless, though Braddock's ideal of a British officer may have been mistaken, it cannot be called low. In rout and ruin and disgrace, with the hand of death gripping tightly at his throat, his stubborn resolution never wavered and his untameable spirit was never broken. He kept his head and did his work to the last, and thought of his duty while thought was left in him. His body was buried under the road, that the passage of the troops over it might obliterate his grave and save it from desecration from the Indians. But the lesson he had learned too late was not lost on his successors, and it may truly be said that it was over the bones of Braddock that the British advanced again to the conquest of Canada.¹⁷

Fortesque's reference to Cumberland is to the able Duke of Cumberland, captain-general of the British army, the hero of Culloden, who succeeded the Duke of New Castle in 1754, who has been written into the history of Great Britain as having been as perfect an ass as ever held public office. To follow Fortesque, as he continues his estimate of Braddock:

His faithful aide-de-camp, Captain Orme, though himself badly wounded, remained with him to the end and has recorded his last words; but there was little speech now left in the rough, bullying martinet, whose mouth had once been so full of oaths, and whose voice had been the terror of every soldier. It was not only that his lungs were shot through and through, but that his heart was broken. Throughout the first day's march he lay white and silent with his life's blood bubbling up through his lips, nor was it till evening that his misery found vent in the almost feminine ejaculation, "Who would have thought it?" Again through the following day he remained silent, until towards sunset, as if to sum up repentance for past failure and good hope for the future, he murmured gently, "Another time we shall know how to deal with them." And so having learned his lesson he lay still, and a few minutes later he was dead.

We can agree with Fortesque's remark that with all Braddock's faults, this rude indomitable spirit appeals irresistibly to our sympathy.

¹⁶"George Washington;" W. C. Ford, Vol. I, p. 64.

¹⁷"History of the British Army;" John William Fortesque, 1899; Vol. II, pp. 280-281.

Halket is a name commemorated in a Pittsburgh street name in the Oakland district. The story of his melancholy end will never lose its sadness or fade while the name of Braddock endures. Like Braddock, Sir Peter was Scotch, more so perhaps in actions and speech. One may say he was broadly Scotch in all particulars. Sir Peter hailed from Pitferri, Fifeshire, the county across the Firth of Forth from Edinburgh. He was a baronet of Nova Scotia. His father was Sir Peter Wedderburne, who had assumed his wife's name, so that Sir Peter's name was not Halket but Wedderburne. In 1734 Sir Peter sat in Parliament (the House of Commons) for Dunfermline, noted as the birthplace of John Forbes, who gave Pittsburgh its name, better known as the birthplace of Andrew Carnegie. It may be noted we have Dunfermline street in Pittsburgh. Dunfermline is in Fifeshire, not far from Edinburgh. Sir Peter Halket was lieutenant-colonel of the 44th British Regiment at Sir John Cope's defeat in 1745 at Preston Pans. Released on parole by Charles Edward, he was ordered to rejoin his regiment, but honorably refused. Charles Edward was the "young pretender" who attempted to wrest the crown from George the Second, "snuffy old drone from a German hive," but a really great general, then fighting on the Continent in the war known in history as the "War of the Austrian Succession," terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, a treaty that had much to do with events in far-off America, and especially the region of the Ohio, as has been noted. Charles Edward, with Louis XV of France as his ally, landed in Scotland and raising an army defeated the royalist forces at Preston Pans and Falkirk, but was totally defeated by the Duke of Cumberland in the decisive battle of Culloden in 1746. This was the last battle fought on the soil of Great Britain, and "it terminated," says the historian lexicographer, Worcester, "the last effort of the Stuart family to reascend the throne, which had been forfeited by the most egregious folly, and the most flagitious attempts."

George the Second approved Halket's course. Halket married Lady Amelia Stewart, second daughter of Francis, eighth Earl of Moray.

Sir Peter was the father of three sons, Sir Peter, his successor in the army; Francis, major in the "Black Watch" regiment; and James, who was killed with his father.

When Forbes had come and gone, one of the first duties of Col. Hugh Mercer, left in command at the new fort here, and a perilous post, was to send a detachment to Braddock's battleground and bury the derelict dead, long the prey of the elements and the carnivora of the wilderness—bones only with cleft skulls lying where they fell, victims of the strangest battle in history up to that time—perhaps since—more a massacre than an engagement. Sir Peter Halket's remains were found and identified under these circumstances: It was the firm resolve of Gen. Forbes that the relics left on Braddock's field be searched for. As European soldiers were deemed unqualified for this work, Capt. West, the elder brother of the great American painter, Benjamin West, was sent with a company to assist in the execution of this duty.

Some Indians who had returned to the British interests and who had

been present in the battle, accompanied West. Some English officers also went along, including Maj. Sir Peter Halket, the slain colonel's eldest son. It was a solemn and affecting duty and it seemed a hopeless task that anyone could discriminate Maj. Halket's loved ones' remains from the common relics of the many. An Indian assured the major that he had seen an officer fall near a tree he had particularly noted, and this warrior's memory was impressed with the fact that he had witnessed a young officer running to the other's assistance who was almost instantly shot dead and fell across the other's body. The Indians regarded the expedition as a religious rite and were imbued with the spirit of the occasion. They guided the troops with awe and in profound silence.

It was a serious expedition wandering through the vast forest, appalled anon by the discovery of skeletons with cleft skulls lying here and there and some, too, with whole skulls arousing the suspicion that these were those of wounded men who had crawled away and perished of hunger. There was ample evidence, too, of the havoc that the wild beasts had made among the unburied dead. The warrior's memory was good. He led the detachment near the place. The men halted and rested on their arms. In a short time a shrill cry was heard from the searching Indians. The troops approached and were pointed to the tree. The men formed a circle while the warriors removed the leaves. Two skeletons were exposed, the one lying across the other. Maj. Halket said his father had an artificial tooth. The Indian lifted the upper skeleton and brought into clearer view the under one. Maj. Halket looked close and exclaimed: "It is my father." His emotions overcame him and he was supported by his companions. A grave was dug and the bones laid in it together. A Highland plaid was spread over them and the customary honors paid.

Galt relates:

When Lord Grosvenor bought the picture of the Death of Wolfe, Mr. West mentioned to him the finding of the bones of Braddock's army, as a pictorial subject, capable of being managed with great effect. The gloom of the vast forest, the naked and simple Indians supporting the skeletons, the grief of the son on recognizing the relics of his father, the subdued melancholy of the spectators, and the picturesque garb of the Pennsylvania Sharpshooters, undoubtedly furnished topics capable of every effect which the pencil could bestow, or the imagination require, in the treatment of so sublime a scene. His Lordship admitted that in possessing so affecting an incident as the discovery of the bones of the Halkets it was superior even to that of the search of the remains of the army of Varus; but, as the transaction was little known, and not recorded by any historian, he thought it (painting) would not be interesting to the public.¹⁸

It was John Burk, classical in training like Sargent and all the writers of his time, who in reading the story of the derelict dead on Braddock's field recalled at once the lost legions of Varus. He says:

This scene suggests a parallel situation in Roman history, described by the masculine eloquence of Tacitus:

"Not far hence lays the forest of Teutoburgium, and in it the bones of Varus and his legions, by report still unburied: Hence Germanicus became inspired with a tender passion to pay the last offices to the legions and their leader: and like tenderness likewise affected the whole army. They were moved with compassion, some for the fate of

¹⁸"Life Studies and Works of Benjamin West;" John Galt, p. 82-83. See "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 186-188; and Rupp, "History of Western Penna., etc.," pp. 112-113.

their friends, others for their relations, here tragically slain. They were struck with the doleful casualties of war, and the sad lot of humanity. Cœcina was sent before to examine the gloomy recesses of the forest, to lay bridges over the pools, and upon the deceitful marshes and causeways. The army entered the doleful solitude, hideous to memory. First they saw the camp of Varus, wide in circumference; and the three distinct places allotted to the different eagles shewed the number of the legions: further they beheld the ruinous intrenchment and the ditch nigh choaked up; in it the remains of the army were supposed to have made their last effort, and into have found their graves. In the open fields lay their bones all bleached and bare, some separate, some on heaps, just as they had happened to fall, flying for their lives or resisting unto death. Here were scattered the limbs of horses; there pieces of broken javelins, and the trunks of trees bore the skulls of men. In the adjacent groves, were the savage altars where the barbarians had made an horrible immolation of the tribunes and principal centurians. Those who survived the slaughter, having escaped from captivity and the sword, related the sad particulars to the rest. 'Here the commanders of the legions were slain; there we lost the eagles; here Varus had his first wound; there he gave himself another, and perished by his unhappy hand; in that place too stood the tribunal whence Arminius harangued; in this quarter, for the execution of his captives, he erected so many gibbets; in that, such a number of funeral trenches were digged and with these circumstances of pride and despite he insulted the ensigns and eagles.' Thus the Roman army buried the bones of three legions six years after the slaughter. Nor could any one distinguish whether he gathered the particular remains of a stranger or those of a kinsman; but all considered the whole as their friends, the whole as their relations, with heightened resentments against the foe, at once sad and revengeful; in this pious office, so acceptable to the dead, Germanicus was a partner in the woe of the living, and upon the common tomb laid the first sod."¹⁹

Craig remarks the circumstances attending the defeat of Varus and the subsequent visit of Germanicus with his army. Craig says these circumstances so closely resembled the details of the finding of the remains of Braddock's slain that he could not resist the temptation to notice them in the "Olden Time," although certain in so doing he would depart widely from the design of his magazine.

We have this mention five years after the battle: "September 1, 1760—Samuel Dominishear and myself set off through the woods for Braddock's field, and when we came to the place where they crossed the river Monongahela we saw a great many men's bones along the shore. We kept along the road for one and one-half miles where the first engagement began, where there are men's bones lying about as thick as leaves do on the ground."²⁰

In 1776, twenty-one years after the melancholy event, Jasper Yeates, a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, visited the battlefield, and found many skulls and bones of those who fell there, still lying in profusion upon the ground unburied. The marks of cannon and musket balls were then seen on the trees, some of them twenty feet from the ground. He remarked that the detachment in 1758, "buried the remains of more than four hundred and fifty; many were afterwards interred and many then remained unburied, as monuments of our shame." "It is now more than ninety years since the battle, and yet the vestiges of this

¹⁹"History of Virginia;" John Burk, Vol. III, p. 237-238, quoted from Tacitus, "Annals," Book I, section 60-62. See also "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 190-192, a freer translation.

²⁰Journal of Col. Jehu Eyre, "Penna. Magazine of History," Vol. III, p. 296.

BRADDOCK'S BATTLEFIELD TABLET

Three other tablets in the vicinity are as follows: (1) To indicate the location of John Frazier's Cabin, the first white man's cabin west of the Alleghanies, near the Edgar Thomson Steel Works. (2) To mark the location of Braddock's Spring near above. (3) On the wall of the Wallace Mansion, where Lafayette was a guest during his visit to America nearly half a century after the Revolutionary War.

fatal day remain. Grapeshot are still cut out of the trees, and the ploughman still turns up the corroded shot, and flattened bullets, and the ornaments of the British troops," observes I. D. Rupp.²¹

Sargent quotes from Judge Yeates as follows: "My feelings were heightened by the warm and glowing narration of that day's events by Dr. Walker, who was an eye-witness. He pointed out the ford where the army crossed the Monongahela (below Turtle Creek, eight hundred yards). A finer sight could not have been beheld; the shining barrels of the muskets, the excellent order of the men, the cleanliness of their apparel, the joy depicted on every face at being so near Fort Duquesne—the highest object of their wishes. The music reëchoed through the mountains. How brilliant the morning; how melancholy the evening!" ("Judge Yeates' Visit to Braddock's Field in 1776;" VI, Haz. Reg. 104).

Braddock's battle ground was for many years an object of interest to tourists. It was visited especially as such an object by military men. Major Ebenezer Denny records, May 15, 1788: "A Mr. White, a member of Congress and some gentlemen from Pittsburgh, accompanied the General (Harmar) in the barge on a visit up the Monongahela to Braddock's Field. We viewed the battle-ground. Saw several small heaps of bones which had been collected with a little brushwood thrown over them. The bones of the poor soldiers are still lying scattered through the woods, but the ground where the heaviest of the action was, is now under cultivation."²²

BRADDOCK'S GRAVE.

Braddock's grave is protected by American hands. November 2, 1871. Josiah King of the "Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette," and J. R. Murdock carried into execution a plan for inclosing the grave with a fence and setting out trees around it. They planted an English elm, two English larches, two Norway spruces, a willow descended from one imported by the late B. A. Fahnestock from the grave of Napoleon at St. Helena, and several varieties of American shrubbery. The grave is in the field belonging to the estate of the late James Dixon, on the north side of the old National turnpike, nine miles east of Uniontown, and William A. Gather, who lives on the adjoining farm, has promised Mr. King to interest himself in the preservation of the trees, and the fence is to be repainted this spring.²³

In the words of Hulbert:

The traveller at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, is within striking distance of Braddock's Road at its most interesting points. A six-mile climb to the summit of Laurel Hill brings one upon the old time route which will be found near Washington's spring. A delightful drive along the summit of the mountain northward brings one near the notorious "Dunbar's Camp" where so many relics of the campaign have been found and of which many may be seen in the museum of the nearby Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans' Home. Here Dunbar destroyed the quantities of stores and ammunition with which he could not advance, much less retreat. The visitor should here find "Jumonville's Grave" about a quarter of a mile up the valley, and should not miss the view from Dunbar's Knob.

²¹Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania;" Vol. VI, p. 104. Quoted by Rupp, "History Western Penna., etc.," p. 113.

²²"Military Journal;" p. 117.

²³Copy of a clipping from a newspaper pasted on inside cover of a copy of Sargent's "Braddock's Expedition," owned by James Veech; now in Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh.

Less than one mile eastward of Chalk Hill, beside a brook which bears Braddock's name, beneath a cluster of solemn pines, lies the dust of the sacrificed Braddock. If there is any question as to whether his body was interred at this spot, there is no question but that all the good he ever did is buried here. Deserted by those who should have helped him most, fed with promises that were never kept, defeated because he could not find the breath to cry "retreat" until a French bullet drove it to his throat—he is remembered by his private vices which the whole world would quickly have forgotten had he won his last fight. He was typical of his time—not worse.

In studying Braddock's letters, preserved in the Public Records Office, London, it has been of interest to note that he never blamed an inferior—as he boasted in the anecdote previously related. His most bitter letter has been reproduced, and a study of it will make each line of more interest. His criticism of the Colonial troops was sharp, but his praise of them when they had been tried in fire was unbounded. He does not directly criticize St. Clair—though his successful rival for honors on the Ohio, Forbes, accused St. Clair in 1758 not only of ignorance but of actual treachery. "This behavior in the people" is Braddock's charge, and no one will say the accusation was unjust.

* * * * *

There is little doubt that Braddock's dust lies here. He was buried in the roadway near this brook, and at this point, early in the last century, workmen repairing the road discovered the remains of an officer. The remains were reinterred here on the high ground beside Cumberland Road, on the opposite side of Braddock's Run. They were undoubtedly Braddock's.

As you look westward along the roadway toward the grave, the significant gorge on the right will attract your attention. It is the old pathway of Braddock's Road, the only monument of significant token in the world of the man from whom it was named. Buried once in it—near the cluster of gnarled apples-trees in the center of the open meadow beyond—he is now buried and finally no doubt beside it. But its hundreds of great gorges and vacant swamp-isles in the forests will last long after any monument that can be raised to his memory.

Braddock's Road broke the league the French made with the Alleghenies; it showed that British grit could do as much in the interior of America as in India or Africa or Egypt; it was the first important material structure in this New West, so soon to be filled with the sons of those who had hewn it.²⁴

James Hadden, of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, says:

Washington, on his visit to the west in 1784, sought to visit the last resting place of his former commander, through respect for the same, but his search was in vain. He wrote: "I made diligent search for the grave, but the road had been so much turned and the clear land so much extended that it could not be found."

Abraham Stewart, father of the Hon. Andrew Stewart, was road supervisor, and in 1812, while repairing the Braddock Road at this place, found human bones a few yards from the road. The military trappings found with them indicated that the remains were those of a British officer of rank, and as General Braddock was known to have been buried at this camp the bones doubtless were his. These bones were carefully gathered up and reinterred at a distance of one hundred and fifty yards eastward from the place they were found, at the foot of an oak tree. Mr. Stewart caused a board to be marked "Braddock's Grave," which was nailed to a tree. This tree was broken off during a severe storm about 1868. Josiah King, editor of the "Pittsburgh Gazette," frequently spent a few weeks vacation at Chalk Hill, in the vicinity of the grave of General Braddock, and noticing the dilapidated condition of this historic spot, made arrangement to have it enclosed by a neat and substantial fence. In 1872 he procured from Murdock's nursery a willow whose parent stem drooped over the grave of the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena and planted it over the remains of General Braddock, but unfortunately it soon withered and died. He then planted a number of pine trees within the enclosure, which still remain to indicate to the passerby the last resting place of Major General Edward Braddock.

²⁴"Braddock's Road, etc.;" A. B. Hulbert, p. 209-210.

The British Government has never taken the slightest notice of the spot where sleep the remains of one who gave his service and his life for the English cause. The situation is on the north side, and a few yards from the National Road, and a few rods east of where Braddock's run crosses that road and about ten miles east of Uniontown.²⁵

Since these words were penned by Hadden, the Braddock Park Memorial Association of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, has appropriately marked Braddock's grave with a suitable monument. The ceremonies were held October 15, 1913.

In Braddock Borough the name Burton once commemorated in the street now called Library, had to go before—we may call it the force of literature. Anyhow, Burton was long dead. Not so with the fame of Mr. Midshipman Talbot, and insignificant enough he was. The town has Talbot avenue yet, and this led the Rev. G. E. Hawes of Braddock to write: "Down before the march of a building filled with books, Talbot, a child of a book, becomes a man whose name is written on lamp-posts and proclaimed from house corners. The fates must have sat down and giggled when they saw Burton unhorsed and Talbot crowned."

Burton was lieutenant-colonel of Dunbar's regiment and was slightly wounded in the battle. Talbot was killed.

The effect of Braddock's battle is well phrased by Bradley—"it was prodigious, for neither before nor since has any battle had an exact parallel in British history. Shame and humiliation was felt in England, unbounded exultation in France, while the American colonists' faith in the invincibility of British soldiers was permanently shaken."

In the words of Franklin, "The battle gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded." There was indeed an awakening for the colonists.

In the language of Sparks in an introductory paragraph to his detailed description of the battle quoted by Albach and other writers of our Western history: "The defeat of Braddock is one of the most remarkable events in American history. Great preparations had been made for the expedition under that experienced officer and there was the most sanguine anticipation both in England and America of its entire success. Such was the confidence in the prowess of Braddock's army according to Franklin, that while on the march to Fort Duquesne a subscription paper was handed about in Philadelphia to raise money to celebrate his victory by bonfires and illuminations as soon as the intelligence should arrive."²⁶

It has been justly observed that people at this day have very little idea of the terrible consequences of the defeat on the Monongahela. The whole line of border settlements from the north line of Pennsylvania to the Carolinas was left exposed and frightened inhabitants were obliged to flee eastward, abandoning most of their possessions. The merciless Indian war on the borders became more merciless. Years of terror en-

²⁵"Washington's and Braddock's Expeditions;" pp. 100-101.

²⁶"Writings of Washington;" Sparks, Vol. II, p. 77. "Works of Franklin;" *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 94.

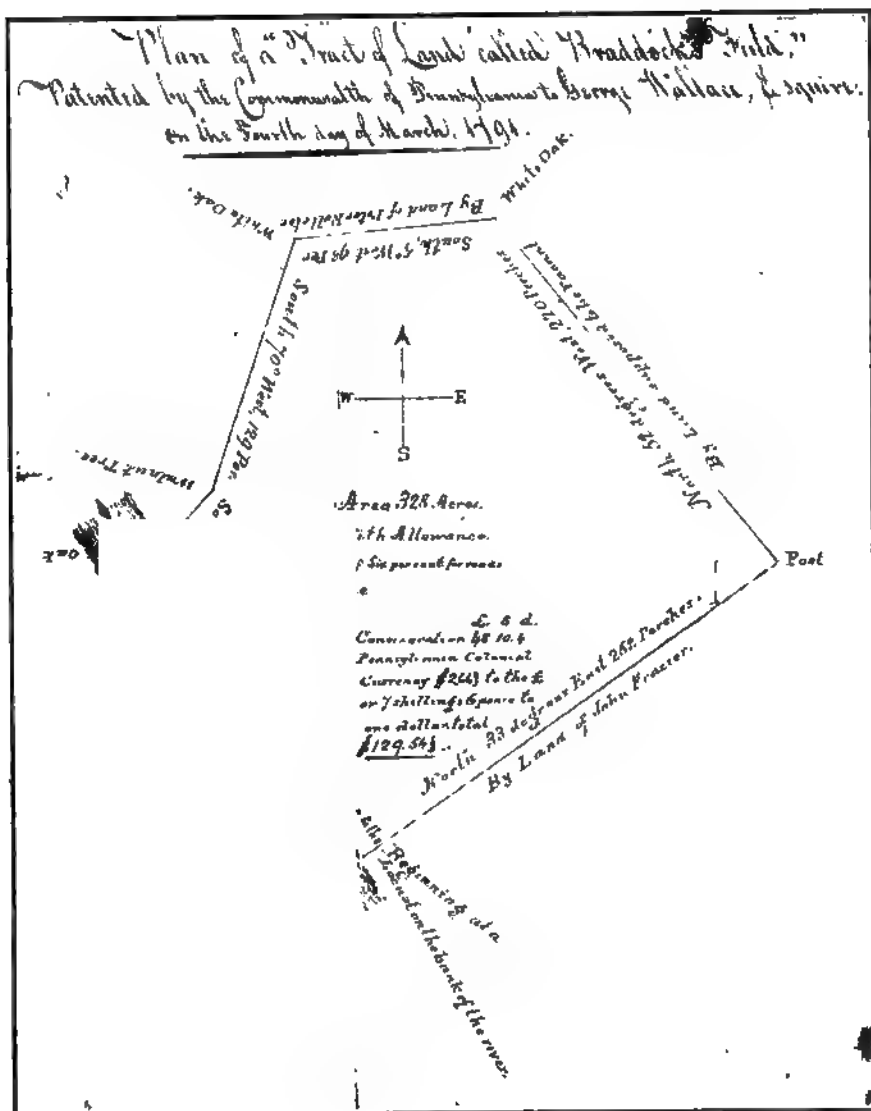
sued. Then came Forbes, and Bouquet, and finally Wayne, and the winning of the West was begun.

Braddock's defeat had two effects; one immediately bad; from the other came good years later. First, the defeat inspired the Indians with contempt for the English soldiers and respect for the military ability of the French. The neutral tribes who had wavered, no longer did so, but came over to the French. They began to regard their own prowess with unbounded complacency and days of woe followed for the colonists. The second effect, wherein the defeat was not a misfortune, lay in the wide-open fact that the English army was not invincible. The American colonist lost his reverence for the English soldier. Henceforth there came always in mind the action of that soldier on the banks of the Monongahela and the measure of his worth was taken accordingly.

Today from the heights of Kennywood, gazing across the placid river towards the scenes of slaughter of 166 years ago, it is proper to repeat the inquiry of the contrite general: "Who would have thought it?" and we may add his last words also: "Next time we shall know how to deal with them," for the next time, November 25, 1758, came Forbes and victory, then Pittsburgh—then Braddock's Fields—as a home locality, and a century and a half from the day the lilies of France came down forever from the walls of Fort Duquesne the famous fields had been transformed into a great industrial community as famous in the arts of peace as it had been in war. One can see in imagination the scenes of martial display remarked by Washington as the most beautiful he had ever witnessed. Every soldier attired in his best uniform, the burnished arms gleaming and glistening in the warm sun, colors waving aloft, drums beating the stirring grenadiers' march to the shrill fifes' accompaniment.

All this at eleven a. m. By two o'clock the advance under Gage met the first withering volley from the ambushed foe—confusion, panic, rout, flight ensue. By five the little remnant was across the Monongahela, no longer a fighting force—only a fleeing, helpless mob. Never so quick and unexpected a defeat to British arms; never so base conduct of war-ried, proud-spirited soldiers. No glory for any who so valiantly crossed the stream but a few hours before, save the glory of death to the officers who fell by the score—dead on the field of dishonor. Standing on Kennywood, sorry history comes to mind from the contemplation of the north shore. The vast industries tranquil in their ceaseless grind have long since drowned the shrieks of Braddock's slaughtered braves—the braves of other fields.

Washington was there; Gist was there; George Croghan was there, and Daniel Morgan and others who later figured in Pittsburgh history. There amid the terrors of the day there came to the minds of the few American soldiers with Braddock the striking fact that the British soldiery was not invincible, and twenty years later when the shots heard 'round the world rang out at Lexington, the fact was made more striking and again the royal standard of Britain was humiliated and the red-coats fled.



PLAN OF BRADDOCK TRACT GRANTED TO WALLACE

From Kennywood one looks towards where once were Braddock's spring and Frazier's cabin—he sees the furnaces, the rail mill, the rushing trains, the great works of the Edgar Thomson steel plant, the towns of Braddock and North Braddock, Rankin, and Swissvale. Fifty thousand people dwell on and around Braddock's Field; the slaughter is forgotten, the shocking scenes of the battlefield are seldom reverted to, and the gruesome relics found when the British arms triumphed at Fort Duquesne in 1758 are no longer mentioned. Yet here in sight of the throngs that daily seek the pleasure grounds of Kennywood there sprang into being the germ of American Independence. "See them run!" said the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia under Washington. "We could have averted this disaster. We are better soldiers, safer, saner soldiers. We know the French, we know the Indians and now we know the British," and in the spirit of disgust for Braddock's generalship, these same frontiersmen under Washington, Gates and Morgan, showed the red-coats how Americans could fight, and the world heard of Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Princeton and Yorktown. Thomas Gage, who led Braddock's advance, heard it first in Boston. Braddock has remained a synonym for defeat, just as James Grant on Grant's Hill in Pittsburgh furnished the same spectacle of poor generalship and whose most lasting fame is the stigma of defeat. Millions pass along Grant street and never give a thought to Grant. Millions pass through Braddock town and never think of Braddock. Millions come to Kennywood and view the landscape o'er. They who know murmur, "It was a famous victory"—for the French and Indians. Yes—Braddock is dead; yet lives: Braddock's spring that flowed a hundred years has for half that period been sewered. Millions of tons of rails have been made on the site. The ravines where the intrepid Beaujeu hid his Canadians, regulars and savage allies, have long years been cleared of their luxuriant thickets of pea vines and trailers of brambles and wild plums, and their fringes of tall wood grass. Only imagination acts now. The story only appeals when first heard. Braddock died in the gloom of defeat, yet Braddock's name is immortal. Erring, penitent Braddock! All is wonderful! history! Vast the changes of years! Astounding the progress of years! Alluring the smoke of the furnaces and the red-hot writhing rails on which are later to be carried the products of the world's workshops! All is strange—"who would have thought it?"

Lafayette comes in 1825. He visits the battle ground. He sleeps in the old Wallace mansion that stands yet, the elegant home about where the first volleys of the unseen foe brought consternation and death to the slowly advancing front line under Gage, and death too to the dauntless Beaujeu. We see the Wallace home—we think of Lafayette and victory. We are revived. Our spirits take on animation again. The spirits of long gone years are passing; their deeds are passing; we live again in the twentieth century. The spirit of a new age appeals. The world is still bad. We know it all too well, but men still war.

PLAN MADE WHILE THE FORT WAS STANDING

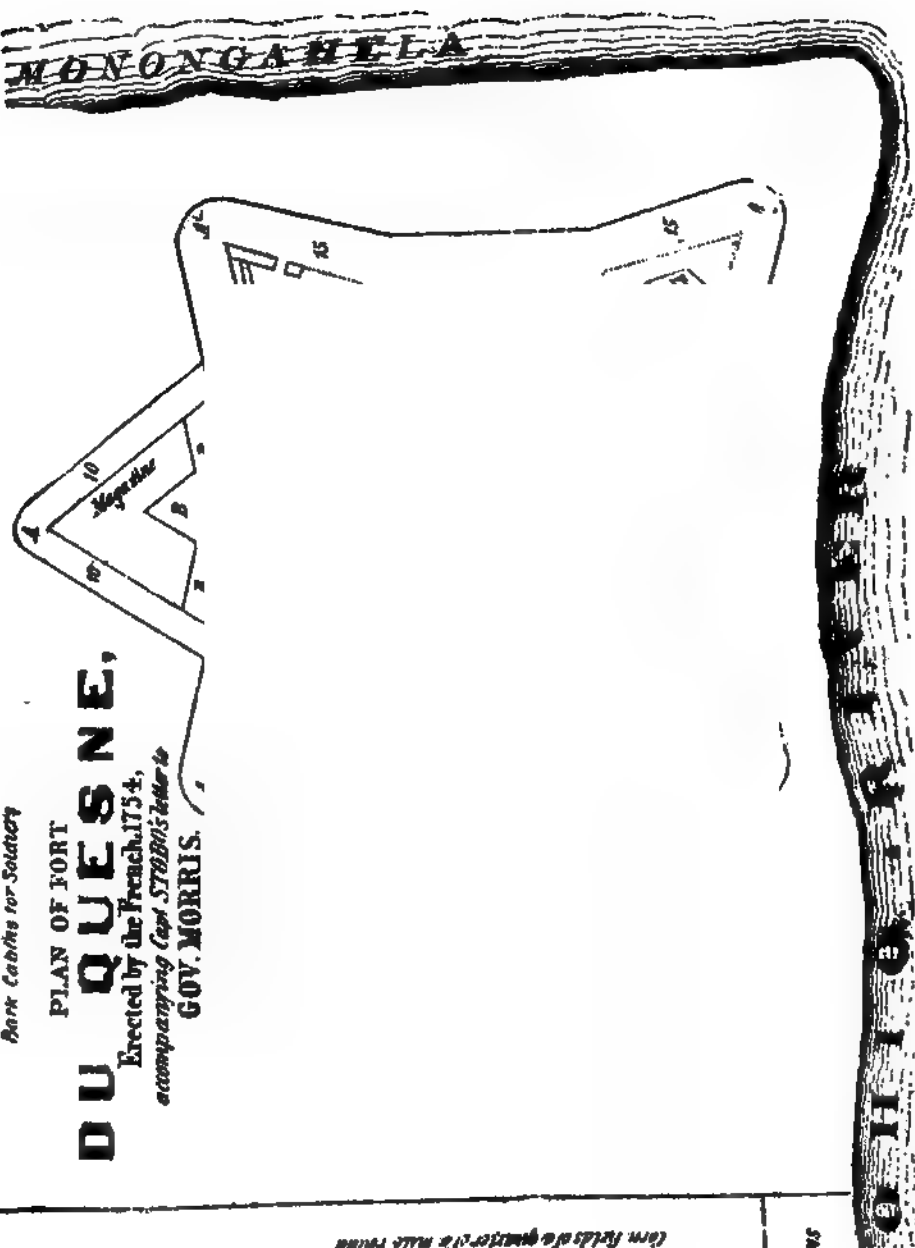
Bank Cabins for Soldiers

PLAN OF FORT

DU QUESNE,

Erected by the French 1754,
accompanying Capt. STUBBS letter to

GOV. MORRIS.



Line of the quarter's mile round

54

CHAPTER XVIII.

The French Regime in Western Pennsylvania.

The word regime here seems inadequate to express the exact shade of meaning desired, however it will apply if taken in its secondary meaning—administration.

After the defeat of Braddock the French were in complete control of all of North America between the Rocky Mountains and the Appalachian ranges. For more than four years their fort at the Forks of the Ohio was strongly garrisoned, and was the starting point for the ravaging bands of their red allies who brought desolation upon the borders of Pennsylvania and far within them. "The French position on the Ohio was as a floodgate," says Sargent, "to open ruin and woe upon the adjacent colonies, and though its destruction was ever a main object, yet opinions differed as to the wisdom of attacking it directly or through connections on the Great Lakes." A few days after Braddock's battle the Indians dispersed, returning to their homes as was usual with them after a decisive battle. Then but a small French force remained as a garrison at Fort Duquesne and a third of Braddock's army would have been sufficient to have captured it. And herein stands forth the unsoldierly conduct of Dunbar and his men.

After July 9, 1755, until the taking of the French fort here by Forbes November 25, 1758, we have only occasional and transient glances at the place. April 1, 1756, one Paris, first name not given, with a scouting party from Fort Cumberland fell in with a small body of Indians commanded by a French officer named Donville. An action took place and Donville was killed.¹ The following instructions were found upon him:

Fort Duquesne, 23d.

March, 1756.

The Sieur Donville, at the head of fifty savages, is ordered to go and observe the motions of the enemy in the neighborhood of Fort Cumberland. He will endeavor to harass their convoys and burn their magazines at Gonococheaque, should this be practicable. He must use every endeavor to take prisoners who may confirm what we already know of the enemy's designs. The Sieur Donville will use all his talents and all his credit to prevent the savages from committing any cruelties upon those who may fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought in this respect to serve as guides.

DUMAS.

It appears that Contrecoeur had gone and Dumas was in command at the fort. Craig remarks that from this fact it is possible to reconcile the humanity evinced in this order of Dumas with the cruelty manifested July 9, 1755. He notes further that the extent to which Pennsylvania and Maryland were laid open to the ravages of the enemy by Braddock's defeat is shown in the suggestion that Donville might destroy maga-

¹This officer's name was most probably Douville. It was found Donville in "Penna. Archives," First Series, Vol. VI, which form Sargent and Craig have followed. See "Braddock's Expedition;" p. 224, and the "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 75.

zines on the Conococheague, in the present counties of Franklin in Pennsylvania, and Washington in Maryland.²

Craig fixes the date of Contrecoeur's departure as March 23, 1756, and in the "Olden Time" paragraph last cited (p. 76), says that Dumas' directions were highly creditable to him as a humane as well as a gallant soldier. He is right, for M. Dumas was a soldier in all the significance that the word implies, and before the end of his long service attained high rank in the armies of France as noted in the preceding chapter.³

Sargent states that Contrecoeur continued in command at Fort Duquesne for several months after the battle. "It does not appear," says Sargent, "that he was considered to possess all the requisite talents for the maintenance of his difficult and precarious disposition; but it was not until after Montcalm's arrival in May, 1756, and his conference with Vaudreuil at Montreal that Contrecoeur was superseded by the more energetic Dumas."⁴

Several historians, Parkman especially, have sought evidence on this disputed point, which led Dallas Albert to sum up the whole controversy in these paragraphs:

That Fort Duquesne was built by Contrecoeur as the commander of the expedition and the chief officer in this region, and that it was under his command for a time, has never been called in question. But since the discovery of the Register and other documents of a later period, a dispute has arisen as to who the actual commander of the fort was at the time of the battle of Braddock's Field. On this subject Father Lambing in his translation of the Register says:

It was formerly asserted that he, Contrecoeur, was in command at the time of the battle of the Monongahela, more commonly known as Braddock's defeat; and that he was succeeded early in the spring of 1756 by M. John Daniel, Esquire, Sieur Dumas, Captain of Infantry. It was farther stated that he was by no means disposed to favor Beaujeu's proposed attack upon Braddock's army. But the discovery of the Register, now published, would appear to prove this long entertained opinion erroneous; for in the entry of the latter's death, he is said to be "commander of Fort Duquesne and of the army." But on the other hand, there is not wanting evidence which would go to show that Contrecoeur was in command. He was commander of the fort from the date of its construction, but in the winter of 1754-5, he asked to be relieved, and the Marquis Duquesne, the Governor-General, dispatched Captain Beaujeu to relieve him, ordering him at the same time to remain at the fort until after the engagement with the English.

Albert has the following:

Francis Parkman, after giving the matter special attention in view of the statements made on the basis of the baptismal register and elsewhere, has added a lengthy note as an appendix to the latest edition of his "Montcalm and Wolfe," in which he says: "It has been said that Beaujeu, and not Contrecoeur, commanded at Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's Expedition. Some contemporaries, and notably the chaplain of the fort, do, in fact, speak of him as in this position; but their evidence is overborne by more numerous and conclusive authorities, among these, Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, and Contrecoeur himself, in an official report."

²"History of Pittsburgh;" pp. 52-54. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 75-76.

³See "Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, p. 224.

⁴"Braddock's Expedition;" p. 269.

In the reports referred to by Mr. Parkman, the Governor of Canada states that Contrecoeur was the Commandant at the Fort on the 8th of July, and that he sent out a party, which was commanded by Beaujeu, to meet the English. In the autumn of 1756, the Governor in asking the Colonial Minister to procure pensions for Contrecoeur and Ligneris, stated that the former gentleman had commanded for a long time at Fort Duquesne—from the first establishment of the English and their retirement from Fort Necessity to the defeat of the army under General Braddock.⁵

M. de Ligneris relieved Dumas of the command some time late in 1756, as he is named as the commander on the 27th of December of that year. De Ligneris retained command until the French were expelled from the soil of Pennsylvania. He was one of the last to leave with his men from the burning Fort Duquesne, whence he retired to Fort Machault (Venango) where we hear of him later.⁶

The battle on the Monongahela was fought on the last day of Duquesne's term of office. The next day the celebrated Pierre Francois Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, assumed the duties of governor of New France. This was July 10, 1755. Vaudreuil was troubled. There was cause for it. He wrote De Machault that very day a long letter from Quebec. One paragraph reads:

I had the honor to inform you that I should order 400 men whom I would take from Presque' isle, to fall back on Niagara, but the danger to which Fort Duquesne is exposed has caused me to change my mind.

The danger to Fort Duquesne was then over. Yet Vaudreuil had not heard the news on July 24, for on that day he wrote again, quite at length, to Machault, this time from Montreal. He began:

My Lord: I had the honor to report to you in my letters of the 2d and 10th of this month, the sad condition of the Colony; that it was so much the more surprising too, as it was quite unexpected by me relying on the assurance which the Marquis Duquesne had given me that the government was quiet, that he had provided against everything and that there was not a semblance of any movement on the part of the English.

When Braddock's battle was fought there had been no declaration of war, and none for months later—not until May 26, 1756. Hostilities had been going on all that time. We find Vaudreuil writing a few days after the last letter:

Fort Duquesne is really threatened. On the 7th of this month the English were within 6 or 8 leagues of it; I am informed by letter that they number 3000, being provided with artillery and other munitions for a siege. I would not be uneasy about this fort if the officer had all these forces, they consist of about 1000 men, including regulars, militia and Indians, with which he would be in condition to form parties sufficiently considerable to annoy the march of the English from the first moment he had any knowledge thereof; these parties would have harassed, and assuredly repulsed them. Everything was in our favor in this regard, and affording us a very considerable advantage. But unfortunately no foresight had been employed to supply that fort with provisions and munitions of war, so that the Commandant, being in want of one and the other, is obliged to employ the major portion of his men in making journeys to and fro for the purpose of transporting those provisions and munitions which cannot even reach him in abundance, in consequence of the delay at the Presqu'isle portage and the

⁵"Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" edited by George Dallas Albert, Vol. II, pp. 65-67. "Register of Fort Duquesne;" copied from the Records in Canada, by John Gilmary Shea, LL. D., and edited with a historical introduction by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M. Pittsburgh, 1885. See also "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. I, Chap. VII, and "Penna. Archives," Second Series, Vol. VI.

⁶"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Vol. II, pp. 350, 360.

lowness of the water in the River Au Boeuf. I must observe that Fort Duquesne has never been completed; on the contrary, 'tis open to many defects as is proved by the annexed plan.

It seems strange to read these statements written fifteen days after the battle on the Monongahela. News had to be sent by courier and Quebec is far away. Presque Isle, as we write it, is the peninsula at Erie. (The French elide the final vowel before another.) Au Boeuf was French Creek; the portage from Erie to the headwaters. Machault was the minister of marine and the colonies at Paris. The fort at Venango was named for him. By the middle of August the news of the great victory had reached the government, for on August 16th Baron de Dieskau wrote Commissary Doreil from Montreal. Among other news he writes:

The defeat of the English on the Ohio and especially the death of Gen. Bradok, who has been killed, must have furiously deranged their plans, and I calculate on deranging them still a trifle more, provided they hold on. M. de Vandreuil is getting a translation made of all the letters taken on the defeat of the English General on the Ohio. They have had their General and 1,500 killed and all their artillery captured. These letters will be sent to Court on the return of my expedition.

Dieskau, a Saxon, in rank a major-general in French service, was so severely wounded at Lake George September 8, 1755, that he never recovered. It is evident Dieskau was extravagant in his figures and we know he failed in his prediction. Among the letters spoken of were those from Capt. Robert Stobo revealing the weakness of Fort Duquesne and urging an immediate expedition against it, furnishing the well known map of the fort printed (see Chapter XV, *ante*). Delays were dangerous in this campaign and the ultimate results appalling. The war whoop and scalp halloo of the savages were heard as far east as Nazareth and Bethlehem—within fifty miles of Philadelphia. Vaudreuil need not have been troubled if he had only known. Afterward he had trouble enough. When he wrote the letters above, Fort Duquesne was as safe as Quebec.

Some descriptions of the famous fort have come down. There is Stobo's—which got him into trouble. John McKinney, who was a prisoner there after Braddock's battle, was taken to Canada, from whence he made his escape and came to Philadelphia in February, 1756, when he made the following statement:

Fort Duquesne is situated on the east side of the Monongahela, in the fork between that and the Ohio. It is four square, has bastions at each corner; it is about fifty yards wide—has a well in the middle of the fort, but water bad—about half the fort is made of square logs, and the other half next the water of stockadoes; there are intrenchments cast up all round the Fort about 7 feet high, which consists of stockadoes drove into the ground near to each other, and wattles with poles like basket work against which earth is thrown up, in a gradual ascent; the steep part is next the Fort, and has three steps all along the intrenchment for the men to go up and down; to fire at the enemy. These entrenchments are about four rods from the Fort, and go all around as well on the side next the water as the land; the outside of the entrenchment next the water joins the water. The fort has two gates, one of which opens to the land side, and the other to the water side, where the magazine is built; that to the land side is, in fact, a draw-bridge, which in day-time serves as a bridge for the people, and in the night is drawn up by chains and levers.

Under the draw-bridge is a pit or well, the width of the gate dug down deep into water; the pit is about eight or ten feet broad; the gate is made of square logs; the back gate is made of logs also, and goes upon hinges, and has a wicket in it for the people to pass through in common; there is no ditch or pit at this gate. It is through this gate they go to the magazine and bake-house, which are built a little below the gate within the intrenchments; the magazine is made almost under ground, and of large logs and covered, four feet thick with clay over it. It is about 10 feet wide, and about thirty five feet long; the bake-house is opposite the magazine; the waters sometimes rise so high as that the whole Fort is surrounded with it, so that canoes may go around it; he imagines he saw it rise at one time near thirty feet. The stockadoes are round logs better than a foot over, and about eleven or twelve feet high; the joints are secured by split logs; in the stockadoes are loop holes made so as to fire slanting to the ground. The bastions are filled with earth solid about eight feet high; each bastion has four carriage guns about four pound; no swivels, nor any mortars, that he knows of; they have no cannon but at the bastion. The back of the barracks and buildings in the Fort are of logs placed about three feet distant from the logs of the Fort; between the buildings and the logs of the fort, it is filled with earth about eight feet high, and the logs of the Fort extend about four feet higher, so that the whole height of the Fort is about 12 feet.

There are no pickets or palisadoes on the top of the Fort to defend it against scaling; the eaves of the houses in the Fort are about even with the top of the logs or walls of the Fort; the houses are all covered with boards, as well the roof as the side that looks inside the Fort, which they saw there by hand; there are no bogs nor morrasses near the Fort, but good dry ground; a little without musket shot of the Fort, in the fork, is a thick wood of some bigness, full of large timber.

About thirty yards from the Fort, without the intrenchments and picketing, is a house, which contains a great quantity of tools, such as broad and narrow axes, planes, chisels, hoes, mattocks, pick-axes, spades, shovels, etc., a great quantity of wagon-wheels and tire. Opposite the Fort, on the west side of the Monongahela, is a long, high mountain, about a quarter of a mile from the Fort, from which the Fort might very easily be bombarded, and the bombarder be quite safe; from them the distance would not exceed a quarter of a mile; the mountain is said to extend six miles up the Monongahela, from the Fort; Monongahela, opposite the Fort, is not quite a musket shot wide; neither the Ohio nor the Monongahela can be forded, opposite the Fort. The Fort has no defence against bombs. There about 250 Frenchmen in this Fort; besides Indians, which at one time amounted to 500; but the Indians were very uncertain; sometimes hardly any there; and there were about 20 or 30 ordinary Indian cabins about the fort.

While he was at Fort Duquesne, there came up the Ohio from the Mississippi, about thirty batteaux, and about 150 men, loaded with pork, flour, brandy, tobacco, peas and Indian corn; they were three months coming to Fort Duquesne, and came all the way up the falls without unloading.⁷

It is to be noted that Sargent and many old writers use the form "Du Quesne" in preference to the modern Duquesne with which Pittsburgh people are so familiar. So, too, Lafayette rather than the correct French, La Fayette. The form "le Quesne" has been found also. Bolles has it M. de Duquesne de Menneville. ("History of Pennsylvania," Vol. I, p. 294).

Albert considered what Parkman knew of the fort important, for he continues (pp. 70-71):

The description of Fort Duquesne by Parkman, contrasting the period of the French occupancy with our own time, may be reproduced:

"Fort Duquesne stood on the point of land where the Allegheny and the Monon-

⁷"Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, pp. 69-70. "Penna. Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, p. 13, and *Ibid.*, XII, p. 357.

gahela join to form the Ohio, and where now stands Pittsburgh, with its swarming population, its restless industries, the clang of its forges, and its chimneys vomiting foul smoke into the face of heaven. At that early day a white flag fluttering over a cluster of palisades and embankments betokened the first intrusion of civilized man upon a scene which a few months before breathed the repose of a virgin wilderness, voiceless but for the lapping of waves upon the pebbles, or the note of some lonely bird. But now the sleep of ages was broken, the bugle and drum told the astonished forest that its doom was pronounced and its days numbered. The fort was a compact little work, solidly built and strong, compared with others on the continent. It was a square of four bastions, with the water on two sides and the other two protected by ravelins, and covered way. The ramparts on these sides were of squared logs, filled in with earth, and ten feet or more thick. The two water sides were enclosed by a massive stockade, of upright logs, twelve feet high, mortised together and loop-holed. The armament consisted of a number of small cannon mounted on the bastions. A gate and drawbridge on the east side gave access to the area within, which was surrounded by barracks for the soldiers, officers' quarters, the lodgings of the commandant, a guard-house, and a store-house, all built partly of logs and partly of boards. There were no casements, and the place was commanded by a high woody hill beyond the Monongahela. The forest had been cleared away to the distance of more than a musket shot from the ramparts, and the stumps were hacked level with the ground. Here, just outside the ditch, bark cabins had been built for such of the troops and Canadians as could not find room within; and the rest of the open space was covered with Indian corn and other crops."⁸

There are "Papers Relating to the French Occupancy" which have found place in the Pennsylvania Archives (Second Series, Vol. VI). Albert has made several pages of extracts from them in the "Frontier Forts," selecting those bearing on Fort Duquesne and the frontiers during that period. It is a most disheartening record. Albert states that his selections are from the Abstract of Dispatches received from Canada, officially from Vaudreuil, governor-general of that colony. They set forth the methods of the French during the winter and early spring of 1756.⁹

The first extract reads:

The Governor remained at Montreal in order to be in a more convenient position to harass the English during the winter and to make preparations for the next campaign. With this double object he directed his efforts principally to gaining the Indians and flatters himself that he has generally succeeded.

All the Nations of the Beautiful River have taken up the hatchet against the English. The first party that was formed in that quarter since the last report Vaudreuil had sent in (in October, 1755), was composed of 250 Indians, to whom the commandant at Fort Duquesne had joined some Frenchmen at the request of those Indians.

This party divided itself into small squads at the height of land and fell on the settlements beyond Fort Cumberland; defeated a detachment of twenty regulars under the command of two officers. After these different squads had destroyed or carried off several families, pillaged and burned several houses, they came again together with the design of surprising Fort Cumberland, and accordingly lay in ambush some time, but the commander of the fort, who no doubt was on his guard, dared not show himself. This party returned to Fort Duquesne with sixty prisoners and a great number of scalps.

The second detachment consisted of a military cadet, a Canadian and some Shawanese—number not stated. This detachment took two prisoners under the guns of Fort

⁸"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Chapter VII, Champlain Edition, Vol. I, pp. 215-216.

⁹"Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, pp. 72-73.

Cumberland, whither the party had been sent by the commandant of Fort Duquesne to find out what was going on there. The third detachment, made up of a Canadian and several Chaouanons [Shawanese], destroyed eleven families, burned 16 houses and killed a prodigious number of cattle. The Indians returned on horseback.

The fourth detachment was a large one—112 Delawares or Loups. "They struck out in separate divisions" and were equally successful. The larger party returned with so many scalps and prisoners that these Indians sent some prisoners to all the nations to replace their dead. Vaudreuil reported only what these four parties did. A number of others had marched with equal success. Some had actually been on the warpath as far even as Virginia.

The commandant of Fort Duquesne had informed Vaudreuil that the Delawares settled beyond the mountains which separated them from the English, had, on his invitation, just removed their villages so as to unite with their brethren, our allies, that the old men, women and children had already gone with the baggage, and that the warriors were to form a rear guard and, on quitting, to attack the English.¹⁰

The following extracts taken from the same sources give the French version of the affairs as they transpired on the frontiers, and about Fort Duquesne while it continued in their occupancy:

The latest news from Fort Duquesne is the 9th of May, 1756. No English movement of any importance yet in that quarter. Our Indians together with some of our detachments made many successful forays. Thirty scalps have been sent us and the Commissions of three officers of the English regiments raised in the country who have been killed. The upper country Indians carried off entire families which obliges the English to construct several pretended forts, that is to say, to enclose a number of dwellings with stockades. Our upper Indians appear well disposed towards us, notwithstanding the presence and solicitations of the English. M. Dumas, an officer of great distinction in the Colony commands at Fort Duquesne and on the River Ohio. We have lost in one detachment Ensign Douville of the Colonial troops.¹¹

Fort Duquesne is not worth a straw. A freshet nearly carried it off a short time ago.¹²

Letters of March 23d assure us that the Indians have since Admiral Braddock's defeat disposed of more than 700 people in the provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina, including those killed and those taken prisoners.

The Delawares and Chouanons, Indian Nations of the Beautiful River, some of whose chiefs have been put to a cruel death by the English to whom they had gone on an embassy, are enraged to an extraordinary degree and would not make any prisoners were it not for the continual recommendation of the Commandant to commit as few murders as possible.

In April, there had been in those parts twenty detachments of Delawares and Chouanons; these were joined by more than sixty Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations who have committed frightful ravages. The only resource remaining to the inhabitants was to abandon their houses, and to remove to the sea coast. Three forts have been burnt, among the rest one containing a garrison of forty-seven men, which was besieged by a party of forty Indians under the command of M. Douville, a Colonial Cadet. The garrison was summoned to surrender, but having refused, the fort was set on fire in the night; the garrison then attempted to escape and the Indians gave no

¹⁰"Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, p. 74, cited from "Penna. Archives," Second Series, Vol. VI, pp. 345, *et seq.*, for the period under consideration in this chapter. The entire Volume VI of this series of the "Archives" is made up of the "Papers Pertaining to the French Occupation."

¹¹See "Penna. Archives;" Second Series, Vol. VI, pp. 352, 354. Douville, according to this account, was killed in an attack on a small fort on the north fork of the Cacapehon, in Hampshire county, Va., where a scouting party, under one Paris, fell in with a party of French raiders and in the action that ensued Douville was killed. (See 3rd paragraph this chapter, p. 367, and "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. II, pp. 15, 110.)

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 353.

quarter. M. Douville lost his life on that occasion. Detachments have been continually in the field.

* * * * *

Quite an untoward revolution has been experienced in the direction of the Beautiful River. The winter there is always very mild; this year it has been exceedingly cold; and as the Indians of that quarter are not in the habit of walking on snow shoes, and still less of going to the enemy when the latter can track them in the snow, Captain Dumas, Commander at Fort Duquesne, has not been able to have them out, as frequently as he desired. Nevertheless, he has continually kept parties in the field, both in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and has placed officers and cadets at the head of some of them.

M. de Vaudreuil does not innumerate the scalps they have brought in, nor the prisoners they have taken, but it appears that the number of the one and the other has been considerable; that they have destroyed whole families; that several villages on the frontiers of the two colonies have been abandoned by their inhabitants, who have removed into the towns; that a great many houses and a number of barns filled with grain have been burnt in the country; that a considerable amount of cattle has been killed; that some of the little forts whereof the English have formed, as it were, a chain along the frontiers, have been attacked and burnt, and that a great many people had perished in the flames, and that we have not, so to speak, experienced any losses in all those forays. Ensign Douville is the only officer killed.

Vaudreuil, reporting to Machault on the 8th of August, 1756, what had occurred at Fort Duquesne since his dispatch of the 10th of June, says:

"A detachment under the command of Sieur de Celoron de Blainville, fell in with some of the early scouts at this side of Fort Cumberland. These two parties met unexpectedly and fired point blank; the enemy immediately fell back; we killed three of them whose scalps have been carried off by the Indians, but we lost Sieur de Blainville, one Huron, one Delaware and one Onondaga. Five Chaouanons had a similar adventure a little nearer Fort Cumberland. They scalped three English. One of their men was killed. A party from different tribes having divided, returned in squads with a number of scalps.

"Sieur de Rockeblave with another Cadet, a Corporal, a militiaman, and twenty Chaouanons, knocked at the gate of a small fort, three leagues from Fort Cumberland, where there remained some families and thirty militia. He killed four Englishmen, whom the Indians scalped, wounded three, who dragged themselves into the fort, and took three prisoners.

"In Pennsylvania, Indian parties have destroyed a great many cattle and burnt many settlements. A detachment under the command of M. de Celoron had a fight near Cresap's Fort, in the rear of Cumberland; killed eight Englishmen whose scalps the Indians were not able to secure, finding themselves in the dusk of the evening under the musketry of the fort. We have had two Indians killed and one wounded.

"Finally M. Dumas writes that he has been occupied for more than eight days nearly in receiving scalps; that there is not an English party but loses some men, and that it was out of his power to render me an exact report of all the attacks our Indians made."

* * * * *

Our continual incursions have placed it out of the power of Virginia not only to undertake anything without, but even to construct any fort to protect herself. On the 8th of June the grass was growing in the roads communicating with Cumberland. Expresses no longer came any farther than Winchester, on account of our Indians, who are always in the field. Not a grain of Indian corn has been planted between that post and Kaneguiglk (Conocheague) twenty-five leagues distant from it toward the sea. The entire frontier of the three Provinces is in the like condition. Although the greatest portion of the Upper Nations have returned, M. Dumas' force consists, nevertheless, of eight hundred and ten men.¹⁸

* * * * *

¹⁸"Penna. Archives;" Second Series, Vol. VI, pp. 359-360.

M. de la Chauvignerie has formed a party of twenty-nine Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, among whom are some belonging to the Grand Village. He has sent them to M. Dumas who will not fail to make them strike.¹⁴

Particulars of the campaign of 1756 in New France, transmitted on the 28th of August of the same year:

The news from Fort Duquesne and Beautiful River are very favorable. M. Dumas has laid waste with his Indians a good part of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. In vain did these Provinces which have no Indians to aid them, levy and pay a thousand men, at the opening of this campaign, who dressed and painted themselves in the Indian fashion; in vain did they send them to scour the woods; they have not been the less constrained to abandon more than 60 leagues of country together with the crops and cattle.¹⁵

June 8, 1757, Lieutenant Baker, with five soldiers and fifteen Cherokee Indians returned from an expedition to Fort Duquesne. They had fallen in with a party of three French officers and seven men on the headwaters of Turtle Creek, about twenty miles from that fort. They killed five of the Frenchmen and took one officer prisoner. This officer gave the information that Captain Lignery then commanded at the fort, and that there were at that place six hundred troops and two hundred Indians.¹⁶

The garrison during the winter of 1756 and 1757—from the report of a Delaware prisoner—was said to consist of two hundred, the greater part French. In the front part of the fort, along the Monongahela, was a large mine of powder laid, as the last resource of the garrison. Two sides of the Fort, the one in front and the other along the Monongahela were built strong. It was well supplied from up and down the river; they had a large stock of provisions, and had planted a large field of corn. The armament was thirteen guns, heavy artillery and six swivels. Four sentries kept watch on the bastions and two sentries planted a mile from the Fort.

From the examination of Michel La Chauvignerie, Junior, made on the 20th of October, 1757, it would seem that in the June preceding, there were about one thousand five hundred men there, of whom five hundred were regulars; and the rest were employed in carrying provisions and in going to and fro from one post to another, which required great numbers; that there were about twenty cannon, some mortars, four bastions and a dry ditch; that there were then a great number of English prisoners at Fort Duquesne, although the prisoners were constantly being sent away to Montreal; that these prisoners were used as prisoners of war when they arrived there, and were fed as the soldiers were; but that the Indians kept many of the prisoners amongst them, chiefly young people whom they adopted and brought up in their own way, and that those prisoners whom the Indians kept with them became so well satisfied and pleased with the way of living that they did not care to leave them, and were often more brutish, boisterous in their behavior, and loose in their manners than the Indians. It was thought they affected that kind of behavior through fear and to recommend themselves to the Indians. The French who were mixed with the Indians seemed also to behave in the like manner.¹⁷

M. Pouchot has handed down a vivid story of extravagance and intrigue and the difficulties in supplying the commissariat of their distant posts. He said:

From seven to eight hundred Canadians were equipped and provisioned, under the orders of M. Marin. Several colonial officers were first stationed at the Niagara portage, and in the spring, provisions, munitions of war, implements and merchandise, were sent in abundance. They took into that region goods of every kind, even to velvets,

¹⁴"Penna. Archives," Second Series, Vol. VI, pp. 359, 360.

¹⁵*ibid.*, p. 380.

¹⁶"History Pittsburgh," Craig (Edition 1917), p. 56. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 97.

¹⁷"Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, pp. 74-78.

damask, shoes for women, silk hose, etc., and a plenty of Spanish wines. These goods were offered by the parties of whom we have spoken, and brought on the King's account. We presume there was no difficulty in agreeing to the price asked.

These goods were a long time in passing from the portage of Niagara, and from Presque Isle to the Ohio, from want of horses and equipage, which caused the loss of nearly four hundred men, from scurvy, or the fatigue of carrying the goods upon their backs. During this interval, the officers drank Spanish wines, and each one supplied himself as he pleased from the stores, of velvets, etc., which were not certainly merchandise for the Indians. Thus the provisions that reached the post of Fort Duquesne were in small quantities, and still more reduced by pilfering and exposure to damage on the way. The officers and soldiers returning to Canada were therefore well equipped, and a verbal report of things used, made everything right. Upon these expeditions, the Chevalier Pean, whom the Intendant was quite willing to send away from his wife, was charged with making a journey with four hundred militia to Detroit and neighboring regions, well supplied with all sorts of provisions and goods, for presents to the Indians, under the pretext of attaching them to our cause.

Such a mission was needless, since this part had long been inhabited by the French, who had formed intimate relations with the Indians of that country, and besides, there were French officers at all the posts, to secure this object;—but it got rid of a husband, and a nice lot of goods for the company. Pean returned in triumph to Canada after this fine exploit.

It must not be supposed that the detachment ordered to Lake Erie and the new forts by Duquesne consisted entirely of regular troops. There were, at that time, probably not more than one thousand regular soldiers in all Canada. But an exceedingly well-organized militia, and the hardy, active, semi-Indian class, half-trappers, half-traders, who dwelt upon the outskirts of French civilization, furnished material for any enterprise involving war or adventure. Woodsmen by education, full of courage and vivacity by birth, they formed an admirable band for such ends as they were now engaged in. To this day the *coureurs des bois* are of the primest favorites of the Indians, with whom they intermarry and assimilate, and at whom they "never laugh:" they were, therefore, just the men required for a business that must depend for success mainly on the good-will of the savages.¹⁸

The Canadians referred to above and those mentioned as having been present in action against Braddock were undoubtedly largely the *coureurs de bois* or "bushlopers" whose numbers Charlevoix tells us became so numerous that it depopulated the country of the best men. However, the authorities seemed to have brought many under military control as the years rolled on. (See "New France," Charlevoix; Vol. III, p. 310).

Sargent comments at length on Pouchot's revelations, relating his full story of French extravagance and graft, and in conclusion said:

In fact, it would seem that the colonial stewards of the king were not unfrequently, but too wont to look upon their office in no other light than as a source of revenue to themselves; and when, like Uriah the Hittite, the lords and masters of these new Bathshebas were sent down to the host, they doubtless felt no compunction in making their absence as remunerative to themselves as possible. From Pouchot's position and character, it is not unjust to admit the truth of the facts upon which he bases his conclusions; but ignorant as, from the very nature of his subordinate rank, he must have been of the state arrangements and politic designs of the former governors and the Court of Versailles, it is easy to perceive how erroneous were his inferences. It may be true enough that the husband of each fair Evadne was named to a high command

¹⁸"Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, pp. 38-39. See also Pouchot, "Late War," etc., Hough Edition, 1866, for Pouchot's statement, *ante*, pp. 20-21.

in the new expedition, but nothing can be more absurd than to imagine that to procure their absence was the primary motive to its undertaking.¹⁹

Some information concerning the governors of Canada who have had large place in the struggle for the Upper Ohio region and Western Pennsylvania has been furnished by Sargent.

Omitting mention of the governors of the "Old Regime in Canada," we should have here some history of the governors whose terms extended from September, 1747, when the "debate" began for the vast trans-Allegheny region and the Ohio Country to the end of the French dominion in North America. These governors were: La Galissoniere, Rolland Michel Barrin, Comte de—Sept. 19, 1747-Aug. 14, 1749. La Jonquiere, Jacques Pierre de Taffnæl, Marquis de—Aug. 17, 1749, to March 17, 1752. Longueuil, Charles le Moyne (2nd) Baron de—March —, 1752, to July —, 1752. Duquesne de Menneville, Marquis de—July, 1752, to June 24, 1755. Vaudreuil-Cavagnal; Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de—June 25, 1755, to September 8, 1760. In this list the titular and historical names are given first, followed by the family names.²⁰

Jonquiere died in office, Sargent says, in May, 1752. Some writers not knowing the exact time, put it simply, "early in 1752." The great Galissoniere was a hunchback, as remarkable for his mentality as his deformity. His fame has lived. In testimony of Galissoniere's worth and ability Sargent quotes this paragraph:

Roland-Michel Barrin, Marquis de la Galissoniere, and a Lieutenant-General in the French service, was one of the ablest of the men of his time. As a scholar, soldier, a statesman, his merit was deservedly esteemed. Born at Rochefort, Nov. 11, 1693, he entered the navy in 1710, in which he served with distinction until he was appointed to Canada. In that colony, his conduct was eminently conducive to the best interests of both the King and his people. The Swedish traveler, Dr. Kalm, bears abundant testimony to his scientific acquirements; while even his meagre appearance and deformed person added to his influence over the savages. "He must have a mighty soul," they said, "since, with such a base body, our Great Father has sent him such a distance to command us." De la Galissoniere did not remain in America long enough to carry out the course he had begun: he returned to France in 1749, where he was placed at the head of the department of nautical charts. He is best known in English history by his affair with the unfortunate Byng, in 1756, which resulted in the judicial murder of that excellent officer, in order thereby to screen the criminal derelictions of his superiors. Galissoniere died at Nemours, October 6, 1756, full of glory and honour, and loudly regretted by Louis XV., who was so sensible of his worth that he had reserved for him the baton of a Marshal of France.²¹

From Sargent's work we obtain this brief note concerning Jonquiere, which he also obtained from Garneau:

The Marquis de la Jonquiere arrived in Canada in August, 1749; and acting under positive instructions from his court, faithfully pursued the policy of his predecessor in regard to shutting out the English from the Ohio. Descended of a Catalonian family, he was born in Languedoc, in 1696; and died at Quebec, May 17, 1752. He was a man of superb presence and undaunted resolution; but, withal, prone to avarice. His whole career gave abundant evidence of his courage and soldier-like bravery; but the

¹⁹"Braddock's Expedition," Sargent, p. 37.

²⁰"Hand-Book of Canadian Dates," F. A. McCord; p. 18.

²¹"History of Braddock's Expedition," p. 29, footnote. Paragraph from "Biography Universelle" (Edition 1816), Vol. XVI, p. 367.

world ridiculed the passion that induced him, on his dying bed, to begrudge the cost of wax candles, while his coffers were overflowing with millions of money. He enjoyed little peace towards the conclusion of his life, by occasion of his efforts to suppress the order of Jesuits in his government; and, indeed, this dispute is supposed to have shortened his days.²²

Jonquiere thought the plans of his predecessor too daring and not to be successfully pursued, hence did not adopt all of them. In the interim before Duquesne's arrival, the younger Longueuil acted as governor.

Sargent has much to say of Duquesne:

In 1752, arrived in Canada, (to which government had been appointed by the King on the recommendation of M. de la Galissoniere), the Marquis de Duquesne de Menneville, a name destined indelibly impressed upon the history of that land whence the golden lilies of his nation, though watered by the best blood alike of friend and foe, were so soon to be extirpated. All of his antecedents that can be mentioned here are that he was a captain in the royal marine, and born of the blood of Abraham Duquesne, the famous admiral of Louis XIV.

His abilities were good; and during his brief career he acquitted himself thoroughly of the duties of his position; but the haughtiness of his character, and the lack of affability in his manners, prevented his ever attaining any great degree of popularity with the Canadians. Nevertheless, he seems to have been possessed of some singularly generous dispositions. In October 1754, an English woman, nineteen years of age, arrived in Philadelphia from Quebec. Twelve years before, she had been captured by the savages, and by them sold as a slave in Canada. In new scenes and the lapse of time, the names of her parents, the very place of her birth, had entirely passed from her memory; but she still clung to the sounds of the tongue of her native land, and dreamed of the day when she should be reunited to her unknown kindred. By some chance, her pitiful story reached the Governor's ears; and full of compassion, he at once purchased her freedom and furnished her with the means of returning to the British colonies. There she wandered from city to city, vainly publishing her narration and seeking to discover those joys of kindred and of home that she had never known. An act of this kind, should, at any reason, reflect credit upon the performer; but considering its particular occasion, when war was plainly looming in the horizon, to liberate and restore in this manner a person abundantly qualified to reveal so much of the local secrets of Quebec, must clothe the character of M. de Duquesne with the attribute of magnanimity, as well as generosity. In the latter part of 1754, however, he demanded his recall by the government, in order to return to the naval service, and to encounter the enemy upon a more familiar element. It will be sufficient in this place to add, that his instructions while in Canada, in regard to the Ohio, were of a piece with those of La Jonquiere and Galissoniere, and that he faithfully obeyed them.²³

Pouchot had the hardihood to tell tales, which though not published until after his death, have lived. Concerning Duquesne we find the following in his *Memoire*:

M. de la Jonquiere who succeeded M. de la Galissoniere, was a man well fitted by his talents for command in these regions, but he did not stay long enough to advance the negotiation in which neither power could yield. He was relieved by M. du Quesne who was charged with the same business. They were beset by parties who were continually making a petty war in Acadia, and involving the two nations more and more against each other.

M. du Quesne upon his arrival, took a fancy for an amiable dame, and formed

²²"Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, p. 28. "Histoire du Canada;" F. X. Garneau, Vol. II (iv, xiii, c 3), as Sargent cites. *Ibid.*, Bell's "Translation" (Montreal, 1862), Vol. I, pp. 464-465.

²³"Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent, pp. 29-30.

connections with her family and friends. As usual, the husband was placed in one of the highest and best positions in the country. About the same time, M. Bigot passed from the intendency of Louisburg, to that of Canada. He likewise attached himself to Madam Pean, wife of the Aid-major of the post of Quebec, and took great interest in this family. The Intendant was charged with everything relating to the finances, —provisions, which were obtained by an excise, and the supplies of merchandise for the trade. In order that these two chiefs should mutually accommodate, it was necessary for them to agree, as also their associates. As these places were seldom held longer than from three to five years, the gentlemen usually sought to promote their own and their friends' interest as much as possible within the time. Whether the project of an establishment upon the Ohio, who contrived among them to afford an occasion more favorable to their interests, or whether the court had decided upon it, as tending to their advantage, this project was executed in the winter of 1753-54.²⁴

Garneau's further account of Duquesne can be epitomized thus:

Baron de Longueuil now administered ad interim, for the second time, the province, till the arrival of the new governor-general, the Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, in 1752. The latter was a captain in the royal marine, and had been recommended by M. de Galissoniere. He was descended from the greater Duquesne, grand-admiral of France under Louis XIV. His instructions were to follow up the policy of his two immediate predecessors. War was now become imminent. The Canadian militia were called out and exercised. Discipline had been slackened in the colonial troops; Duquesne made great efforts to reestablish it. He wrote to the minister that these corps were badly constituted; that they contained many deserters and bad characters. "Their want of discipline," he observed, "was quite astounding;" adding "this arises from the impunity allowed to their gravest infractions of duty." But the materials were not so bad, after all; for, in about twenty months, the men became obedient and yet spirited soldiers.²⁵

Duquesne's acts aroused violent opposition headed by the Intendant Bigot who sent bitter complaints to the Minister of Marine, charging Duquesne with undue severity in punishing mutinous militia. Bigot complained also that agriculture was neglected because the cultivators were always under arms. Shortly before Braddock's battle Duquesne asked to be relieved and transferred to the marine service. "His departure," says Garneau, "caused no regret in the colony, although he had governed with great success and had been very helpful of the colony's wants; but his haughty bearing had caused him to be unpopular."

Sargent says:

It was under the administration of Duquesne that the first steps were taken towards an armed occupation of the Ohio. It must not be forgotten, in referring to these proceedings, that so far as involved his duty to the King his master, and his interpretation of that sovereign's rights, his conduct was perfectly justifiable throughout. Though neither power possessed the least claim in justice to that territory, France as well as England had not hesitated during many years to refer to it as their absolute inheritance and virtually to utterly ignore any title in its original occupants to the sovereignty of the soil. No treaty with the Indians inhabiting it had ever been made, by which, even for the poor pittance of a few strings of beads or barrels of whiskey, they had ceded it to the stranger. It is true that the French assured them that their only object

²⁴M. Pouchot gives these events under a false light. The motives of which he speaks may have determined the choice of the governor of Canada, for an officer on the Ohio, without having engaged to form there an establishment. His predecessor, M. de la Jonquiere, had already projected that which M. du Quesne hastened to execute, to anticipate the designs of the English, who sought to cut the connection between Louisiana and Canada. They, moreover, made great preparations for attacking the French, under the pretext of aiding the Indians whom they had drawn under their protection. (Hough's footnote in his edition of Pouchot's "Memoire," etc., 1866, pp. 20-21).

²⁵"History of Canada;" F. X. Garneau, translated by Andrew Bell, Montreal, 1862, Vol. I, p. 466.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 471.

was to found trading-posts; that they had no idea of cutting down the woods, and tilling the fields, after the fashion of the English. The savage was not to be thus gulled; and he viewed their first encroachments with as great repugnance as he did the more flagrant advances of the British, who boldly penetrated into the most secret recesses of his hunting-grounds, laying out the lines of a future settlement without the least form of a purchase from its outraged inhabitants.

Shortly before quitting his government, Duquesne held a secret conference with the deputies of the Six Nations, at Montreal, in which he reproached them with their willingness to surrender the control of the Ohio to the English rather than to the French. "Are you ignorant," said he, "of the difference between the King of France and the English? Look at the forts which the King has built; you will find that under the very shadow of the walls the beasts of the forests are hunted and slain; that they are, in fact, fixed in the places most frequented by you merely to gratify more conveniently your necessities. The English, on the contrary no sooner occupy a post, than the woods fall before their hand—the earth is subjected to cultivation—the game disappears—and your people are speedily reduced to combat with starvation." In this speech, as Mr. Garneau well observes, the Marquis has accurately stated the progress of the two civilizations.²⁷

Sargent observes that it is unjust to the past age that the names of Duquesne, Dumas, and Contrecoeur should be consigned to oblivion. We may except Contrecoeur and add St. Pierre. Sargent regrets that we are left in ignorance of Duquesne's death, and of all save a single circumstance in his later career. "In 1758, M. Duquesne being in France was appointed to the command of all the forces, sea and land, in North America. In March he sailed from Toulon in command of a small squadron which, however, was utterly discomfited by the English. His own ship, the *Foudroyant*, of eighty-four guns and one thousand men, was engaged after a long chase, in which their comrades had been almost lost sight of by the *Monmouth*, Captain Gardiner, of sixty-four guns and four hundred and seventy men. Captain Gardiner had served under the murdered Byng in the Mediterranean and the combat was a compulsory one with him. On the eve of sailing on this cruise, whence he was never to return, he mentioned to his friends that there was something which weighed heavily on his soul; that Lord A—— had recently said to him, that he was one of the men who had brought disgrace upon the nation, and he was convinced that in this very voyage he should have an opportunity of testifying to his lordship the rate at which he estimated the national honor. As his ship was going into action he made a brief address to his crew: 'That ship must be taken; she looks to be about our match, but Englishmen are not to mind that nor will I quit her while this ship can swim, or I have a soul alive!' Accordingly, he closed with the *Foudroyant* and lay on her quarter within pistol shot for several hours, till her flag came down. Shot through the head, and death inevitable, he still retained comprehension enough to say to his first lieutenant, that the last favor he could ask of him was never to give up the ship. That gentleman pledged himself that he never would; and nailing the flag to the staff he stood by it during the contest with a brace of pistols, resolved to slay the first man, friend or foe, who approached to pull it down. A more gallant

²⁷"Braddock's Expedition;" Sargent's footnote, p. 31. "Hist. Canada;" Garneau (Bell's translation), Vol. I, p. 471.

or hardly contested sea fight than that of the Monmouth and Foudroyant was never fought."²⁸

Whether this was our well-commemorated Duquesne's last fight or not is not known. Certainly thereafter history is silent concerning him; else Sargent, wonderful deliver, had unearthed more.

A recent historian, William Bennett Munro, pointedly says:

New France was born and nurtured in an atmosphere of religious devotion. To the habitant the Church was everything—his school, his counselor, his almsgiver, his newspaper, his philosopher of things present and of things to come. To him it was the source of all knowledge, experience, and inspiration, and to it he never faltered, in ungrudging loyalty. The church made the colony a spiritual unit and kept it so, undefiled by any taint of heresy. It furnished the one strong, well-disciplined organization that New France possessed, and its missionaries blazed the way for both yeoman and trader wherever they went.²⁹

The people of the colony in his studies of it appealed to Munro. He finds words of praise for them, thus:

To speak of the inhabitants of New France as downtrodden or oppressed, dispirited or despairing, like the peasantry of the old land in the days before the Revolution, as some historians have done, is not to speak truthfully. These people were neither serfs nor peons. The habitant, as Charlevoix puts it, "breathed from his birth the air of liberty;" he had his rights and he maintained them. Shut off from the rest of the world, knowing only what the Church and civil government allowed him to know, he became provincial in his habits of mind. The paternal policy of the authorities sapped his initiative and left him little scope for personal enterprise, so that he passed for being a dull fellow. Yet the annals of forest trade and Indian diplomacy prove that the New World possessed no sharper wits than his. Beneath a somewhat ungainly exterior the yeoman and the trader of New France concealed qualities of cunning, tact, and quick judgment to a surprising degree.

These various types in the population of New France, officials, missionaries, seigneurs, voyageurs, habitants, were all the scions of a proud race, admirably fitted to form the rank and file in a great crusade. It was not their fault that France failed to dominate the Western hemisphere.³⁰

Some French views of the state of public feeling of those years are obtainable from the introduction to Pouchot's *Memoire*:

Notwithstanding a century and a half of possession the French never derived any profit from the vast region of North America known as Canada. The Colony so planted was, so to speak, still in its infancy when it passed under a foreign yoke. They might have doubtless come out from this state of weakness, rather of non-existence, and have become in time very useful to the mother country had they been better known and had we not been so often deceived by those who should have enlightened us. We had in France such false ideas of this country that it was deemed valuable only for the fur trade and it was believed there was no distinction between the colonists proper and the Indians. Ignorance and blindness finally went so far as to cause congratulations at its loss.

In the succeeding paragraph there comes the oft reiterated charge that England to prevent her rival from opening her eyes to the advantages of Canada meditated an invasion of the territory in time of peace. England, said Pouchot's original editor, soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle formed the project to appropriate Canada, or New France,

²⁸See "Braddock's Expedition;" Sargeant, pp. 31-32.

²⁹"Crusaders of New France;" p. 225.

³⁰"Crusaders of New France;" W. B. Munro, p. 226.

which came to be regarded as the most solid bulwark then opposed to her enterprises. It was from the first the object of the French to carry upon the St. Lawrence the establishment which they had early formed on the borders of Acadia and those they had projected on the side of Hudson's Bay as beyond the Alleghenies toward the Ohio river, or upon the banks of Lakes Ontario and Erie where they were not limited by boundaries. The editor thought from this plan the result would be that whatever remained to France would be useless to her since the English could hold the entrance. Louis XV. earnestly desired peace. England sought to destroy the commerce of France whose progress had aroused her hatred and excited her jealousy. The advantageous propositions of the Court of Versailles were met with no response from that of St. James, or with inadmissible demands. England pretended to negotiate a peace but they had no other object than to concentrate their enterprises and to inspire France with a security which prevented her from preparing for war by calling out her full forces.

There were philosophers, Pouchot's editor said, who were obstinate in misconceiving the true causes of the war. They repeated to their shame that France had exposed herself to great reverses and had shed much blood only for the possession of some tracts of ice and savage countries or worthless deserts. Better informed persons had not brought so much reproach upon France, but they had accused her commissaries of incapacity and passion and her ministers of ambition, and of not having sincerely desired peace. Pouchot's editor admits that Pouchot had some prejudices, but assures the readers of his *Memoire* that there can be found in the manifestoes of France numerous and incontestible proofs that "the pretensions of England towards Canada were not the cause but the pretext of the late war."⁸¹

Craig says of conditions during the years of French triumph:

The war between Great Britain and France up to the end of the year 1757, had been an unfortunate and disgraceful one to the former power. On the Ohio, British power and trade were extinct; while the incursions of the French and their savage Allies extended almost to the site of the present seat of our State Government. In the East Indies British power was almost annihilated and British subjects were cruelly sacrificed in the black hole at Calcutta. In the Mediterranean, whither the Marquis De La Galissoniere had gone from Canada, Admiral Byng was foiled and Minorca taken, and in Germany thirty thousand Hanoverian troops, under the command of the brother of George the 2d, had been disgracefully surrendered as prisoners to the French commandant there.

Some of the wisest men of England were greatly discouraged. Horace Walpole in a letter said, "it is time for England to slip her cables and float away into some unknown ocean," and Lord Chesterfield wrote, "whoever is in, or whoever is out, I am sure we are undone both at home and abroad; at home, by our increasing debt and expenses, abroad by our incapacity and ill luck. I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect."

Such were the opinions of some of the most eminent persons of England, when that extraordinary man from whom our city received its name was called upon to direct affairs of Government. Three years of disaster, disgrace and despondency, were succeeded by years of triumph and success.

In America, the commander-in-chief, the Earl of Loudon, a bustling do-nothing,

⁸¹Introduction "Late War in America;" M. Pouchot, pp. 12-14, Hough Edition, 1866.

of whom it was wittily remarked, "he reminds me of St. George, on a sign; he is always on horseback but never advances," was succeeded by General Amherst, under whom were Wolfe and Forbes.²²

This substantial agreement of the Colonial governors that the presence of the French on the Colonial borders compelled federation of the varying interests of the several English colonies, kept them pinned in between the mountains and the sea until there was developed some degree of solidarity; some ability to act together, and then by the sudden withdrawal of pressure, not only allowed their expansion but relieved them of all need of help from England and so of dependence upon her. The "substantial agreement" was the result of the Albany convention of 1754. The alarmed Iroquois sent word by some of their people that if the English did not take up arms against the French the latter would drive every Englishman out of the country. Franklin was the delegate from Pennsylvania. His appeal in his paper, the "Pennsylvania Gazette," was potent with his rude but celebrated wood cut showing ten colonies as several parts of a severed snake under which was the words: "Unite or die." Franklin's plan of binding the Colonies together failed of acceptance. An American Union appeared to the English authorities as the Keystone of Independence. There came a day soon after Braddock's battle when Franklin's dictum changed to "Fight or die."

²²"History of Pittsburgh;" pp. 57-58, Edition 1917.

CHAPTER XIX.

John Forbes and James Grant.

The defeat of Braddock and the flight of Dunbar left all the English frontiers open to the incursions of the Indians in alliance with the French, and most mercilessly they pressed the advantage. Though a chain of forts was built along the the frontiers of Pennsylvania they were inadequate, too few in number and too far apart, hence easily avoided. The Delawares under Shingiss and Capt. Jacobs from Kittanning were the worst, if such could be, of all the demons that ravished the Province. Col. John Armstrong, to punish these miscreants, marched from Fort Shirley, now Shirleysburg, in Huntingdon county, August 29, 1756, and reached Kittanning with his little force of 300 men September 7th at night. The town consisted of forty log cabins. A furious attack was made by Armstrong at daybreak, but the Indians fought with great desperation and maintained their position until Armstrong had the buildings set on fire. The whole town was destroyed and many Indians killed, including Capt. Jacobs and his family, and a large amount of provisions and ammunition furnished by the French was consumed. Eleven English prisoners were released. Armstrong lost sixteen killed, twelve wounded and eighteen missing. Capt. Hugh Mercer was among the wounded and left behind, and as from Braddock's battle was obliged to make his way back to the settlements. He lived to return with Forbes two years later.

Some accounts of these years of terror are to be found in the Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records. Thus Rupp gives us this matter:

At a council held at Carlisle, January 16-19, 1756, attended by Governor Morris, James Hamilton, Wm. Logan, Richard Peters, Joseph Fox, Esq., Commissioners; George Croghan and Conrad Weiser, Interpreters, and the Indians, Belt, Seneca George, New Castle, David, Iagrea, Silver Heels, Isaac and others, Mr. Croghan was called on to make some statements touching his Indian agency.

Mr. Croghan informed the Governor and Council that he had sent a Delaware Indian, called Jo Hickman, to the Ohio for intelligence, who returned to him the day before he came away. That he went to Kittanning, an Indian Delaware town, on the Ohio, (Allegheny) forty miles above Fort Duquesne the residence of Shingass and Capt. Jacobs, where he found one hundred and forty men, chiefly Delawares and Shawanese, who had there with them, above one hundred English prisoners, big and little, taken from Virginia and Pennsylvania.

That then the Beaver, brother of Shingass, told him that the Governor of Fort Duquesne had often offered the French hatchet to the Shawanese and Delawares, who had as often refused it, declaring that they would do as they should be advised by the Six Nations, but that in April or May last (1755) a party of Six Nation warriors in company with some Caghnawagos and Adirondacks, called at the French fort in their going to war against the Southern Indians, and on these the Governor of Fort Duquesne prevailed to offer the French hatchet to the Delawares and Shawanese, who received it from them and went directly against Virginia. That neither Beaver nor several others of the Shawanese and Delawares, approved of this measure, nor had taken up the hatchet; and the Beaver believed some of those who had, were very

sorry for what they had done; and would be glad to make up the matters with the English.

That from Kittanning he went to Logstown, where he found about one hundred Indians and thirty English prisoners, taken by the Shawnese living at the Lower Shawanese Town, from the western frontier of Virginia, and sent up to Logstown. He was told the same thing by these Shawanese that the Beaver had told him before, respecting their striking the English, by the advice of some of the Six Nations; and further he was informed that the French had solicited them to sell the English prisoners, which they had refused, declaring they would not dispose of them until they should receive advice from the Six Nations, what to do with them. That there are more or less of the Six Nations living with the Shawanese and Delawares in their towns, and these always accompanied them in their excursions upon the English, and took part with them in war. That when at Logstown, which is near Fort Duquesne, on the opposite side of the river, he intended to have gone there to see what the French were doing in that Fort, but could not cross the river for the driving of ice, he was, however, informed that the number of the French did not exceed four hundred. That he returned to Kittanning and there learned that ten Delawares were gone to the Susquehanna, and as he supposed to persuade those Indians to strike the English, who might perhaps be concerned in the mischief lately done in the county of Northampton.

Mr. Croghan said he was well assured, by accounts given him from other Indians, that the Delawares and Shawanese acted in this hostile measure by the advice and concurrence of the Six Nations, and that such of those as lived in the Delaware town, went along with them, and took part in their incursions.¹

To quote Bradley here ("Fight with France," etc., pp. 104-105):

There was now a tremendous outcry and a general panic. The Indians, hounded on by the French, and swarming in from the north and west, frequently led, too, by Canadian partisans, threw themselves upon the almost defenceless frontier of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, and rolled it back amid an orgie of blood and fire and tears; while Washington in command of 1,000 ill-disciplined and badly officered militiamen, was set the hopeless task of defending a line of nearly 400 miles in length.

He was only three and twenty, but was regarded as the natural protector of the colonies now threatened, and his letters from the western settlements of Virginia throughout this autumn, winter and spring give a harrowing picture of the Indian terror that he was endeavoring to combat. From the thrifty settlements of the Scotch Irishmen, and the more adventurous among the Germans which were thickly sprinkled along the eastern trough of the Alleghenies, came flying in crowds, horse, foot and wagons, through the mountain passes. "They came through by the fifties at a time," writes Washington, "and talk of surrendering to the French if no help comes from below." Braddock's road from the Ohio he speaks of as being beaten hard with moccasined feet, as if an army had been over it, while all the Western forests were alive with Indians. In Maryland, a little later, he counted 300 wagons in three days hurrying from the wasted settlements. From North Carolina to Western New York men were scalped and murdered by hundreds, and women and children in still greater numbers either treated in like fashion or driven into captivity behind the Alleghenies. The tears and supplications of the refugees were a daily torment to this at once tender and brave-hearted young leader of men, who chafed at the impotence to which he was consigned by bad and inefficient soldiers, worse officers, and a lack of everything but scurrilous abuse.

Regarding the question of precedence, Irving states in his "Life of Washington," Knickerbocker Edn., Vol. I, pp. 287-288:

February 4, 1756, Washington set out for Boston, to consult with Major-general Shirley, who had succeeded Braddock in the general command of the colonies. In those days the conveniences of traveling, even between our main cities, were few, and the roads execrable. The party, therefore, traveled in Virginia style, on horesback,

¹"History Western Pennsylvania and West;" pages 116-117.

attended by their black servants in livery. In this way they accomplished a journey of five hundred miles in the depth of winter, stopping for some days at Philadelphia and New York. Those cities were then comparatively small, and the arrival of a party of young Southern officers attracted attention. The last disastrous battle was still the theme of every tongue, and the honorable way in which these young officers had acquitted themselves in it made them objects of universal interest. Washington's fame, especially, had gone before him, having been spread by the officers who had served with him, and by the public honors decreed him by the Virginia Legislature. "Your name," wrote his former fellow-campaigner, Gist, in a letter dated in the preceding autumn, "is more talked of in Philadelphia than that of any other person in the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command."

Ford says:

Washington remained ten days in Boston, attending, with great interest the meetings of the Massachusetts Legislature, in which the plan of military operations was ably discussed. After receiving the most hospitable attentions from the polite and intelligent society of the place, he returned to Virginia, for the French had made another sortie from Fort Duquesne, accompanied by a band of savages, and were spreading terror and desolation through the country. Horrors accumulated at Winchester. Every hour brought its tale of terror, true or false, of houses burnt, families massacred, or beleaguered and famishing in stockade forts. The danger approached. A scouting party had been attacked in the Warm Spring Mountain, about twenty miles distant, by a large body of French and Indians, mostly on horseback. The captain of the scouting party and several of his men had been slain, and the rest put to flight.

An attack on Winchester was apprehended, and the terrors of the people rose to agony. They turned to Washington as their main hope. The women surrounded him, holding up their children, and imploring him with tears and cries to save them from the savages. The youthful commander looked around on the suppliant crowd with a countenance beaming with pity, and a heart wrung with anguish. A letter to Governor Dinwiddie shows the conflict of his feelings.

"I am too little acquainted with pathetic language to attempt a description of these people's distresses. But what can I do? I see their situation; I know their danger, and participate in their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises." "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy provided that would contribute to the people's ease."²

The unstudied eloquence of this letter drew from the governor an instant order for a militia force from the upper countries to his assistance. The Legislature, too, began, at length to act, but timidly and inefficiently. "The country knows her danger," writes one of the members, "but such is her parsimony that she is willing to wait for the rains to wet the powder, and the rats to eat the bowstrings of the enemy, rather than attempt to drive them from her frontiers."³

The historian Bradley draws a sorry picture of the indifference of the aristocracy of Virginia and the character of the troops recruited for border service. The utter apathy of the landed gentry was appalling. The region about Fort Duquesne was claimed by Virginia. The incursions of the red marauders began at that French fort and extended to the Carolinas. The scenes of horror depicted in the accounts were the same on all parts of the frontier. The French while in control of the Upper Ohio region brought as great horrors upon Virginia as Pennsylvania. The four years of French control were absolutely years of horror. One may quote the incisive Bradley again:

²"Writings of George Washington;" W. C. Ford, Vol. I, p. 248.

³"Life of Washington;" Irving, Vol. I, pp. 226-229.

He had now been over two years at the frontier village of Winchester, in the valley of Virginia, eating his heart out in vain endeavors to stem the hordes of Indians led by Frenchmen, who swarmed across the stricken borders of the middle colonies. "I have been posted," he wrote in the preceding spring, "for more than twenty months on our cold and barren frontiers to perform, I think I may say, an impossibility; that is, to protect from the cruel incursions of a crafty savage enemy, a line of inhabitants more than three hundred and fifty miles in extent, with a force inadequate to the task." He was still only twenty-five, but a head and shoulders above any colonial soldier outside of New England. He had no chance of gain or glory with his thousand or so "poor whites," ill-paid and discontented, and recruited with infinite difficulty. His officers were often of no better discipline. One of them, he tells us, sent word on being ordered to his post, that he could not come as his wife, his family and his corn crop, all required his attention." "Such," says Washington, "such the behavior of the men, and upon such circumstances the safety of this country depends." Three colonies, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, with some half-million whites, to say nothing of rude and populous North Carolina, could only wring from this large population a wretched, half-hearted militia of 2,000 men, recruited largely from the burnt-out victims of the frontier. Where, one may well ask, were the squires of Virginia and Maryland, who swarmed along the eastern counties of both provinces, and whose comfortable homesteads reached to within a hundred miles of the scene of this bloody war, of their fellow-countrymen's long agony, and of the impudent invasion of their country? To mention a dozen or two young men of this class who rallied to Washington, would only be to aggravate the case, if such were possible, in the face of these statistics. Men of substance and education, accustomed to horse and gun, "outdoor" men in fact or nothing, were quietly staying at home by the thousands, unstirred by feelings of patriotism or vengeance, and apparently untouched by the clash of arms and the ordinary martial instincts of youth. Their grandfathers had fought; their sons were to fight; their descendants were in the last civil war to be among the bravest of the brave. What was this generation doing at such a moment? Washington whose local patriotism no one will dispute and whose example shone like a beacon light amid the gloom, cursed them often and soundly in his letters for doing nothing. It was fortunate for these colonies that Pitt came forward to save them.

Washington was giving up a life of ease and comfort, neglecting an estate to whose management he was greatly attached, and those field sports, which, next to fighting, were the passion of his life. Here, however, on this shaggy blood-stained frontier, without means to fight effectively, neither glory nor even thanks were to be gained. He lost his temper more than once, and wrote incontrovertible but imprudent letters to the Virginia authorities at Williamsburg, falling thereby into the bad books of the gentlemen who regarded the State of the frontier with such prodigious equanimity.⁴

The groundwork for the account of Forbes' expedition that follows will be found in that admirable work of Francis Parkman to which reference may be had.

The plans of Pitt to drive the French from their American possessions designed to capture Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, Forts Ticonderoga and Duquesne. Louisburg fell, Ticonderoga was saved by the skill of Montcalm. Frontenac, however, fell also, and with its fall Duquesne was untenable. Far off in the wilderness it was cut off from its base of supplies and the garrison could not live off the country. Forbes found that out later.

As to Forbes, properly a few words of biography are in order. He was born in Pittincrief, Fifeshire, Scotland, in 1710. He was educated for a physician, but preferring a military life entered the British army, and in 1745 had advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, serving in

⁴"Fight With France for North America;" pp. 203-206.

the Scot's Greys. He served under the Duke of Cumberland as acting quartermaster-general and late in 1757 came to America a brigadier-general. He had seen hard service in the continental wars. April, 1758, found Forbes still in Philadelphia, as yet without an army. The provincials were yet to be enlisted and the Highlanders had not arrived. It was about this time that the general was attacked with the painful and dangerous malady which would have disabled a less resolute man, and which ultimately caused his death.

The forces as made up for Forbes' little army consisted of provincials from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, the Highlanders, 1,200 in number, and a detachment of Royal Americans, amounting in all, says Parkman, to between 6,000 and 7,000 men. Other historians estimate the force at 8,000 men. Parkman's estimate includes the wagoners and camp followers.

These were crude material, unruly and recalcitrant to discipline. They brought a mass of worthless stuff to the rendezvous at Carlisle. Old provincial muskets, the locks of many tied on with strings, fowling pieces, now known as shot guns; some carried only walking sticks, and not a few had never fired a gun in their lives.

Except a few of the officers, and these of the higher ranks, Forbes characterized the whole body of officers to Pitt as "an extremely bad collection of broken innkeepers, horse jockeys and Indian traders." Forbes was no more flattering toward the men. It was a strangely heterogeneous body that came under his command; but in the end "they were moulded into an efficient organization."⁵

One can read with tender feeling the extracts from Forbes' letters en route. Restoring order at Carlisle, in suffering he writes: "I have been and still am poorly, today with a cursed flux, but shall move day after tomorrow." But he did not. It was August 9th when he wrote again: "I am now able to write after three weeks of the most violent and tormenting distemper, which, thank God, seems now abated as to pain, but has left me as weak as a new-born infant. However, I hope to have strength enough to set out from this place on Friday next."

Forbes' malady was an inflammation of the stomach, involving other vital organs. When Forbes should have been in bed with complete repose, he was disturbed, yea, distressed, with the details and worries of an extremely arduous campaign for which he was in no wise physically competent.

The delays and vexations that wearied the staunch Scotch commander have taken up pages of history. Indeed, the whole story of Forbes' expedition has had adequate treatment by able writers. Francis Parkman, John Fiske, Justin Winsor, Isaac D. Rupp, Albert Bushnell Hart—what historian has not been impressed with the story of the "Head of Iron" and the capture of Fort Duquesne without a blow?

One thing commendable in Forbes was his method of marching—not encumbered like Braddock with immense trains in the wilderness.

⁵See "Expedition of Gen. Forbes Against Fort Duquesne;" Publications Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, 1908, and "Letters of Gen. Forbes;" *Ibid.*, Feb.-May, 1909.

When finally Forbes had got under way he pushed on by slow stages and "did not hesitate," says Parkman, "to embrace heresies which would have driven Braddock to fury."

Lieut.-Col. Henry Bouquet, a brave and accomplished Swiss, commanded one of the battalions of the Royal Americans, a new organization containing many Pennsylvania Germans. Early in June Bouquet, with the advance guard, encamped at Raystown, where he built Fort Bedford.

Dinwiddie had been superseded as governor of Virginia by Lieut.-Gov. Francis Fauquier, a friend of Washington, to whom Dinwiddie had taken a violent dislike and treated the country's future father with contempt.

Washington prepared to join Forbes' expedition against Fort Duquesne although his intention had been to abandon a military life. He proceeded to gather his scattered regiments at Winchester and found the assembling forces destitute of everything needful.

This necessitated the journey of the youthful colonel to Williamsburg and it was on this journey that he met the fair young widow, best known in history as Martha Washington.

Washington proceeded with his force to Fort Cumberland on the Potomac, arriving there July 2, 1758, and then proceeded to open a road, a distance of thirty miles, to Raystown, now Bedford, Pennsylvania, where Col. Bouquet was stationed.

The fate of Braddock had impressed itself deeply on the British commanders. It inspired a caution that was necessary. Washington, skilled in frontier service, at once became a valuable aid and adviser to both Bouquet and Forbes.

Forbes, who relied greatly on Bouquet, liked also Col. James Burd. He treated Washington with consideration and respect. He expressed disgust for Sir John Sinclair, who had been Braddock's quartermaster-general, and his inefficiency. He was justly displeased with his provincial troops.

August 11th Forbes left Carlisle carried on a kind of a litter made of a hurdle slung between two horses. No wonder he was compelled to stop at Shippensburg complaining that the journey had raised his disorder and pains to such a degree that they became intolerable. He lay helpless in Shippensburg until late in September, writing anon of his weak state and excruciating pains and his sufferings both of body and mind. His letters are pathetic in the full sense of the word. He unjustly condemns Washington in the dispute that arose as to the route, Washington in the interest of Virginia favoring the Braddock road, necessitating the march of the army to Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek on the Potomac to make the start. Forbes, however, made his own road, which has gone into history under his name. Craig, commenting upon the determination of Forbes not to follow Braddock's trail, points out the fact that in the late season (November) the rivers, especially the wide Monongahela, were unfordable; the waters high, and impassable, except in boats, which would require much time for construction.

Bouquet received intelligence that Fort Duquesne was defended by but eight hundred men, of whom three hundred were Indians. Bouquet without the knowledge of his superior officer (Forbes) entrusted to Maj. James Grant of Montgomery's Battalion a force of Highlanders, Royal Americans and Provincials, in all eight hundred and thirteen men, with orders to reconnoiter the enemy's position.

It was on September 11th that Maj. Grant was detached from the main body under Bouquet at what is now Ligonier. He reached the vicinity of the fort in three days, and his battle was fought September 14, 1758.

The men easily scaled the successive ridges and took post on a hill near Fort Duquesne, not knowing that Aubry had arrived with a reinforcement of 400 men from Illinois.

Grant divided his troops in order to tempt the enemy into an ambushade, and at daybreak on September 14 discovered himself by beating his drums.

A large body of French and Indians commanded by the gallant Aubry immediately poured out of the fort, and with surprising celerity attacked his troops in detail, never allowing him time to get them together. They gave way and ran, leaving 295 killed and prisoners. Of the entire force 540 came back safe.

Even Grant, who, in the folly of his vanity, had but a few moments before been confident of an easy victory, gave himself up to capture, but a small party of Virginians under the command of Thomas Bullitt arrested the precipitate flight, and saved the detachment from utter ruin. On their return to camp, their coolness and courage were publicly extolled by Forbes, and in the opinion of the army, regulars as well as provincials, their superiority of discipline reflected honor on Washington.⁶

Bullitt, sometimes found spelled Bullett, had been a captain in one of the Virginia regiments in Washington's command. Aubry was a noted French officer who was prominent in all the border warfare in the struggle for the region about Pittsburgh. With Ligneris, Marin and Coulon de Villiers he was captured at Niagara by the English forces under Gen. Johnson in July, 1759.

The facts of Grant's ill-timed battle on the historic "Hump" at Fifth avenue and Grant street, are well and succinctly told in one of the few colonial newspapers of the times, the "Pennsylvania Gazette," the celebrated newspaper published in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin. It is a letter written from Annapolis, Maryland, dated October 5, 1758, and reads:

We are informed by a letter from Frederick county, (Maryland) that on Monday the 11th of September, Major Grant of the Highland regiment marched from our camp on the waters of the Kiskiminitas, with 37 officers and 805 privates taken from the different regiments that compose the Western army on an expedition against Fort Duquesne.

The third day after their march they arrived within eleven miles of Fort Duquesne, and halted till 3 o'clock in the afternoon; then marched within two miles of Fort Duquesne, and left their baggage there, guarded by a captain, two subalterns, and 50 men, and marched with the rest of the troops, and arrived at 11 o'clock at night upon a hill, a quarter of a mile from the fort.

Pittsburghers will agree that it is more than a quarter of a mile from the site of Fort Duquesne at the Point to Grant's Hill, at the Court

⁶"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Champlain Edition, Vol. II, pp. 359-363.

House. It is well to remember also that the camp of Bouquet was about the site of Ligonier on the Loyalhanna, a branch of the Kiskiminetas. Resuming the letter:

Maj. Grant sent two officers and 50 men to the Fort, to attack all the Indians, &c., they should find lying out of the Fort; they saw none, nor were they challenged by the sentries. As they returned, they set fire to a large storehouse, which was put out as soon as they left it. At break of day, Maj. Lewis was sent with 400 men, (Royal Americans and Virginians) to lie in ambush, a mile and a half from the main body on the path on which they left their baggage, imagining the French would send to attack the baggage guard and seize it. Four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the Fort, to cover the retreat of Capt. McDonald's company, who marched with drums beating towards the Fort; in order to draw a party out of the Fort, as Maj. Grant had some reason to believe there were not above 200 men in the Fort including Indians, but as soon as they heard the drums, they sallied out in great numbers, both French and Indians, and fell upon Capt. McDonald, and two columns that were posted lower on the hill to receive them. The Highlanders exposed themselves without any cover and were shot down in great numbers and soon forced to retreat. The Carolinians, Marylanders and Lower Countrymen, concealing themselves behind trees and the brush, made a good defence; but were overpowered and not being supported, were obliged to follow the rest. Maj. Grant exposed himself in the thickest of the fire, and endeavored to rally his men, but all to no purpose, as they were by this time flanked on all sides.

Maj. Lewis and his party came up, and engaged, but were soon obliged to give way, the enemy having the hill on him. A number were driven into the Ohio, most of whom were drowned. Maj. Grant retreated to the baggage where Capt. Bullitt was posted with 50 men, and again endeavored to rally the flying soldiers, by entreating them in the most pathetic manner to stand by him, but all in vain, as the enemy were close at their heels. As soon as the enemy came up to Capt. Bullitt, he attacked them very furiously for some time, but not being supported, and most of his men killed, was obliged to give way. However, his attacking them stopped the pursuit, so as to give many the opportunity of escaping. The enemy followed Maj. Grant, and at last separated them, and Capt. Bullitt was obliged to make off. He imagines the major must be taken as he was surrounded on all sides, but the enemy would not kill him, and often called to him to surrender. The French gave quarter to all that would accept it.

By the Ohio the Allegheny is meant, the rivers then considered one, as previously noted in these pages.

The major was actually a prisoner, and again we behold the magnanimity of the French. Grant was a brave man, but inordinately vain. His positive instructions were not to approach too near the fort and to avoid the risk of attack. It is incomprehensible that the French with many spies constantly watching the progress of Forbes and Bouquet were without notice of Grant's movements. At his bivouac on the hill which for many years bore his name, deceived by the apparent stillness of the enemy's quarters, and having met neither French nor Indians on the march, Grant concluded the forces within the fort must be comparatively small. He, therefore, determined to disregard his orders and make an attack. The sending of Maj. Lewis to lie in ambush was designed to get him out of the way. Lewis at the height of the action came up to the support of the hard-pressed force under Grant, to no avail, and Lewis, too, was made a prisoner. Grant and Bullitt were the last to leave the field. Bullitt escaped capture. Had Grant remained with him both would have escaped. The Highlanders under Capt. McDonald were passing or had passed the base of Grant's Hill, at the

present line of Smithfield street, between Fifth and Third avenues. A series of ponds that lasted for years skirted the base of the hill and in this swampy ground many of the Highlanders were hopelessly mired and lost their scalps in consequence. Maj. Andrew Lewis was one of the most conspicuous provincial officers of those eventful years. In Lord Dunmore's border war of 1774, he figures as Gen. Andrew Lewis. He was every inch a man, upwards of six feet in height, of uncommon strength, agility, and endurance, magnificent in proportions and of exact symmetry of form. He was of stern countenance, reserved and distant in manner, and not altogether engaging. He was an old campaigner with Washington. He was a captain under Washington at Fort Mifflin, and served under Washington with Braddock. In fact, Washington had so great an opinion of Lewis' abilities that when the chief command of the Revolutionary armies was offered Washington, he recommended Lewis in his place.

And what manner of man James Grant was can be inferred from the fact that, while Grant and Lewis were confined in Fort Duquesne, Grant addressed a letter to Gen. Forbes attributing his defeat to Lewis. This letter, on being inspected by the French censor, who knowing the falsehood and unable to express his disgust in any other way, handed the letter to Lewis, who immediately waited upon Grant and challenged him to a duel. Grant refused, whereupon Lewis spat in his face in the French officer's presence.

James Grant, for whom Grant street has been named, has come down to us in history distinguished, not only for baseness but also for gluttony. "He was the greatest hog of his day." Notoriously so in his later years. He was born in Ballendalloch, Banffshire, Scotland, in 1720, and entered the military service of Great Britain at an early age. The year before his defeat in Pittsburgh he had reached the rank of major in Montgomery's regiment of Highlanders.

Two years later, 1760, he was governor of East Florida, leading an expedition against the Cherokees and defeating them in May, 1761. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in America he acted as brigadier-general and commanded two brigades in the battle of Long Island in 1776. One year later he was promoted to be major-general. He was in command of the Second Brigade of Lord Howe's army. Howe gave him command in New Jersey at a critical period in the war. Washington's victories at Trenton and Princeton followed. Grant continued to serve under Howe and was actively engaged with his command at the Brandywine and Germantown, where he forced the American left to give way. He endeavored to cut off Lafayette on the Schuylkill, but failed. He defeated the wing under Gen. Charles Lee at Monmouth. For this defeat Lee was courtmartialled. In November, 1778, Grant as major-general was given command of an expedition against the French in the West Indies, and in December of that year took St. Lucia. In 1791 he was made governor of Stirling Castle. In 1792 he had been promoted to lieutenant-general. In 1796 he was made a general, the highest rank in the British army. He did not reach the rank of colonel until 1772, four-

teen years after his ignominious defeat on Grant's Hill, Pittsburgh. At different periods he served in Parliament. It is needless to say that he stood well with that monumental grouch, His Royal Majesty, George III., of Hanover and Great Britain.

Grant died April 13, 1806, aged eighty-six years. It is a safe prediction that when the news of his passing away reached Pittsburgh there were no flags at half mast, or anywhere else in America. A great beef had gone. He had grown to be so great a gourmand that he required his cook to sleep in the same room with him for "instant service if the greed of victuals" came on him.

Fiske says: "While the wisdom and eloquence of Chatham were exerted in vain in behalf of American rights, an empty braggadocio, elevated to a seat in Parliament, was able to captivate the attention of the members and influence their votes by gross misrepresentations of the Americans and their cause. This was no other than Colonel Grant, the same shallow soldier who had been guilty of a foolhardy bravado before the walls of Fort Duquesne, which brought slaughter and defeat upon his troops. He entertained Parliament with ludicrous stories of the cowardice of Americans. He had served with them, he said, and knew them well, and would venture to say they would never dare to face an English army. With five regiments, he could march through all America!"⁷

If John Forbes, his fellow-countryman, was a man with a "Head of Iron," and justly so-called in history, James Grant has as justly earned the distinction of "The Man with the Iron Stomach." He set all known principles of hygiene at defiance in eating, and died full of years—and food—let us so believe; we cannot justly say honors. He was an enemy to everything American except something good to eat. In commemorating his name in a great thoroughfare in Pittsburgh we have honored an enemy and a man of low principles.

Fiske and Parkman, in their respective accounts of the events transpiring here September 14, 1758, give us additional facts that ordinary historians omit. Fiske says Grant conducted the enterprise with the foolhardiness of a man eager for notoriety. He instances the setting fire to the log house near the walls of the fort and observes:

As if this were not sufficient to put the enemy on the alert, he ordered the reveille to be beaten in the morning in several places, then posting Major Lewis in the rear, he marshalled his regulars in battle array and sent an engineer with a covering party to take a plan of the works in full view of the garrison. Not a gun was fired by the fort; the silence was mistaken for fear and increased the blind security of the British commander.

Fiske notes that the scene that occurred was similar to that at the defeat of Braddock. He relates that Lewis fought hand to hand with an Indian brave whom he laid dead at his feet. Bullitt had made a barricade of the baggage wagons and posted his men behind them. When the enemy approached Bullitt repulsed them with a volley. Pressing forward again in greater numbers, Bullitt signaling the desire to surrender

⁷Fiske's Irving's "Washington;" p. 148.

allowed the foe to come close up, and then delivered a second volley with deadly effect, and then charged with the bayonet. The Indians fled in dismay. Bayonets and cannon they would not face. Bullitt by these tactics saved all that was saved. He was soon after promoted to major.

The account of Parkman is in his usual inimitable vein. He states that Grant urged Bouquet to send him forward to reconnoiter Fort Duquesne, and that Bouquet forgot his usual prudence when he consented. Grant's arguments had succeeded. In reaching the hill, the darkness of night and the forest had hid Grant from the enemy.

It was near dawn when Lewis, who had been despatched in the night to the open plain below the hill, returned, reporting that his men had lost their way in the dark woods and fog and that the attempt to attack and then feign retreat was impracticable. Grant became furious. Parkman says:

The morning twilight now began, but the country was wrapped in thick fog. Grant abandoned his first plan and sent a few Highlanders into the cleared ground to burn a warehouse he had seen there. Infatuated with the idea that the French and their Indians were too few to attack him, though their numbers were far greater, he had the incredible rashness to divide his force in such a way that the several parts could not support each other. Lewis with 200 men was sent two miles to the rear where Capt. Bullitt was already stationed. A hundred Pennsylvanians were posted far off to the right towards the Allegheny, while Capt. McKenzie with a detachment of Highlanders, was sent to the left, towards the Monongahela.⁸

Parkman recites all the facts, stating Grant remained on the hill with one hundred of his own regiment and a Maryland company. He quotes from Grant's report to Forbes:

In order to put on a good countenance, and convince our men they had no reason to be afraid, I gave directions to our drums to beat the reveille. The troops were in an advantageous post and I thought we had nothing to fear.

Few people think of Pittsburgh as the scene of a battle, yet many of us tread daily a battleground unthinkingly. Forbes was then on his way to Raystown, arriving at the Loyalhanna October 5th.

October 14, 1758, the rear division was marching on Loyalhanna and the advance party there had been attacked two days previously by a force of 1,700 French and two hundred Indians, the engagement lasting from 11 a. m. until 3 p. m., when the enemy drew off. They returned to the attack at night, but were repulsed. Here the casualties of Forbes' troops were twelve killed, seventeen wounded and thirty-one missing. Grant had lost two hundred and seventy killed, forty-two wounded and some prisoners. The founding of Pittsburgh, it will be noted, was not altogether without bloodshed. It was not until November 18th that Forbes, with the rear division, was able to advance. He arrived at the Forks on the night of the 25th. His feelings of joy may be imagined. His toils and his sufferings had won reward. Neither were over. There was the return to civilization, and the increase in pain with each day to be reckoned with. The bare facts of history in the march and victory

⁸"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Champlain Edition, Vol. II, pp. 360-364.

of Forbes are thrilling enough. When we include the human interest side our feelings are swayed by the grandeur of the man and the pathos of his condition.

The following return of Forbes' army on the 25th of September, just two months before the taking of this place, and what follows with reference to the detachments on the frontier, and the casualties of the campaign, are from Craig:⁹

NAMES OF CORPS.	FIELD OFFICERS.	CO. OFFICERS.	TOTAL.
Division of 1st Battalion of Royal Americans	1	12	363
Highland or 62d Regiment.....	3	37	998
Division of do.....	3	12	269
1st Virginia Regiment.....	3	32	782
2nd do. do.....	3	35	702
3rd North Carolina Companies.....	1	10	141
4th Maryland Companies.....	1	15	270
1st Battalion Pennsylvania Troops..	3	41	755
2nd do.	3	40	666
3rd do.	3	46	771
Three Lower Counties, now the State of Delaware.....	3	46	263
Total.....	—	—	5980

Detachments on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and the road of communication:

	MAJORS.	CAPTAINS.	SUBALTERNS.	TOTAL.
From the Penna. Reg't.....	1	10	17	563
" N. Carolina do.....	1	3	61	64

On the 14th of October, the rear division of the army moved from Ray's Town toward Loyal Hanna; and on the same day a letter was written at the latter place stating that the advanced party there had been attacked on the 12th instant, by twelve hundred French and two hundred Indians, that the attack continued from 11 o'clock, a. m., until 3 o'clock, p. m., when the enemy retreated. The attack was renewed at night, but was speedily repulsed.

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.	MISSING.
The Highlanders had	1	0	0
" Virginians	4	6	0
" Pennsylvanians	5	5	17
" North Carolinians	0	0	3
" Marylanders	2	6	12
	12	17	32

William M. Darlington gives us these items headed, "Campaign of 1758; Letters of Generals Grant, Forbes; Copy of Major Grant's Letter to British General Forbes upon the affair of September 14, 1758. Endorsed by Col. Bouquet:"

Sir: If it had been in my power to write sooner, you will do me justice to believe that I should have troubled you long before this time with an account of the detachment which marched the 9th of September from the Camp of Loyal Hanna.

We were lucky enough not to be discovered in our march, though several scouting parties passed very near us. We got to an advantageous post the 12th, about three

⁹Craig, "History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 62. See "Olden Time," Vol. II, p. 283, for casualties.

in the afternoon, which, according to the information of all our guides, was ten or twelve miles from the French Fort. I thought it was a proper place to encamp in, as I did not think it advisable to go nearer, for fear of being discovered; but I afterward found that our guides were much mistaken about the distance, for, as near as I can judge, the camp is about sixteen miles from the top of the Hill, where we were to take post. The 13th, at break of day, I sent Major Lewis, with 200 men, and our Indians, with orders to post men in ambuscade, about five miles from the fort, which was all the precaution I could take to prevent our being discovered in the camp. I flattered myself that, if a reconnoitering party was sent out, it might possibly fall into the ambuscade, and, in that case, in all probability they must have been killed, or taken; and, if they had sent, in the event our plans succeeding, a second party from the fort, would have found the whole party ready to receive them. I ordered Mr. Chew to march with a party of fifteen or twenty men to reconnoitre the ground and to try without exposing himself or the men, to draw a party of the enemy into the ambuscade.

He only went with three Indians, who soon left him, and by that means, in place of returning to Major Lewis' about ten o'clock as I expected, he was obliged to conceal himself till night came on, and he joined me upon the march about eleven o'clock at night. But I would not be understood to reflect upon him; he is a good, brisk young lad. About three in the afternoon I marched forward to the rest of the detachment, and I found Mr. Lewis advantageously posted about four miles from our camp. The post, I was assured, was not seven miles from the fort, though I found it was about twelve. After giving orders to the troops, and particular instructions to the captains, I proceeded about six in the evening toward the fort, expecting to get to the top of the Hills about 11 at night; but, as the distance was so much greater than I had imagined, it was after two in the morning before we got there. The instructions, when I left Loyal Hanna, were that a particular party should be sent to attack each Indian fire, as these fires either had not been made, or were burnt out before we got to the ground, it was impossible to make any disposition of that kind. Major Lewis was informed of every particular of our project before we marched from Loyal Hanna, and was told there that he was to command the troops that were to be sent upon the attack. As I was to continue upon the height to make a disposition for covering his retreat (which we did not desire to be made) in good order and for forming the rear guard in our march from the fort, you will easily believe that he and I had frequent conversations upon the march about our plan of operations. I sent for him the moment the troops arrived upon the hill opposite the fort, and told him that he must have been misinformed by the guides in regard to the distance, and had got there much later than we expected, it was impossible to make the projected disposition of a party of men for the attack on each fire; but that it was impossible to continue another day without being discovered, and that as night was far advanced there was no time to be lost. I therefore ordered him to march directly, with 100 Americans, 200 Highlanders and 100 Virginians to attack anything that was found about the fort. I gave orders that no attention should be paid to the sentries, who probably would challenge, and, in case they were fired upon they were not to return it upon any account—but to march as fast as possible—and were not to fire a shot till they were close to the enemy; and that after they discharged their pieces they were to use their bayonets without loading a second time. I told the Major that I would order all the drums and pipes to beat the retreat when it was time for the troops to relieve, that I was indifferent what order they came back in, that it was the same thing to me if there was not three of them together, provided they did the business they were sent upon. The Major had not half a mile to march into the open plain where the fort stands; the 400 men under his command had a white shirt over his clothes to prevent mistakes and that they might even at a distance distinguish one another. I saw the Americans and Highlanders march off and gave directions that the Virginians should fall in the rear. Sending a greater number of men might possibly, I thought, occasion confusion, and I was of opinion that 400 men were quite sufficient to carry the service into execution. I was absolutely certain we were not discovered when the troops marched from the hill. I thought our loss must be considerable, and never doubted but that everything would succeed beyond our most sanguine expectations.

After posting the remaining part of the troops in the best manner I could, I

placed myself and the drums and pipes at the head of the Highlanders who were in the centre and exactly opposite the fort. During the operations the time passed. The day advanced fast upon us. I was turning uneasy at not hearing the attack begin, when to my great astonishment Major Lewis came up and told me "that it was impossible to do anything, that the night was dark, that the road was bad, worse than anything I had ever seen, that there were logs of wood across it, that there were fences to pass, that the troops had fallen into confusion and that it was a mercy they had not fired upon each other, that they had made so much noise he was sure they must be discovered and that it was impossible for the men to find their way back through those woods." These were really the words he made use of; this behaviour in an officer was new to me; his conduct in overturning a long projected scheme and in disobeying such positive orders was so unaccountable that I could not speak to him with common patience, so that I just made answer to his last words, that the men according to the orders that had been given would have found their way back to the drums when the retreat blew. So I left him and went as fast as I could to Lieutenant McKenzie and Mr. Fisher to see what the matter was and gave directions for the attack if the thing was impracticable. I found the troops in the greatest confusion I ever saw men in, which the truth was not surprising, for the Major had brought them back from the plain when he returned himself and everybody then took a road of their own. I found it was impossible to think of forming for an attack, and the morning was too far advanced to send for the other troops from the other places where they were posted; thus I was reduced, after all my hopes of success, to this melancholy situation. That something at least might be attempted, I sent Lieutenants Robinson and McDonald with fifty men, to make an attack at a place where two or three fires had been seen the night before. I desired them to kill a dozen of Indians if possible, and I would be satisfied. They went directly to the place they were ordered, and finding none of the Indians they set fire to the house, but it was day-light before they could return. I mention this last circumstance that it might appear clearly to you, it was not in my power to send a greater number. The surprise was complete; the governor knew nothing of us or our march, and in all probability the enterprise must have succeeded against the camp as well as against the Indians if the attempt had been made. So favorable an opportunity, I dare say, never was lost.

The difficulties which Major Lewis had represented to me to be insurmountable, appeared to me, as they certainly were, absolutely imaginary. I marched above twelve miles that night, without the least confusion. The Major had not a mile to march to the fort, and above two-thirds of that was in an open plain, and I can safely declare that there is no part of the road in getting into the plain worse than what I had passed without any difficulty in coming up the hill. I made no secret to the people who were about me that I was so much dissatisfied with the Major's conduct that I was determined to carry him back to camp in arrest, that he might answer to you for his behaviour. Several officers heard me say so. Mr. Bentinck, if he escaped, has no doubt informed you that such was my intention. However, I did not think it advisable to take any step of that kind till we were out of reach of the enemy. I therefore sent Major Lewis the 14th, at break of day, with Americans and Virginians to reinforce Captain Bullet, whom I had left with about fifty men as a guard upon our horses and provisions within two miles of the fort, directly upon the road by which we were to return to our camp. I was afraid the enemy might possibly send a detachment that way to take possession of some passes to harass us in our march or perhaps to endeavor to cut us off in case we were forced to make a retreat, and I directed the Major to place these troops in ambuscade that he might have all the advantage possible of any party that could be sent out. About 7 in the morning, after the fog was gone and the day cleared up, it was found impossible to take a plan of the fort from the height where the troops were posted, and as Colonel Bouquet and I had settled that a plan should be taken "*a la barke de la Garrise*" in case an attempt did not succeed in the night.

I sent Mr. Rhor with Captain McDonald and a hundred men to take the place with the directions not to expose himself or the troops. About the same time, being informed that some of the enemy Indians had discovered Captain McKenzie, who was posted upon

the left, almost facing the Monongahela, in order to put on a good countenance and to convince our men they had no reason to be afraid, I gave directions to our drums to beat the Reveille. The troops were in an advantageous post, and I must own that I thought we had nothing to fear. In about half an hour after, the enemy came from the fort in different parties, they advanced briskly and attacked our left where there were 250 men. Captain McDonald and Lieutenant Campbell were soon killed, Lieutenant McDonald wounded at the same time, and our people being overpowered gave way where those officers had been killed. I did all in my power to keep things in order, but to no purpose; the 100 Pennsylvanians were posted upon the right at the greatest distance from the enemy, went off without orders, without firing a shot; in short, in less than half an hour all was in confusion, and as soon as that happened we were fired upon from every quarter.

I endeavored to rally the troops upon every rising ground, and I did all in my power in that melancholy situation to make the best retreat I could. I sent an officer to Major Lewis to make the best disposition he could with the Americans and Virginians till I could come up, and I was in hopes to be able to make a stand there and at least to make a tolerable retreat. Unfortunately, upon hearing the firing the Major thought the best thing that could be done was to march to our assistance, unluckily they did not take the same road by which I marched the night before and by which they had passed that morning, and as I retired the same way I had advanced, I never saw them when I found Captain Bullet and his fifty men alone. I could not help saying to him that I was undone. However, though there was little or rather no hopes left, I was resolved to do the best I could, and whenever I could get anybody to stay with me made a stand, sometimes with 100 and sometimes with 50 just as the men thought proper, for orders were to no purpose. Fear had then got the better of every other passion, and I hope I shall never see again such a pannick among troops—till then I had no conception of it.

At last, inclining to the left with about fifty men, where I was told a number of the Americans and Highlanders had gone, my party diminished insensibly, every soldier taking the road he liked best, and I found myself with not above a dozen of men and an officer of the Pennsylvanians who had been left with Captain Bullet. Surrounded on all sides by the Indians and when I expected every instant to be cut to pieces without a possibility of escaping, a body of the French with a number of their officers came up and offered me quarter, which I accepted of. I was then within a short league of the fort; it was then about 11 o'clock and as far as I can judge, about that time the French troops were called back and the pursuit ended. What our loss is, you best know, but it must be considerable. Captains McDonald and Munroe, Lieutenants McKenzie, Campbell and Wm. McKenzie, Lieutenant Rider and Ensigns Jenkins and Wollar are prisoners. Ensign J. McDonald is prisoner with the Indians; from what I hear they have got two other officers, whose names or corps I know not. Mr. Rhor and the officers who conducted the Indians were killed. Major Lewis and Captain McKenzie are prisoners. I am not certain that McKenzie was killed, but I have seen his commission, which makes it very probable. I spoke to Lieutenant McDonald, Sr., after he was wounded, and I think he could hardly make his escape. I wish I may be mistaken. This is the best account I can give you of our unlucky affair. I endeavored to execute the orders which I had received to the best of my power; as I have been unfortunate, the world may possibly find fault in my conduct. I flatter myself that you will not. I may have committed mistakes without knowing them, but if I was sensible of them I most certainly should tell you in what I thought I had done wrong. I am willing to flatter myself that my being prisoner will be no detriment to my promotion in case of vacancies should happen in the army, and it is to be hoped that the proper steps will be taken to get me exchanged as soon as possible.

I have the honor, to be Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

JAMES GRANT.

P. S. As Major Lewis is prisoner, I thought it was right to read to him that part of this letter which particularly concerns him. He says when he came back to speak to me, that he gave no orders for the troops to retire from the plain. That Captain

Saunders, who was the next officer to him, can best account for that step; for they did retire, and I took it for granted that it was by the Major's orders, till he assured me of the contrary. Mr. Jenkins, of the Americans, is a pretty young lad, and has spirit. He is the oldest ensign, and is much afraid that being a prisoner will be a detriment to his promotion. He begs that I may mention him to you and I could not think of refusing him.¹⁰

Some letters of Washington's at this time are pertinent and convey much information at first hand.

To Governor Fauquier he wrote several as follows:

Camp at Raystown, 25th Sept., 1758.

Honble Sir,

I think it incumbent upon me to give you the following account—altho' it is with great concern I am furnished with the occasion.

The 12th instant Major Grant, of the Highland battalion, with a chosen detachment of 800 men, marched from our advanced post at Loyal Hanna, for Fort Duquesne; what to do there (unless to meet the fate he did) I cannot certainly inform you. However, to get intelligence and annoy the enemy, was the ostensible plan.

On the 13th in the night, they arrived near that place, formed upon the hill in two columns, and sent a party to the fort to make discoveries, which they accomplished accordingly—and burned a log-house not far from the walls without interruption. Stimulated by this success the major kept his post and disposition until day, then detached Major Lewis and part of his command 2 miles back to their baggage guard and sent an engineer with a covering party in full view of the fort to take a plan of the works,—at the same time causing the reveille to beat in several places.

The enemy hereupon sallied out, and an obstinate engagement began, for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer your Honor to the enclosed letters and return of the regiment. Major Lewis it is said met his fate in bravely advancing to sustain Major Grant. Our officers and men have acquired very great applause for their gallant behavior during the action. I had the honor to be publicly complimented yesterday by the General on the occasion. The havoc that was made of them is demonstrable proof of their obstinate defence, having 6 officers killed, and a 7th wounded out of 8. Major Lewis who cheerfully went upon this enterprise (when he found there was no dissuading Colonel Bouquet from the attempt) frequently there, and afterwards upon the march, desired his friends to remember that he had opposed the undertaking to the utmost. He is a great loss to the regiment, and is universally lamented. Captain Bullet's behavior is matter of great admiration and Capt. Walter Stewart, the other surviving officer, distinguished himself greatly while he was able to act. He was left on the field, but made his escape afterwards.

What may be the consequence of this affair, I will not take upon me to decide, but this I may venture to declare, that our affairs in general appear with a greater gloom than ever; and I see no probability of opening the road on this campaign. How then can we expect a favorable issue to the expedition? I have used my best endeavors to supply my men with the necessaries they want. 70 blankets I got from the General upon the promise to return them again. I therefore hope your Honor will direct that number to be sent to Winchester for his use. I must also beg the favor of having blank-commissions sent me,—it will take near a dozen for the promotions and vacancies. I must fill up the vacancies with the volunteers I have, and some of the best Sergeants. I marched to this camp the 21st instant, by order of the General.

Having little else of moment to relate; I beg leave to assure your Honor that I am, etc.¹¹

A footnote by the editor of these letters reads:

The Major (Grant) conducted the march so that the surprise was complete, and the enterprise must have succeeded, but for the absolute disobedience of orders in a pro-

¹⁰"Fort Pitt;" Wm. M. Darlington, pp. 63-71.

¹¹"Writings of George Washington, 1758-1775;" W. C. Ford, Vol. II, pp. 98-99-100.

vincial officer, the night they reached the Ohio; and by this man's quitting his post next morning, the party was in a manner cut to pieces. Major Grant, as he was unfortunate, may be blamed, but from his letter to General Forbes * * * you will not only see he was not in fault; but from the behavior of the provincial officer, you will be satisfied that a planter is not to be taken from the plough and made an officer in a day. [Letter from an officer who attended Brigadier General Forbes, printed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1759].¹²

Washington the same day wrote Mrs. George Wm. Fairfax as follows:

Camp at Ray's Town, 25th Sept. 1758.

Dear Madam: Do we still misunderstand the true meaning of each other's letters? I think it must appear so, tho' I would feign hope the contrary as I cannot speak plainer without.—But I'll say no more and leave you to guess the rest.

I am now furnished with news of a very interesting nature. I know it will affect you, but as you must hear it from others I will state it myself. The 12th past, Major Grant with a chosen detachment of 800 men, march'd from our advanced post at Loyal Hanna against Fort Duquesne.

On the night of the 13th he arriv'd at that place or rather upon a Hill near to it; from whence went a party and viewed the Works, made what observations they could, burnt a Logg house not far from the Walls. Egg'd on rather than satisfied by this success, Major must needs insult the Enemy next morning by beating the Reveille in different places in view. This caused a great body of men to sally from the Fort, and an obstinate engagement to ensue which was maintained on our side with the utmost efforts that bravery could yield, till being overpowered and quite surrounded they were obliged to retreat with the loss of 22 officers killed and 278 men besides wounded.

This is a heavy blow to our affairs here, and a sad stroke upon the regiment, that has lost out of 8 officers and 168 that was in the action, 6 of the former killed and a 7th wounded. Among the slain was our dear Mr. Lewis. This gentleman, as the other officers also did, bravely fought while they had life, tho' wounded in different places. Your old acquaintance, Captain Bullet, who is the only officer of mine that came off untouched, has acquired immortal honor in this engagement by his gallant behavior, and long continuance in the field of action. It might be thought vanity in me to praise the behavior of my own people were I to deviate from the report of common fame—but when you consider the loss they have sustained, and learn that every mouth resounds their praises, you will believe me impartial.¹³

Three days later Washington again wrote Governor Fauquier:

Camp at Raystown, the 28 Sept, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: I forgot to notice in my last of the 25th instant that a flag of truce was sent to Fort Duquesne by Colonel Bouquet. It is now returned, and we learn with certainty (tho' few things have yet transpired) that Major Grant with two other Highland officers, and Major Lewis, with two officers of the Royal Americans—and one belonging to Pennsylvania, together with 2 sergeants and 30 private men, were made prisoners in the late action, and sent immediately to Montreal. From all the accounts I have yet been able to collect, it appears very clear, that this was either an ill-concerted or very ill-executed plan; perhaps both; but it seems to be generally acknowledged that Major Grant exceeded his orders in some particulars; and that no disposition was made for engaging.

The troops were divided—which caused the front to give way, and put the whole into confusion, except the Virginians, commanded by Capt. Bullet, who were (in the hands of Providence) a means of preventing all of our people from sharing one common fate. This mistake, I fear, may be productive of bad consequences to the common cause.

The promoters of opening a new road, either do believe (or would fain have it

¹²"Writings of George Washington;" W. C. Ford, Vol. II, p. 100.

¹³"Writings of George Washington, 1758-1775;" W. C. Ford, Vol. II, pp. 101-102.

thought so) that there is time enough to accomplish our plan this season: but others who judge freer from prejudice, are of a quite contrary opinion. As the road is not yet opened half-way, and not 20 days' provision for the troops got the length of this place—which cannot be attributed to a juster cause than the badness of the road; altho' many other reasons are assigned for it. We find that the frosts have already changed the face of nature among these mountains. We know there is not more than a month left for enterprize; we know also that a number of horses cannot subsist after that time, on a road stripped of its herbage—and very few there are who apprehend that our affairs can be brought to favorable issue by that period, nor do I see how it is possible, if everything else answered, that men half-naked can live in tents much longer.¹⁴

Smollett has a page of our history of this time:

In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, intrusted to the conduct of Brigadier Forbes, who with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July, from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of military roads, encumbered with morasses, mountains, and woods, that were almost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of industry, that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre, the fort and its outworks. The enemy perceiving him approach, sent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment; a very severe action began, which the English maintained with their usual courage for three hours, against cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, with nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortified check, brigadier Forbes, advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlement on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November, and next day it was possessed by British forces. As for the Indians of his country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connexions with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the Government of his Britannic majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a blockhouse near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania; but he did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service. Thus we have given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America; the reader will be convinced, that notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighborhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages; and indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conquest of all Canada.¹⁵

Four years' anxious efforts culminated November 25, 1758, in the possession of the Forks of the Ohio.

Parkman appends this footnote to the end of his account of Grant's battle, showing his sources of information:

¹⁴"Writings of George Washington, 1758-1775;" W. C. Ford, Vol. II, pp. 104-105.

¹⁵"A Compleat History of England" (1757); Tobias George Smollett, M. D., Vol. I, pp. 393-394.

Letters from camp in Boston Evening Post, Boston Weekly Advertiser, Boston News Letter, and other provincial newspapers of the time. List of Killed, Wounded and Missing in the Action of September 14, Gentleman's Magazine XXIX, 173. Hazard's Register VIII, 141. Olden Time, I, 179. Vaudrenil, with characteristic exaggeration, represents all Grant's party as killed or taken, except a few who died of starvation. The returns show that 540 came back safe, out of 813.¹⁸

The officers of the Pennsylvania contingent under Forbes are enumerated in Vol. I, "Pennsylvania Colonial and Federal," pp. 488-492. The Colony furnished 2700 men. These rosters are in the Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, Vol. III, pp. 336-341.

¹⁸"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Vol. II, Champlain Edition, p. 363.

WILLIAM PITT

CHAPTER XX.

"I Have Called the Place Pittsburgh."

The lilies droop and wither,
No more their might avails.
The power of France is broken,
And down the forest trails
The hordes of Britain hasten
Against their ancient foes;
The lily banner pales before
The red flag of the rose.

GEO. M. P. BAIRD.¹

It was not an exultant army that came over the rugged Alleghenies in the winter, whose bloodless victory under their intrepid, invalid commander won for England a magnificent point of vantage and struck a mortal blow to French power in America.

It was not a cheerful occasion for the founding of a great city. We can see a weary, half starved body of once hardy men in the bleakness of that November day looking only on desolation and solitude. The inspiration of their dying chief must have been supreme. His iron will and unconquerable spirit must have strongly appealed to these men. It buoyed them up; it raised their hopes. Undoubtedly they communed with each other saying: "If our suffering general can stand it, why not we?" They too were brave spirits of their stormy times.

Inauspicious as the birth of our city is shown to have been, in the story of its founding we read courage, devotion, success, triumph. Had not the French retreated, what the battle the intrepid Forbes had waged? Retreat he could not. It was victory or death. No wonder in his lurid language the great leader so vehemently expressed himself. He knew the peril, the extreme peril, of his position. He must show no shadow of doubt—fear he could not. It was not in him.

We may well believe that Forbes saw the advantage of the Forks of the Ohio as a military situation and that he knew in the new land of America the fortification became the nucleus of the town that soon grew around it. Washington five years previously had made a note of the topography and carefully examined it. (Journal 1753, November 23rd). Forbes not only named the fort he ordered to be built immediately, but doubly honored the great Premier by bestowing it upon the place also, and then and there Forbes gave our city its name, spelling the name as it is authoritatively spelled. In a letter to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania on November 26th, the day after the capture, he says:

"I have called the place Pittsburgh."

Eight days later Bouquet, in the minutes of a conference with the Delawares, signed them: "At Pitts-bourgh, December 4, 1758."

In stern justice, Forbes could have honored or had himself honored in the name Forbesburg, and the whole British nation would have

¹"Book of Words of the Pageant and Masque of Freedom;" published by authority of the Pittsburgh Charter Centennial Committee, 1916.

applauded. But the heroic soul was modest, so he honored the Great Commoner, with keen appreciation of the master mind of William Pitt. So Pittsburgh it has ever been, and we of Pittsburgh, sensible of the appropriateness, and recognizing the self-sacrifice and modesty of the suffering hero, have been ever proud of the name and mindful that it commemorates one of the world's greatest characters—the brilliant, eloquent, popular prime minister of Great Britain, in later years the Earl of Chatham, friend of the colonists of the British Empire in North America, who when he became the first minister of the realm saw with enlightened vision the policy of treating those colonies with generosity and confidence, thus gaining their affections and bringing such generous support to the government in the war with the French and Indians that the conquest of Canada was achieved and French dominion in North America utterly destroyed. Within the city's limits that bears the name of Pitt the first staggering blow was struck by the indomitable Forbes and the French dream—passion for empire—first began to fade away. In the founding of that city there were few formalities and these military in character. Practically the name Pittsburgh preceded the birth, for the first physical act was the erection of the small fort for the garrison, necessary to hold the place. It will appear that here again the fates were kind, for the winter that ensued was of such rare severity that the French and Indians could not return to drive Mercer and his little band away, or capture them.

The founding of the city as usually regarded was by the occupation of the peninsula between the two rivers by Forbes' army. Then, too, the sovereignty of the region changed. A new king exercised power, the Hanoverian soldier, George the Second, destined to reign but two years longer, and then his grandson, George the Third. In the promulgation of the change of sovereignty a new standard was raised—it was the royal standard of St. George. *A bas* then the *fleur-de-lis*, marking an end of French intrigue and French power forever. Exit the Gaul and all things Gallic. Enter a virile race, and a new regime begins; to last seventeen years.

The inclination to dwell upon this historic scene is strong. It is possible to dress it in garments of rich imagery. We of Pittsburgh, familiar with the locality, passing our lives within easy reach of it, knowing well the weather conditions of the late season and the November skies when dusk has come and night is coming on, can readily call up the bleakness of the hour and see the driving eddies as the snow falls briskly on the dismal bivouac of Forbes' men. We can hear the swish of the rapid waters of the Allegheny as they sweep past—as we have heard them many a time and oft. We know well the wide expanse of waters where the more sluggish and less clear Monongahela joins to form the Beautiful River; we know the background now, and may picture its appearance then—the rugged, wooded hills with an extensive flat extending towards the rivers, and interspersed with morass and ponds. We can ponder on the solemnity of the ceremony; the formal taking possession. We may ascribe deep thankfulness in Forbes'

heart and can believe he murmured to himself: "Now I can die content. I have given my life to King and country and in the last of my slowly ebbing days I have won a long sought goal. I have earned fame, too; God has been kind to me. My name will live."

A Pittsburgh historian pictures the scene aptly: "As a wild snow-storm was deepening the dusk into black night, the banner of England was hoisted over one of the ruined bastions by Colonel Armstrong; and the 'Iron Head' christened the place anew. Bearing in mind the great statesman who brought about the change of flags, and had honored him by making him the instrument for its attainment, Forbes called the collection of ruined cabins PITTSBURGH."

"Long as the Monongahela and the Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West."²

The march of Forbes and his little army was exhausting in the extreme and only the grim determination of the commander brought success. Bradley, an Englishman, writing of the weather conditions of the season, says:

Autumn on the Atlantic slope of North America is of all seasons the most stimulating and delightful. Rain, as a rule, falls sparingly, or in short spells, and nature decked in a rainment gorgeous beyond dreams, and rarely ruffled by storm or tempest, slumbers in balmy silence beneath an azure sky. Poor Forbes, like Washington, upon nearly the same ground four years earlier, encountered, and in an even worse degree, one of those climatic exceptions that prove the rule. Rain fell persistently, and fell in torrents, while premature snow storms filled his cup of misery to the brim. On the lower grounds the new-made road was impassable with liquid mud; on the mountain slopes the torrents swept it away as fast as it was made. Forage began to get scarce and the horses became poor and weak. The prospect lately so hopeful, seemed now well-nigh desperate. Bouquet labored hard, against the warring elements, the miry swamps, the torrent-riven mountains, and with transport horses growing daily weaker. Forbes, whose indomitable will, rather than improving health, had forced him on to the soaking misery of Loyalhanna, still gave his orders in person. Tortured with pain, and scarce able to stand, he would listen to no suggestions of abandoning in the attempt or of himself returning to those comforts which were his only chance of life.³

On the return to Philadelphia, through all the wilderness part of the march, the men each day built a rude hut in which they placed a stone fireplace for the comfort of the dying general. One night, through some mishap, the suffering Forbes became insensible through long waiting in the bitter cold, before fire and shelter could be provided. It took some time to bring him to by applications of cordials and other stimulants. However, the return march was not made with the gloom of the march out. Forbes left here December 3, 1758, as Post records in his Journal,⁴ and reached Philadelphia on his return January 14, 1759. His condition was pitiful in the extreme. The terrible journey of about

²"1758—Being a Sketch of the Founding of Pittsburgh;" by Charles W. Dahlinger, 1908, p. 17. "History United States;" Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 495.

³"Fight with France for North America;" A. G. Bradley, pp. 278-279.

⁴Post's "Second Journal;" Chap. XXI herein. See "History Western Pennsylvania and West;" Appendix XI, p. 122.

five hundred miles in winter, carried all the way, is unimaginable. Great enthusiasm greeted him in the city. He had completed his task and all was well but himself. He survived two months only, dying on March 9th, having drawn the breath of pain and anguish for many days. No one has a better title to honor and remembrance than he. We have Forbes street in his commemoration. It is slight enough.

In the building of the first Fort Pitt or the fort temporarily used the first winter of the English occupation, Forbes had but little part. He remained at the site of Fort Duquesne but eight days. When the fort was under way he left. It was a matter of extreme doubt whether or not his faithful men would not carry him into Philadelphia a corpse.

Craig says that: "Mr. Ross used to relate a story that had come down by tradition. The disease which proved fatal to Forbes increased so rapidly on the march, that in approaching Fort Duquesne he had to be carried on a litter. This excited remark and derision among the Indians. To counteract unfavorable impressions, it was stated that the British chief had a temper so impetuous and irascible and combative that it was not thought safe to trust him at large, even among his own people, but that the practice was to let him out on the eve of battle."⁵ This assertion of Forbes' irascibility has been ascribed to Conrad Weiser, always politic and a diplomat by instinct and intuition.

Craig has furnished us these items, from Franklin's newspaper, headed, "Death of General Forbes."

Extract from the Pennsylvania Gazette, published at Philadelphia on the 18th of January, 1759.

Last night General Forbes arrived in town, when the guns were fired and bells rung.

The following notice of the death of General Forbes, is from the same paper of the 15th of March, 1759:

"On Sunday, last, died of a tedious illness, John Forbes, Esq., in the 49th year of his age, son to ——— Forbes, Esq., of Pittencrief, in the Shire of Fife, in Scotland, Brigadier General, Colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot, and Commander of his Majesty's troops in the Southern Provinces of North America; a gentleman generally known and esteemed, and almost sincerely and universally regretted. In his younger days he was bred to the profession of physic, but, early ambitious of the military character, he purchased into the Regiment of Scot's Grey Dragoons, where, by repeated purchases and faithful services, he arrived to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His superior abilities soon recommended him to the protection of General Campbell, of Earl of Stair, Duke of Bedford, Lord Ligonier, and other distinguished characters in the army: with some them as an aid; with the rest in the familiarity of a family man. During the last war he had the honor to be employed in the post of Quarter-Master General, in the army under his Royal Highness, the Duke, which he discharged with accuracy, dignity and dispatch. His services in America are well known. By a steady pursuit of well concerted measures, in defiance of disease and numberless obstructions, he brought to a happy issue a most extraordinary campaign, and made a willing sacrifice of his own life to what he valued more—the interests of his king and country. As a man he was just and without prejudice; brave without ostentation; uncommonly warm in his friendships, and incapable of flattery; acquainted with the world and mankind, he was well bred, but absolutely impatient of formality and affection. As an officer, he was quick to discern useful men and useful measures, generally seeing both at first view, according to their real qualities; steady in his measures, and open to

⁵"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 265. Senator James Ross, of Pittsburgh, is most probably referred to.

information and council; in command he had dignity without superciliousness; and though perfectly master of the forms, never hesitated to drop them, when the spirit and more essential parts of the service required it.

"Yesterday (14th) he was interred in the Chancel of Christ's Church in this city."⁶

Bradley states that the place of Forbes' grave has been obscured by alterations and lost sight of, as may with equal truth be said of his services and his unselfish valor in the memory of his fellow-countrymen.⁷

These items show the elaborate nature of the obsequies. The form and order of march at his funeral was as follows:

- I. Pioneers.
- II. The Seventeenth Regiment, and two companies of Colonel Montgomery's Regiment, the colors with crapes; the drums covered with black; and the officers with crapes on their arms.
- III. Two pieces of cannon, with the Commanding Officer of Artillery.
- IV. The Engineers.
- V. The Staff.
- VI. The servants, in mourning, uncovered, two and two.
- VII. A led horse, covered with black, conducted by a groom.
- VIII. The Surgeons.
- IX. The Physicians.
- X. The Clergy and Chaplains of the army.
- XI. The corpse and the pall held by six field officers.
- XII. The mourners.
- XIII. The Governor, the Council, the Speaker, and members of Assembly, the Judges, the magistrates, and gentlemen of the Province and city, two and two.
- XIV. The officers from the different garrisons, two and two.
- N. B. The Minute guns were fired from the time the corpse was brought out until the interment was over; and the whole ended by a triple discharge of the small guns. March 15, 1759.⁸

Most graphically Dahlinger describes the arrival of Forbes in Pittsburgh:

In the morning the entire army moved forward, eagerly but cautiously. The commander would not allow haste for fear of running into some unknown danger. During the last three miles of the march, the army passed the scattered bodies of those who had fallen two months before, at the defeat of Grant. The route fell into a long open racepath, where the savages had been wont to pass their prisoners through the ordeal of the gauntlet. On either side, a long row of naked stakes was planted in the ground, on each of which, grinned in decaying ghastliness, the severed head of a Highlander, while beneath was exhibited his kilt. This was the Indians' way of displaying their contempt for the "petticoat warriors" who had run away at the time of Grant's rout.

The early winter dusk was stealing on when the army emerged from the leafless woods and reached the height where Grant had been so terribly punished. Here a short halt was ordered. Before them, on the level plain below, were the smoking ruins of the fort. Thirty chimneys rose naked above the ashes of as many houses. Not a Frenchman was to be seen. After the commands had been reformed, with flags flying, drums beating and bagpipes playing, the army marched down the elevation to the plain and onward to the fort. The southern Indians were in advance; after them Colonel Washington and Colonel Armstrong, at the head of the provincials led the way. Of the

⁶"Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 189-190.

⁷"Fight with France for North America;" p. 285.

⁸The whole Account of the funeral is in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History;" Vol. XI, pp. 120-121, and the same account, with exception of the form and order of March at the funeral in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania;" Vol. V.

provincials, Washington's Virginians in their hunting shirts and Indian blankets came first; then followed the Pennsylvanians in green uniforms turned up with buff. Most of the other provincials marched in the dress, now torn and ragged, that they had worn when leaving their usual vocations; interspersed were frontiersmen dressed in buckskins with fringed hunting shirts, leggins and moccasins, and wearing coon-skin caps. Then came General Forbes, now terribly wasted, reclining on his own litter, but with bright eyes and eager interest, directing the march. Colonel Bouquet rode in front of the Royal Americans, who followed the provincials. Their three-cornered hats, and dark scarlet uniforms faced with blue, contrasted markedly with the diversely-clad provincials. The Highlanders, in bonnets and kilts and belted plaids, in a long picturesque line, under their colonel, Montgomery, brought up the rear. Not a spectator was there to observe that imposing martial array but a few vagabond Indians, who had remained to tell of the departure of the Frenchmen.⁹

The best short account we have of Forbes' expedition has been handed down to us by John Ormsby, who accompanied the expedition. Later Ormsby settled in Pittsburgh and was the ancestor of the Ormsby connection still prominent in the city. Craig says he was an industrious, enterprising man, that his first home in Pittsburgh was on Water street, one door south of Ferry street and next door to Samuel Sample's tavern, where Washington and his fellow travelers stopped in 1770. From his home Ormsby kept the first ferry over the Monongahela river, this fact giving the name to Ferry street. He bore the character of an honest, worthy citizen and, says Craig, in his later life, at least, was a pious man. Of his early life Craig learned nothing. That Ormsby was a pious man can be presumed from the fact that among the books he left at his decease was a religious work called "A Prospect of Futurity, Containing Four Dissertations on the Nature and Circumstances of the Life to Come, etc.," by Thomas Broughton, Prebendary, etc., printed in London in 1768, ten years after Ormsby's service with Forbes. Into this book Ormsby had introduced some sixty pages of notes of his own covering various subjects, and a short sketch of his life. A portion of this, however, had been torn out. Craig in his remarks as editor of the "Olden Time," says of Ormsby's notes that he published them in his magazine of history because they contained some items of intelligence by an eye witness of the early transactions in this quarter and that they give an insight into the character of General Forbes that Craig had not hitherto possessed.

John Ormsby was an Irishman by birth. He had served in the British army, his rank not being stated. He became a traveler through the different colonies in America and at one time was a teacher. He was born in 1720 and died in Pittsburgh some time after the Revolution—the exact date not known.

When Braddock came to Alexandria, Ormsby was in Philadelphia and designed to accompany him but was prevented by sickness. When Forbes was ready with his expedition Ormsby joined it and was present when the forces of the "Iron Head" stood by the smoking ruins of Duquesne. Ormsby begins his narrative by stating his intentions in February, 1755, to take service under Braddock as, by reason of previous service in the British army, Ormsby had been offered a captain's com-

⁹"1758—Being a Sketch of the Founding of Pittsburgh, etc.," C. W. Dahlinger, pp. 16-17.

mission, and to act as adjutant. "To this," says Ormsby, "I cheerfully assented as a military life best suited my intentions; but alas! man appoints but God does as he thinks fit. Just as I was preparing my uniform, etc., I was seized with a nervous fever and ague which I was afflicted till the year 1758, being near three years; so that all my golden hopes vanished." With the news that Braddock had so terribly failed, no doubt Ormsby found another word to describe his hopes. Mentioning that the savages were "massacring" the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, "&c" and the proposed expedition under Forbes, Ormsby is elated at the prospect of gratifying his fondness for a military life, regrets the state of his health, and speaks of his resolution to go to the frontier in some capacity and his offer of a commission by several States which he accepted. In his own words:

Accordingly I set out for the Ohio, to act as Commissary of Provisions, which was a wretched employment, provisions being so scarce that I could scarcely supply the general's table. When the army arrived as far as Turtle Creek, a council of war was held, that it was impracticable to proceed, all the provisions and forage being exhausted. On the general's being informed of this, he swore a furious oath that he would sleep in the fort or in h—l the next night. It was a matter of indifference to the old, emaciated general where he died, and he was carried on a litter the whole distance from Philadelphia and back. You may judge the situation of near 3,000 men in the wilderness, 250 miles from the inhabited country. About midnight a tremendous explosion was heard from the westward; upon which Forbes swore that the French magazine was blown up, either by accident or design which revived our drooping spirits a little. The above conjecture of the "Head of Iron" was verified by a deserter from Duquesne, who said that the Indians who watched the march of the English army declared to the French that there was as many white people coming as there were trees in the woods. The place had a most desolate appearance, as all the improvements made by the French had been burned to the ground. You may judge our situation when I assure you we had neither flour, meat nor liquor in store. The only relief overed was plenty of venison and bear meat which our hunters brought in and which our people devoured without bread or salt. There were several parcels of pack horses, loaded with provisions, coming up from the inhabited country, but the savages seized most of them and murdered the drivers. Our emaciated General Forbes was carried on his litter bed to Philadelphia, where he died a short time after his arrival. He was a brave soldier, but afflicted with a complication of disorders. A few hours before his death he swore a great oath that he died contented, as he had got possession of Fort Du Quesne and made the d—d French rascals run away.¹⁰

The remainder of Ormsby's narrative has reference to incidents during 1759 and 1760 and some strictures on Bouquet, whom he did not like. The account of another eye witness has been preserved. John Haslet, a captain in Forbes' army, wrote a letter to a certain clergyman—the Rev. Dr. Allison. It is dated "Fort Duquesne, November 26, 1758."

Rev'd Sir:—I have now the pleasure to write you from the ruins of the fort. On the 24th, at night we were informed by one of our Indian scouts that he had discovered a cloud of smoke about the place, and soon after another came in with certain intelligence that it was burnt and abandoned by the enemy.

We were then about 15 miles from it; a troop of horse was sent forward immediately to extinguish the burning, and the whole army followed. We arrived at 6 o'clock last night, and found it in a great measure destroyed. There are two forts about 200 yards distant, the one built with immense labor, small but a great deal of

¹⁰"Olden Time;" Vol. II, pp. 1-3.

very strong works collected into a little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the two rivers. It is square and has two ravelins, gabions at each corner. The other fort stands on the bank of the Allegheny in the form of a parallelogram, but not so strong as the other. Several of the outworks are lately begun and still unfinished.

There are I think 30 stacks of chimneys standing—the houses all burnt down. They sprung one mine which ruined one of their magazines. In the other we found a prodigious quantity of old carriage iron, barrels of guns and a cartload of scalping knives.

They went off in such haste they could not destroy their works as they intended. We are told by the Indians that they lay the night before at Beaver Creek 40 miles down the Ohio from here. Whether they buried their dead or carried them down in their batteaux, we have not yet learned.

A boy 12 years old who had been their prisoner two years, who escaped on the 2d inst., tells us they had carried a prodigious quantity of wood into the fort; that they had burnt five of the prisoners that they took at Major Grant's defeat, on the parade, and delivered others to the Indians, who were tomahawked on the spot.

We have found numbers of dead bodies within a mile of the fort unburied, as so many monuments of French inhumanity. A great many Indians, mostly Delawares, gathered on the Island last night and this morning to treat with the General, and we are making rafts to bring them over.¹¹

Whether the General will think of repairing the ruins or leaving any of the troops here, I have not heard. Mr. Beatty is appointed to preach a thanksgiving sermon, for the remarkable superiority of his Majesty's arms. We left all our tents at Loyalhanna, and every convenience except a blanket and a knapsack.

You will excuse the errors of haste and believe me to be

Rev'd Sir, Your Most Obedient Servant,

JOHN HASLET.

To Rev. Allison.

Haslet led his troop of light horse in advance of the main army, hurrying forward to extinguish the flames if it were possible. Haslet's is a sufficiently succinct account. The island mentioned was Smoky Island in the Allegheny, long since washed away. The minister was the Rev. Charles Beatty, a pioneer missionary, a chaplain under Forbes. Beatty came back and stopped at Fort Pitt in 1766 on his mission with the Rev. George Duffield.

Washington was present alongside of Forbes and Bouquet and John Armstrong and Hugh Mercer and other noted soldiers of the time at the occupation of the site of Fort Duquesne, November 25, 1758. Of the fort but some smoking ruins of the stockade remained.

In a letter to Governor Fauquier of Virginia, dated "Camp at Fort Duquesne, 28 November, 1758," Washington writes:

Sir:—I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Du Quesne, or the ground rather on which it stood was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th instant. The enemy after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the Fort, and ran away by the light of it, at night, going down the Ohio by water to the number of about five hundred men, according to our best information. This possession of the Fort has been a matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes than the weakness of the enemy, want of provisions, and the defection of the Indians.

Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at Loyal Hanna, where we despaired of proceeding further.

A council of war determined that it was not advisable to advance this season beyond that place but the above information caused us to march on without tents or

¹¹"Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 184-185. "Register of Pennsylvania;" Hazard, Vol. VI, pp. 226-227. "History Western Pennsylvania, etc.;" App., p. 301.

baggage, and with only a light train of artillery. We have thus happily succeeded. It would be tedious, and I think unnecessary, to relate every trivial circumstance that has happened since my last. To do this, if needful, shall be the employment of a leisure hour when I shall have the pleasure to pay my respect to Your Honor.

The general intends to wait here a few days to settle matters with the Indians, and then all the troops except a sufficient garrison to secure the place, will march to their respective governments.¹²

Note that Pittsburgh was founded at the time by mere chance; the capture of the prisoners who gave the information that pushed the tired and hungry troops the fifty miles that lay between them and the fort. Of the fatiguing character of the expedition Washington reminds the governor in these words:

I cannot help premising in this place, of the hardships they (the Virginia troops) have undergone, and of their naked condition that you may judge if it is not essential for them to have some little recess from fatigue and time to provide themselves with necessaries. At present they are destitute of every comfort of life. If I do not get your orders to the contrary, I shall march the troops under my command directly to Winchester. They may then be disposed of as you shall afterwards direct.

Washington is here hopeful of lasting results. He urges the maintenance of a strong garrison at the "Forks" and urges that Virginia should not neglect any means in her power to hold the place. This was Washington's second visit to the Forks of the Ohio, the first in 1753 with Gist, coming down the Monongahela from Frazier's cabin at Turtle Creek.

Captain Knox is severe upon the French. He says:

As soon as Brigadier Forbes' army had reached Fort Duquesne, he set about the necessary repairs, and having rendered the place as defensible as possible, he garrisoned it by two hundred and forty Highlanders from Colonel Montgomery's corps, and fifty of the Royal Americans: the remainder of his forces he marched back to Philadelphia; but, before he took his departure, he conferred on his new conquest the name of Pittsburgh in compliment to that supereminent Statesman, the right honorable William Pitt, Esq.; by whose great abilities, excellent conduct, and the most steady exertion of the reins of government, our affairs, particularly in this new world, have assumed so prosperous an aspect. Another smaller fort, dependent of this, situated on a branch of the Ohio, the Brigadier also honored with the epithet of Ligonier, to perpetuate, in some measure, the just sense which he and the British forces entertain of that experienced General's high merit and long faithful services. By our farther accounts from that quarter, the late French garrison had perpetuated the most unheard-of barbarities upon all our prisoners; in the ruins of the fort are found pieces of human skulls, and other relics of their brutality, which were half burnt after these monsters of butchery had sated themselves with this savage and unchristian treatment of some unfortunate captives, on the parade within the fortress they gave up the remainder to the Indians, who, according to their custom, tomahawked and scalped them, one after another; and all this in the presence of the unhappy victims of their rage and cruelty. Fort Ligonier is garrisoned by a detachment from Pittsburgh, which is relieved weekly or monthly, at the discretion of the Commanding-Officer.¹³

Two magazines were in the fort. One was blown up by springing a mine of powder. This was the explosion heard by Forbes at Turtle

¹²"Writings of Washington;" Sparks, Vol. II, p. 321.

¹³"Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760;" Captain John Knox, edited by A. G. Doughty, 1914. Reprint of London Edition of 1769; Vol. I, pp. 299-301.

Creek. The other magazine was not destroyed. In it were found sixteen barrels of ammunition, many gun barrels, a large quantity of carriage iron, and a wagonload of scalping knives—nice spoils of war—but very necessary. There were no cannon; whether they had been removed or sunk in the river was unknown.

About five hundred French retreated, part going down the Ohio, and some overland with the French commander, De Lignery, to Presque Isle and Venango. The fort at the latter place was called by the French Machault. Bancroft's description is pertinent. He says:

As Armstrong's own hand raised the British flag over the ruined bastions of the fortress, as the banners of England floated over the waters, the place at the suggestion of Forbes was with one voice called Pittsburgh.

It is the most enduring monument to William Pitt. America raised to his name statues that have been wrongfully broken and piles of granite of which not one pile remains upon another, but as long as the Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, as long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom, in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the gateway of the West.

John Burk, followed by Irving, says Washington raised the flag over the ruins. Burk should have known. He lived in Virginia in Washington's years and had opportunity to learn the fact. Historians generally ascribe the flag raising to Col. John Armstrong, hero of Kittanning.¹⁴

Thomas Carlyle, ranging widely in his great work, "History of Frederick the Great," has this footnote (Vol. VI, pp. 431-432):

Here is a clipping from Ohio Country, "Letter of an Officer" (distilled essence of two letters) dated Fort Duquesne, November 28, 1758: "Our small corps under General Forbes, after much sore scrambling through the wilderness, and contending with enemies wild and tame, is, since the last four days, in possession of Fort Duquesne" (Pittsburgh henceforth). "Friday 24th, the French garrison, on our appearance, made-off without fighting; took to boats down the Ohio, and vanished out of those countries," forever and a day, we will hope. "Their Louisiana-Canada communication is lost," which Mr. Washington fixed upon long ago, is ours again, if we can turn it to use. "This day a detachment of us goes to Braddock's field of battle" (poor Braddock) to bury the bones of our slaughtered countrymen; many of whom the French butchered in cold blood, and to their own eternal shame and infamy, have left lying above ground ever since. As indeed they have done with all those slain round the Fort in late weeks;" calling themselves a civilised Nation too!"

How strange and bitter these words sound in 1921!

Bradley, too, tells well the story of subsequent events:

It now only remained to make the fort good for the reception of a winter garrison, and to re-name it. The heroic Forbes had entirely collapsed from the fatigue of the march, and for some days his life was hanging in the balance. Once again, however, the strong will conquered and he was carried out among his men to superintend their operations. A new and suitable name for the conquered fortress was not hard to find, and Duquesne became Fort Pitt, after the great minister whose spirit had here, as everywhere, been the source of British triumph. Colonel Mercer, with some Vir-

¹⁴"History of the United States;" Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 495. Irving's "Washington;" Vol. I, p. 288, and "History of Virginia;" Burk, Vol. III, p. 236, where we read: "A short time after the explosion, Colonel Washington, with the advanced guard, entered the fortress amidst the ruins still smoking, and planted the British flag; but the enemy were beyond reach of attack, having dropt down to their settlement at Presque-ile and Venango."

ginians and Pennsylvanians, was left in charge of the fort, and towards the close of December, Forbes stretched upon his litter, was borne feet foremost in the midst of his remaining troops on the weary homeward journey through the freezing forests. Though his weakness and his suffering grew worse rather than better, his mind at last, was now at ease. His task was accomplished and Ticonderoga was the only failure of the year. The French were driven from the West, their connections between Canada and Louisiana severed, their prestige with the Indians broken, and the demon of Indian warfare on the Alleghany frontier apparently laid. That all this might have been achieved the next year, or the year after, is no answer to the decisive nature of Forbes' work. There might have been no next year, or year after, for military achievements in America. Peace in Europe was at any moment possible. Events there might take a sudden turn that would make boundary lines on the American wilderness appear to most men a secondary matter. Pitt cherished no such illusions now; his intentions to drive the French from America were fixed and clear. But circumstances at home might weaken his arm; or he might die, for his life was none of the best, and it was of vital import that every stroke should be driven home before a general peace was made. A French garrison anywhere in America would have been hard to move by diplomatic means when once the sword was sheathed.¹⁵

The little garrison left by General Forbes to hold the now historic Forks of the Ohio had much to do. Their first duties were sad in the extreme. The bodies of those who had fallen in the fatal engagement on Grant's Hill yet lay scattered on the field, scalped and mutilated. These were gathered and given Christian interment. Then burial parties went to Braddock's battleground and gathered the whitened bones of those sacrificed there, and these were also committed to soldiers' graves. The capture of Fort Duquesne was hailed everywhere throughout the colonies as a harbinger of better days. The ambitious views of the French in extending their settlements to the Mississippi had been frustrated; the friendship of the Indians had been regained. They were no longer the allies of the French and herein is the story of the daring and suffering of Christian Frederick Post. Conferences were immediately held at the site of Duquesne and the Delawares were the first to sue for peace. This conference was held by Colonel Bouquet, with George Croghan, deputy under Sir William Johnson, commissioner of Indian affairs, present, and Col. John Armstrong and other officers also, with Capt. Henry Montour interpreter.

Subsequent conferences were held at the new Fort Pitt, participated in by Colonel Mercer, Croghan, Trent and Thomas McKee, assistants to Croghan, with Montour, "Joe" Hickman and other interpreters. All the tribes that ranged the region seem to have participated and everything went along nicely until Pontiac decreed otherwise.

The French had occupied their stronghold here and the key to the West but a short time comparatively. Four years and eight months in all, but in that time an appalling amount of suffering and bloodshed had fallen upon the English. It was a period memorable for the terrors and cruelties of unsparing warfare from the time Ensign Edward Ward had been foiled at the approach of the formidable and motley-manned flotilla of Contrecoeur, leaving the unfinished fortification upon which rose Fort Duquesne, and happy indeed was the day when the proud flag of England floated in triumph from its fire-scathed walls.

¹⁵"Fight with France for North America;" pp. 283-284.

Dr. Cyrus Townsend Brady esteems Forbes a hero if ever there was one. He calls attention to the fact that there is no mention of him in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" and none in a monumental work entitled "The Dictionary of National Biography." Brady says Forbes was "a man of liberal and enlightened views, courteous in his bearing, and tactful in his methods, but determined—terribly resolute. By his generous and kindly manner, he attached to himself those whom Braddock and his officers had alienated by their contempt. The general was in himself a host."

Parkman says: "If Forbes' achievement was not brilliant, its solid value was above price. It opened the great West to English enterprise, took from France half her savage allies and relieved the Western borders from the scourge of Indian war. The frontier population had cause to bless the memory of the steadfast and all-enduring soldier."¹⁶

It was the beginning of the end of New France in America, the passing of that strange civilization Parkman has so beautifully described when in reverie, to him:

Again their ghostly camp-fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest, mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us, an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky. Such was the domain which France conquered for civilization. Plumed helmets gleamed in the shade of its forests, priestly vestments in its dens and fastnesses of ancient barbarism. Men steeped in antique learning, pale with the close breath of the cloister, here spent the noon and evening of their lives, ruled savage hordes with a mild hand, parental sway, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death. Men of courtly nurture, heirs to the polish of a far-reaching ancestry, here, with their dauntless hardihood, put to shame the boldest sons of toil.¹⁷

It all passed, and in its stead there came that civilization that grew out of the march of the pioneers, whose emblem, an axe, was the symbol of progress. One highway of the marchers was through Pittsburgh and Pittsburgh grew apace thereby. Speaking of the Valley of the Mississippi a recent historian says:

The valley heard, as I have said, hardly a sound of the Seven Years' War, the "Old French War" as Parkman called it. Only on its border was there the slightest bloodshed. All it knew was that the *fleur-de-lis* flag no longer waved along its river and that after a few years men came with axes and plows through the passes in the mountains carrying an emblem that had never grown in European fields—a new flag among national banners. They were bearing, to be sure, a constitution and institutions strange to France, but only less to England, and perhaps no less strange to other nations of Europe.

I emphasize this because our great debt to the English antecedents has obscured the fact that the great physical heritage between the mountains, consecrated of Gallic spirit, came, in effect, directly from the hands that won its first title, the French, into the hands of American settlers, at the moment when a "separate and individual people" were "springing into national life."¹⁸

But this is the story of the "Winning of the West," in which Pittsburgh had its full share.

¹⁶"Montcalm and Wolfe;" Champlain Edition, Vol. II, p. 371.

¹⁷"Pioneers of France in the New World;" Introduction, pp. xii-xiii.

¹⁸"The French in the Heart of America;" John Finley, p. 129.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Perilous Missions of Christian Frederick Post.

Forbes is a well commemorated name in Pittsburgh. Rightly enough the place could have been Forbesburgh, but Forbes himself, in attestation of his high appreciation of William Pitt, bestowed the name Pittsburgh. Forbes street, one of the six main east and west thoroughfares, is thoroughly familiar to all Pittsburgh people. The Forbes Public School and Forbes Field are scarcely less familiar. The name and fame of the dying general, whose bloodless triumph gave us Pittsburgh, is immortal. A far humbler person, none the less resolute, with a degree of intrepidity that evokes surprise and admiration in the perusal of his journals, was Christian Frederick Post, who made two perilous missions to the Indians at Logstown and held them there until he convinced them of the good intentions of the English and prevented them from going to the aid of the French garrison at Fort Duquesne. Without this aid the French were powerless to hold the work. The Indians were not desired merely as a reinforcement to the garrison. De Ligneris, the commander, was kept fully informed by his Indian spies of every move of Forbes' army. De Ligneris knew Forbes' strength and his armament. One thing alone would save the French fort—an attack upon Forbes from an ambuscade; in truth, Beaujeu's tactics of July 9, 1755, must be repeated. There were many places on Forbes' route admirable for the purposes of ambush. This to be successful required Indians in great number. Adepts in this their own and best method of attack, De Ligneris could rely only on those Indians near at hand, who since Fort Duquesne was built had been in alliance with the French and who were in greatest numbers on the Ohio, principally at Logstown. These were mainly Mingoes, Delawares and Shawanese. Post tells who, and how he fared while among them; of his extreme peril and the ultimate success of his missions. It is a graphic and thrilling story. When his quaint language and German idioms and the absolutely phonetic character of his spelling from the German pronunciation are compared with the English versions of his journals in Charles Thomson's book, "The Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese from the English Interest," and in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, it will be apparent that the translators had no easy task.

The evacuation of Fort Duquesne and the occupancy of the strong position known as the Forks of the Ohio by the English was a really great event in the history of North America. This is acknowledged by the historians; contra, the loss of the place was a severe blow to the French. The Gallic power was steadily weakening, and the star of old France, once high over the new France, was about to set, no more to shine forever. Bradley tells the story well. He says:

There was great rejoicing in the middle colonies at the fall of Fort Duquesne, as there had been in New England at the fall of Louisburg, and for much the same reason, since each had been relieved of a neighbour whose chief mission had been to scourge them.

In England the news was received with profound satisfaction. There was no bell ringing and there were no bonfires. There had been nothing showy in the achievement, and its import was hardly realized. The glory belonged to two men, and their patient heroism was not of a kind to make a stir in the limited press of the period. But the cool fearlessness of Post was a rarer quality than the valour which faced the surf and batteries of Louisburg, and the unselfish patriotism of the invalid brigadier was at least as noble a spectacle as that of the Highlanders who flung themselves across the fiery parapet at Ticonderoga.

Schoolcraft, in his great work, writing under the head, "The Iroquois Policy Favors the English," and narrating events after Braddock's defeat, says of the ravages of Pennsylvania Indians: "Foremost in these forays were the Delawares and Shawanese, whose ire appeared to have received an additional stimulus from the recent triumph of the Gallic-Indian forces. The Delawares had long felt the wrong which they suffered in being driven from the banks of the Delaware and the Susquehanna, although it was primarily owing to their enemies and conquerors, the Iroquois, whose policy had ever been a word and blow."¹

Schoolcraft could have added an additional reason for the ire of these Algonquins, as Thomson fully shows—the failure of the Pennsylvania authorities to keep the settlers off these Indians' hunting ground on the Juniata, allotted them by the Iroquois, who desired and requested the removal of the settlers.²

When the long-burning ire of the Delawares and Shawanese is considered, and the fact that it was well fanned by the French for many years, the accomplishment of Post is all the more remarkable. Writing the next year (1759), Thomson, prefatory to Post's first journal, gives expression to the estimate of Post's services at that time, when he says: "The event of this negotiation was that the Indians refused to join the French in attacking General Forbes to defeat him as they had Braddock on the march. So the French, despairing of the fort if the general should arrive before it, burnt it, and left the country with utmost precipitation."³

The mission of some one who stood well with these tribes was greatly desired by Forbes. Bradley tells us that

The provincial authorities thought lightly of the scheme, and moreover grudged the expenditure. They regarded such suggestions as the theories of an Englishman without experience of savages. Nor, indeed, was it easy to find any ambassador to cross the Alleghanies and run the gravest risk of death, and that by horrible torture, in the Indian villages, where English scalps were hanging by hundreds on the wigwam walls. Forbes, however, gained his point, and a man was found who would face the fate that seemed inevitable, and that too, without reward. This hero was a Moravian missionary, and a German, Post by name, a simple, pious person, but intimate with Indian ways and languages, and married moreover to a converted squaw.

Post reached the Ohio villages in safety, and was received with tolerable civility; but his hosts insisted on taking him to Duquesne, that the French might also hear what he had to say. As his ostensible mission was to wean the Indians from the French alliance to those peaceful paths of which his order, the Moravians, were the chief exponents, it was not doubtful what the French would say, and little less so what they would do. As he was the guest of their allies, they had to listen to Post, and did not venture to

¹"History Indian Nations," Vol. VI, p. 219.

²"Alienation," etc., Thomson, p. 50.

³"Alienation of the Delawares, etc.," p. 171.

kill him openly; but behind every thicket they had an agent waiting to take his life, a large reward being privately offered for his scalp. With indomitable courage Post braved the whole thing out, and, wonderful to relate, with impunity. He had succeeded in persuading the Indians to send some delegates, at any rate, to a grand conference near Philadelphia, had shaken their allegiance to the French, and withal, though not without many hair-breadth escapes, got safe back to civilization. A great meeting was held during the early autumn, presided over by the Governor of Pennsylvania, to which Johnson brought delegates of the Six Nations from the Mohawk, and whither also went some of the chiefs of the hostile Indians of the West. With much ceremony and a prodigious wealth of oratory, it was resolved that the Ohio tribes should bury the hatchet with the Six Nations, which was a step at least in the desired direction. Once more the brave Moravian faced the Alleghanies, and again harangued the Indian allies of France under the very eyes of the French themselves, and with such effect that the latter had to submit to the open insults of barbarians they could not afford to offend. Post again escaped safely, having done most valuable work, which was greatly aided by the scarcity of provisions, a condition due to Bradstreet's brilliant stroke at Frontenac, the source of their supplies. So after an alliance of three years, a record of hideous and ceaseless slaughter, the Ohio Indians fell away from the French at the very moment when the gallant Forbes was pushing forward to reap the fruits of his earlier policy, that unknown to him had succeeded almost beyond hope.⁴

Charles Thomson, knowing Post well, and writing immediately after Post's return, is unsparing in praise of Post's success, and he was Post's first historian, his recording first apart from the records of the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania in their official "Records." Thomson observes:

As the withdrawing of the Ohio Indians last summer from the French interest was of great importance to the success of General Forbes' Expedition against Fort Duquesne, it may be some satisfaction to the curious reader to be informed what means were made use of by the General and the Government of Pennsylvania to bring about peace with these Indians, or at least engage them in a neutrality. The great danger to the General's army was that it might be attacked and routed in its march by the Indians, who are so expert in wood-fights, that a very small number are superior to a great number of our regulars and generally defeat them. If our army could once arrive beyond the fort there was no doubt but a regular attack would soon reduce it. Therefore, a proper person was sought for who would venture among the hostile Indians with a message and in the meantime the General moved slowly and surely. Christian Frederick Post was at length pitched on for this service. He is a plain, honest, religiously disposed man, who from conscientious opinion of duty formerly went to live among the Mohickan Indians in order to convert them to Christianity. He married twice among them and lived with them seventeen years, whereby he attained a perfect knowledge of their language and customs. Both his wives being dead he had returned to live among the white people, but at the request of the Governor he readily undertook this hazardous journey. How he executed his trust, his journal will show. As he is not a scholar, the candid reader will make allowance for defects in method or expression. The form may seem uncouth, but the matter is interesting. The Indian manner of treating on public affairs, which this journal affords a complete idea of, is likewise a matter of no small curiosity, and in the event of Post's negotiation (as well as the experience of our bad success in the Indian War) shows the rightness of that measure continually inculcated and recommended by some in Pennsylvania, of reducing the Indians to reason by treaty rather than by force.⁵

With like attestation of fidelity and the utmost sincerity on Post's part, there came old Robert Proud, the first historian of the province, who drawing largely upon Thomson says of Post and his mission:

⁴"Fight with France for North America," A. G. Bradley, pp. 281-282.

⁵"Alienation," etc., Thomson, pp. 129-130. See Post's Journals, *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 171.

Christian Frederick Post was a plain, honest, religious disposed German, and one of the Moravian brethren, who, from a conscientious opinion of duty, formerly had lived among the Mohican Indians, with a view to convert them to Christianity. He had married twice among them, and lived with them for seventeen years. It was a dangerous undertaking; and although he was an illiterate person, and his narrative seemingly artless and uncouth, yet being a man of sincerity, acquainted with the Indian manners, and the importance of the affair, at that time, being very interesting, the Indian custom of treating on public affairs may thereby partly appear, and be entertaining. The event showed the propriety of using reason, and friendly treatment, or true policy, towards the Indians, in preference to force or violence, when it may be done, the former of which had so long been successfully used by the more early settlers of Pennsylvania and the latter so lately attended with unhappy consequences. ("History of Pennsylvania," 1797, Robt. Proud, Appendix, p. 65).

The punishment inflicted upon the Delawares a year after Braddock's defeat, and the destruction of their town of Kittanning, still rankled in the hearts of the Delawares. It is well that we look briefly into the events of and the proceedings of the Pennsylvania authorities, 1755-1758. The most effective results in operations against the Indians were those obtained from Armstrong's expedition against Kittanning in September, 1756. This brought about the complete disorganization of the Indian conspiracy. The savages were once more willing to treat, and a grand council was convened at Easton in November that year. Governor Denny represented the province, and Teedyuscung the Delawares. Each was accompanied by a considerable retinue; Denny especially, for he made particular effort to impress upon the Indian imagination the power and bravery of martial display. A previous council had been held (in July), but owing to small attendance the conference was adjourned until fall, as neither party seemed prepared to join issue. In the meantime, Armstrong had struck his stunning blow, and the second meeting found both parties ready to discuss their grievances. Teedyuscung complained loudly of the ill usage his people had received from the provincial authorities, and laid stress on the overtures of the French. He boldly declared that the very land on which they then stood had been taken from the rightful owners by fraud, and not only the land by the "walk," but tracts east of the Delaware, and subsequently when the Six Nations had given them and the Shawanese the country on the Juniata for a hunting ground with the full knowledge of the Pennsylvania governor, the latter permitted settlers to encroach upon them. Again, in 1754, the governor had gone to Albany to purchase more lands from the Six Nations, describing the land sought by the points of the compass which the Indians did not understand, and by the profusion of presents obtained grants of land which the Iroquois did not intend to sell, including not only the Juniata but the west branch of the Susquehanna. When these things had become known to the Delawares and their Indian allies and congeners, they declared they would no longer be friends with the English, who were trying to get all the country.

This council lasted nine days and resulted in a treaty. Compensation was offered for the land taken by the "Long Walk," but this matter was deferred for later consideration, which was in July, 1757, when the whites

resorted to a practice too common with them in such conferences. Rum was freely supplied and strenuous efforts made to place Teedyuscung hopelessly under its influence. Some Quakers present prevented this, and the settlement of the question was not made then. In October, 1758, another grand conference was held at Easton for the adjustment of the whole dispute, and representatives of the Iroquois and all the Algonquin tribes in Pennsylvania were present to the number of five hundred. The Iroquois had been offended greatly by the Delawares and Shawanese making the independent treaty in 1756, and sundry war parties of the Iroquois had committed outrages upon Pennsylvania settlers in the hope of embroiling the neighboring tribes. The Iroquois took offense also at the prominence assumed by Teedyuscung, and it took hard work by the Quaker element present to prevent the evil influences of rum and intrigue from defeating the purposes of the conference. Teedyuscung held himself up with firmness and dignity, and obtained from the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and the Indian agents represented a release of all lands beyond the Allegheny Mountains purchased in 1754. For the remainder the Indians gave a deed confirming the former purchase and more clearly defining its boundaries, for which they received additional compensation. Measures having been duly taken and the conference at Easton closed, the authorities began to feel great anxiety over the situation at the head of the Ohio, as this record proves:

Great pains were taken with Pisquetomen to prevail with them to go as quick as possible to the Ohio, and to observe what was doing at Fort Duquesne, and to send off a trusty Messenger from Beaver Creek, with an account of the Motions of the French and the Disposition of the Indians. At length they Consented to go, and it being a matter of vast consequence that the conferences should be known at Ohio, with all possible Care and Dispatch, as well as that the General ought to be furnished with true intelligence.

Frederick Post was desired to accompany the Indians, and he readily consented to go. He desired some other white men might be joined with him, as it was a Journey of much consequence and Danger. This was thought reasonable, and he afterwards came to acquaint the Governor that Charles Thomson offered his service to go with him. The Governor objected to this and told him he might take any other person, or, if he would get some when he came to Bethlehem, he might apply to Mr. Spangenberg, to whom he should have a letter to spare him one or two of his best Indians. Mr. Post approved of this and was satisfied to go with Pisquetomen and Isaac Still.⁶

Mr. Spangenberg had been a Moravian bishop from 1743 and hence was the superior of Post. Spangenberg was the successor of Zinzendorf as the head of the Moravians at the latter's death. An official record states: "Frederick Post was dispatched by Mr. Logan and Mr. Peters," and continues: "We delivered to him printed copies of conferences at Easton and Lancaster, and copies of the present conferences, and the Belts and strings delivered in Conferences, having first Numbered them and referred to the particulars with each belt and string, and put labels on them. James, the Indian, agreed to go with him, and an Horse was got for James. The Indians gave the Governor a List of Prisoners, which was copied and delivered to Mr. Post."⁷

⁶"Col. Records," Vol. VIII, p. 147. Still was a converted Delaware; a man of good education, fine morals and good sense. See "Annals of Phila.," Watson, Vol. II, p. 171.

⁷"Col. Records," Vol. VIII, p. 148.

William Logan and Richard Peters, members of the Pennsylvania Council, are referred to. "James," the Indian, must mean the Indian whom Post calls Willamegickon, who at the very outset returned to Philadelphia from Germantown for the promised horse and came back so drunk that he could proceed no farther, so Post could do nothing but leave "James" behind. The Pennsylvania Archives have official notice of Post's services. Under the heading below several documents are of record:

Governor's Views of the Character and Services of Frederick Post and a Passport for him, 1759.

"To Mr. Frederick Post, Minister of the Gospel in the Church of the Unitas Fratrum: That about sixteen years ago he came into this Country, with no other views than to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the Heathens, which has ever since been his great task. That he is a Member of the Unitas Fratrum, which Church has not only two several settled Congregations of Indian Christians among them, but also by their indefatigable Labours and Travels in the Indian Countries, have acquainted a considerable number of Indians remaining there with the first notion of Christianity, and has set examples of Christian Life among these Heathens, in which Endeavors of the United Brethren he has borne his share.

"That during the late bloody Indian War, all commerce between the White People and the Indians being suspended, he was intrusted first by this Government and afterwards by the late Brigadier-General Forbes, with the Negotiations to secure Indian Nations and, altho' the acceptance of such Commissions might seem to be out of the way of a Minister of the Gospel, yet he yielded thereto on its being argued that the bringing about a Peace with the Indians would open the Way for the Servants of God to look for a future harvest.

"That he has already had the Satisfaction of being invited as well by Teedyuscung, at Wyoming, as by the Allegheny Indians, who were formerly acquainted with him as a Minister of the Gospel, to come and live among them in that character.

"And for as much as it hath pleased the Legislature of this Province, in the late Act of Assembly for settling the Indian Trade, to take some notice of Teachers and Preachers among the Indians, he conceived it a proper time to request in behalf of himself and those of his brethren who would venture their lives and go with him in the service of the Gospel among the Indians, to grant them my Letters of Passport for that purpose. Now know ye, that reposing special Trust and Confidence * * * ."8 (Post's passport follows.)

Preceding his departure for the Ohio, Post had been at Wyoming, June 20 to the 30th, in conference with Teedyuscung. Post set out on his Ohio mission July 15, 1758, and returned September 20. He remained at his home until October 25, when his second journey began, from which he returned January 15, 1759. From the Pennsylvania Archives this verbatim communication has been taken:

Endorsed—Frederick Post's relation of what passed between him and the Quaker or religious Indians, at Monmuchlooson, on the Susquehannah.

To His honnour da Governor of Pansylvanea: Broder, I cam to Machochlaung, wa mane Indeans lyve, I cald dam all togader, and I told dam wat we bous had agreed on wan we sa one anoder last, and wat you are sorre for and have so mouts at hart, and dasayrt me to mack it avere war noun [everywhere known], avere war, and dasyrd dam to be strong and sea dat your flasch and blod may be restord to you; now br'r, you know dat it is aur agreamand, dat as soun as I hear anyting, I geave yu daracktly notys of, and as I am as jat closs bay you, so I sand daes prasonars to you which da daleverat to me, and I geave dam to Papunnahanck to dalever dam to you; br., I do not sand deas

⁸"Archives," First Series, Vol. III, pp. 578-579.

peepel daun, da have had damsalf a long dasayr to go daun to sea dar br. da Englesch, so I tot it proper to sand dam along; I hop you will rajoys to sea dam and be kaynd to dam, and allso to dam peepel da bryng daun; wan I am farder from you and I schall meat with som, I schall bryng dam mayself daun wan I com along; br. you know aur worck is grat, and will tack a long taym befor we coan com back, I salud all da schandel pepel, and dasayr you be to strong. Our compane conseasts of 14 in number. I beg hartly to be excoust in rayting ane more, and I bag to be remambered bay all schandel peepel sears. I raman jour mos houpel and obedean Sarwent, FRADRYCK POST.

Da reson way I brack of from rayting so sun, aur horstes arraved and da call us wons mor to gader to have a meting.

I raman wet raspact, your honnous humpel and obedean Sarvend, F. P.⁹

With this exhibit of Post's dialect and style, one may well believe that whoever translated his communications into ordinary English as they appear in the public records had no easy task.

Pisquitomen, who had been at the council at Easton as late as October 13th, was a noted Delaware sachem,¹⁰ the brother of Shingiss and King Beaver. Pisquitomen accompanied Post on both missions to the Ohio.

Both of Post's journals of 1758 can be found in Rupp's work, "Early History of Western Pennsylvania and the West," etc. (Appendices X and XI). Rupp's introduction reads:

THE FIRST JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST, from Philadelphia to the Ohio, and a message from the Government of Pennsylvania to the Delaware, Shawanese and Mingo Indians, settled there and formerly in alliance with the English: in order to prevail on them to withdraw from the French interest; in the year 1758.

At the start Post had his troubles. First with drunken Indians who were to be his companions en route. Arriving at Bethlehem, it was with great difficulty that the Indians were persuaded to proceed. They were sick and must rest, they said. Post coaxed them to Wyoming, where Teedyuscung interfered. Post recorded:

July 21st—I called my company together, to know if they should proceed. They complained they were sick, and must rest that day. This day, I think, Teedyuscung laid many obstacles in my way, and was very much against my proceeding; he said he was afraid I should never return; and that the Indians would kill me. About dinner time two Indians arrived from Wyoming, with an account that Teedyuscung's son, Hans Jacob, was returned and brought news from the French and Allegheny Indians. Teedyuscung then called out a Council, and proposed that I should go to Wyoming, and return, with the message his son had brought from Philadelphia. I made answer, that it was too late, that he should have proposed that in Philadelphia; for that the writings containing my orders were so drawn, as obliged me to go, though I should lose my life.

22d—I desired my companions to prepare to set out, upon which Teedyuscung called them all together in the fort, and protested against my going. His reasons were that he was afraid the Indians would kill me, or the French get me: and if that should be the case he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do. I gave for answer, "that I did not know what to think of their conduct. It is plain, said I, that the French have a public road to your towns, yet you will not let your own flesh and blood the English, come near them; which is very hard; and if that be the case, the French must be your masters." I added, that if I died in the undertaking, it would be as much for the Indians as the English, and that I hoped my journey would be of this advantage, that it would be the means of saving the lives of many hundreds of Indians; therefore, I was

⁹"Archives," First Series, Vol. III, pp. 743-744.

¹⁰"Col. Records," Vol. VIII, pp. 147-148, 187.

resolved to go forward, taking my life in my hand, as one ready to part with it for their good. Immediately after I had spoken thus, three rose up and offered to go with me the nearest way; and we concluded to go through the inhabitants, under the Blue Mountains to Fort Augusta, on Susquehanna, where we arrived the 25th. It gave me great pain to observe many plantations deserted and laid waste; and I could not but reflect on the distress the poor owners must be drove to, who once lived in plenty; and I prayed the Lord to restore peace and prosperity to the distressed.

Post and his party were at Fort Augusta on the Susquehanna on July 27, where they were treated kindly and provided with everything necessary for their journey. It is difficult to follow his itineraries, because the Indian names he assigns the various places on the route require interpretation. He was traveling the Shamokin Path, the roughest and most difficult road over the Alleghenies. The party crossed the west branch of the river at Big Island, July 29. This is opposite the town of Lock Haven. From this point the trail led up the valley of Bald Eagle creek, thence via Marsh creek valley through a wild, broken, mountainous country, now part of Centre country; thence to Chinklaclamoose, now Clearfield; thence across the county of that name to Tobeco, or Little Toby creek, and then to the "Big River Tobeco" (Clarion river); thence to another big river, Weshawaucks (East Sandy creek), and on August 7 came in sight of Fort Venango on the Allegheny river. Here Post prayed that the Lord would blind the French as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that he might pass unknown. Pisquitomen, who went into the fort, reported the garrison consisted of only six men and an officer blind of one eye. When about to leave, Post was discovered by the French, who did not molest him. August 12, Post and his party reached the Conoquenessing and were fifteen miles from Kushkushking, whither they went.¹¹

Pisquitomen was sent ahead with wampum and a message apprising the Indians of Post's mission. King Beaver was there, who accorded Post a kind reception and furnished him a large house to lodge in. A council was immediately called, but as it took five days for the messengers sent to summons the warriors to return, Post was compelled to stay. There were fifteen French in the town building houses for the Indians. King Beaver and his Delawares of the Turkey tribe were most cordial in their intercourse with Post, and Beaver had Post at dinner with him, inviting also the French captain, "a cunning fox," said Post, who was apparently low spirited and seemed to eat his dinner with very little appetite. On August 19 there was a big pow-wow where all the Indians gathered—men, women and children. Post, at the Beaver's request, read the news he had brought, which was well received. It was determined to go to Saukunk, the Delaware town at the mouth of the Big Beaver river. Kushkushking was a large town, in four parts, containing in all ninety houses and two hundred able warriors.

The treaty made with Teedyuscung at Easton was for the Delawares who had remained east of the Susquehanna and did not bind the Ohio

¹¹Kushkushking—Post's spelling for Kuskuskies—there are many others. Judge Daniel Agnew's is Kushkushing.

Indians. Post was told to lay aside Teedyuscung and his peace. The Ohio Indians had no deputies at Easton and were not bound by it, though Teedyuscung had sent messengers to them, endeavoring to draw them into it. Post was actually among enemies, laboring to establish a peace and form an alliance.

Post, with a retinue of twenty-five horsemen and fifteen foot, arrived at Saukunk on the 20th. He met with an exceedingly rough reception. The savages surrounded him and with faces distorted with rage, and would have killed him had not some Indians who formerly knew him come up and shook hands, whereupon their behavior to him quickly changed. There were one hundred and twenty warriors in the town. The next day messengers were sent to Fort Duquesne, inviting the French to their council fire and announcing Post's presence. Post read all his papers in the presence of the French captain from Kuskushking, who had continued with Post's party. On the 22d, some Shawanese and Mingoes arrived to whom Post read his messages. These Indians received the intelligence kindly and in reply informed Post that the messenger from Fort Duquesne had returned; that there were eight nations at the fort who wanted to hear his message. They would conduct him there and let both the Indians and French hear what their brothers the English had to say. Post protested in vain. The Indians said he need have no fear, for they would carry him in their bosoms—"that is engage for my safety," Post puts it.

The next day they set out for the fort, but got no farther than Logstown, where Post fell in with four Shawanese, who lived at Wyoming when he did. They were exceedingly cordial and gave him leave to go into all the houses, a privilege granted him in no other town. The party arrived in sight of the fort on the 24th, remaining on the opposite shore of the Allegheny. All the Indian chiefs came over immediately. Post having been placed in the middle of the concourse, King Beaver presented him, saying: "Here is our English brother who has brought great news." Around a council fire all sit or squat upon the ground. Two chiefs rose up and signified they were glad to see Post.

"But an old deaf Onondaga Indian rose up and signified his displeasure," relates Post. This Indian is much disliked by the others; he had heard nothing yet, that had passed, he has lived here a great while, and constantly lives in the fort, and is mightily attached to the French; he spoke as follows, to the Delawares: "I do not know this Swannock [this Englishman], it may be that you know him. I, the Shawanese, and our father do not know him. I stand here (stamping his foot) as a man on his own ground; therefore, I, the Shawanese, and my father do not like that a Swannock come on our ground."

Then there was silence awhile, till the pipe went round; after that was over, one of the Delawares rose up and spoke in opposition to him that spoke last, and delivered himself as follows: "That man speaks not as a man; he endeavors to frighten us, by saying this ground is his; he dreams; he and his father have certainly drank too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to sleep till they be sober. You do not know what your own nation does at home; how much they have to say to the Swannocks. You are quite rotten. You stink. You do nothing but smoke your pipe here. Go to sleep with your father, and when you are sober we will speak with you."

After this the French demanded me of the Indians. They said it was a custom among the white people, when a messenger came, even if it was the Governor, to blind

his eyes and lead him into the fort to a prison, or private room. They, with some of the Indians, insisted very much on being sent into the fort, but to no purpose for the other Indians said to the French: "It may be a rule among you, but we have brought him here, that all the Indians might see him, and hear what our brothers, the English, have to say; and we will not suffer him to be blinded and carried into the fort." The French still insisted on my being delivered to them; but the Indians desired them to let them hear no more about it; but to send them one hundred loaves of bread, for they were hungry.

25th—This morning early they sent us over a large bullock, and all the Indian chiefs came over again, and counselled a great deal among themselves; then the Delaware that handled the old deaf Onondago Indian so roughly yesterday, addressed himself to him in this manner: "I hope to-day you are sober. I am certain you did not know what you said yesterday. You endeavored to frighten us but know, we are now men, and not so easily frightened. You said something yesterday of the Shawanese—see here what they have sent you" (presenting him with a large roll of tobacco). Then the old deaf Indian rose up and acknowledged he had been in the wrong; he said that he had now cleaned himself, and hoped they would forgive him.

Then the Delaware announced the message from the Shawanese, which was that they were extremely proud to hear such good news from their brothers, the English, and whatever contracts were made with the English, the Shawanese would agree to—"the English were their brothers," they said, "and they loved them."

Post's situation, in spite of the assurances of safety, was hazardous. His journal entry of August 25 shows that he was fully conscious of his danger. It reads:

The French whispered to the Indians, as I imagined, to insist on my delivering what I had to say on the other side of the water. Which they did to no purpose, for my company still insisted on a hearing on this side the water. The Indians crossed the river to council with their fathers. My company desired to know whether they would hear me or no. This afternoon three hundred Canadians arrived at the fort, and reported that six hundred more were soon to follow them, and forty batooes laden with ammunition. Some of my party desired me not to stir from the fire; for that the French had offered a great reward for my scalp, and that there were several parties out on that purpose. Accordingly I stuck constantly as close to the fire as if I had been chained there.

The next day many French officers came over with the Indians to hear Post. The officers brought a table, pens, ink and paper. Post spoke in the middle of them, with a free conscience, he said, and he could perceive by the look of the French that they were not pleased with his speech. He was lavish in the distribution of belts, no less than eight, including the large peace belt having been given. His remarks were kind and conciliatory. He plead with them to join with him in the old brotherly love and friendship that their grandfathers had. The speech was well received and the belts accepted by the Delawares, who laid them before the Mingoes, who acknowledged they had no cause for war against the English.

The Shawanese gave like testimony. They acknowledged the French had given them the hatchet and persuaded them to strike the English. They agreed to send belts to all the Indians and meet again in twelve days. There were at this council three hundred French and Indians, who all returned to the fort except Post's companions, about seventy Indians.

A new and alarming trouble developed. Shamokin Daniel, a Delaware, who came with Post from the Susquehanna, went over to the fort alone and came back with valuable presents from the French, behaving, relates Post, "in a proud, saucy and imperious manner." Thenceforth this Indian turned out the veritable thorn in the side of the good Post.

The French were keen to checkmate Post. They called a council of their Indians, but accidentally a Delaware chief was secretly invited by an acquaintance to hear what the French had to say, which was that it was plain that the Delawares were wavering in their allegiance to the French. "Now," said the French speaker, "all their chiefs are here and but a handful: let us cut them off and then we shall be troubled with them no longer." The Ottawas immediately answered that they could not do it, for though there were but a handful of Delawares, they were a strong people and spread to a great distance, and whatever they would agree to must be.

The same afternoon the French insisted that Post be surrendered to them; that it was not lawful for him to go away. This demand made at another council was refused by the Indians in Post's favor and a quarrel ensuing with the French, Post's friends left the council and crossed over the Allegheny to where Post was. Some of them informed him that Shamokin Daniel had agreed to leave him with the French, but to no purpose, for the other Indians would not consent. They then agreed that Post should depart the following morning.

Post accordingly left with six Indians and wisely took another road than that by which he came. The main body said they would remain and if the French attempted to follow to take Post by force they would endeavor to prevent the French from crossing the river. Just as Post was leaving, the French fired all the guns in the fort, he said, it being Sunday. He said he counted nineteen. After passing through three Shawanese towns, the Indians were glad to see him back. Post arrived at Saukunk at night and was welcomed. Two Delaware warriors who had treated him uncivilly before apologized and promised to do all in their power to bring about a peace. They admitted they had had a great quarrel with the French about Post. They urged him to come again to see them. These chiefs were White Eyes and Killbuck, subsequently famous in all the Indian history of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio. Killbuck was one of Bouquet's messengers to Venango. His name is maintained in a township in Allegheny county, and was at one time a street name in the former city of Allegheny.

From Saukunk, Post went to Kushkusking in company with twenty, including Shingiss and Shamokin Daniel. Shingiss asked Post if he did not think the English would hang him if he came to them, as they had set a great price on his head. Post replied that was a great while ago and had been forgotten and that the English would receive him kindly. Daniel interrupted rudely, cursing loudly, calling Post a fool and telling Shingiss Post told nothing but idle, lying stories. Shingiss rebuked Daniel, ordering him to keep still, for he did not know what he said.

Daniel disgusted his own tribesmen. Arriving at Kushkushking before night, Post was entertained by Shingiss. His entry August 29 reads:

I dined with Shingiss. He told me, though the English had set a great price on his head, he had never thought to revenge himself, but was always very kind to any prisoners that were brought in; and that he assured the governor, he would do all in his power to bring about an established peace, and wished he could be certain of the English being in earnest.

Then seven chiefs present said, when the Governor sends the next messenger, let him send two or three white men, at least, to confirm the thing, and not send such a man as Daniel; they did not understand him; he always speaks, said they, as if he was drunk; and if a great many of them had not known me, they should not know what to think; for everything I said was contradicted. I assured them I would faithfully inform the Governor of what they said, and they should see, as messengers, otherguise Indians than Daniel for the time to come; and I farther informed them, that he was not sent by the Governor, but came on his own accord, and I would endeavor to prevent his coming again. Daniel demanded me of his pay, and I gave him three dollars; and he took as much wampum from me as he pleased, and would not suffer me to count it. I imagined there was about two thousand.

That night eight Ottawas passed through the town on their way to Fort Duquesne. The French were continually receiving reinforcements from their Western allies. During the next two days the Indians had a great feast. Though Post begged the Indians to let him depart, they would not; the feast hindered them they said. Post had come on a matter of great importance which they could not readily answer; they would think it over and answer as soon as they could. September 1, Shingiss, Beaver and other captains had a long conference with Post. They admitted that before he came the Delawares had agreed to join the French: since Post arrived they had all drawn back, though they had great reason to believe the English intended to drive them away and settle the country. Post said they came only to drive the French away, but the chiefs insisted the French said the English intended to destroy the Indians, and some of the greatest English traders had also informed them that the English wanted the land and would take it. So the old dispute over the Indians' land was thoroughly gone over. All the Indians were bitter in their complaints of the disposition shown by the whites in seizing the lands. "Your heart is good," they said to Post. "You speak sincerely, but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich: they never have enough: look! We do not want to be rich and take away that which others have. The white people think the Indians have no brains in their heads; that they are great and big and we a little handful to what you are, but remember when you look for a wild turkey you cannot always find it; it is so little it hides itself under the bushes; and when you hunt for a rattlesnake you cannot find it; and perhaps it will bite you before you see it." "When the war of Pontiac came," observes Albach, "this saying might have been justly remembered." ("Annals of the West," p. 151).

On September 2, Post again besought Shingiss to make haste and dispatch him and give him guides to go to Forbes on the march. Pisquitomen strongly advised against the proposition. The governor of

Pennsylvania, he said, had no ears to bring him intelligence; the French had three ears, referring to the scouts they had on the road. Pisquitomen said he and Shingiss would be ears for the governor if he desired it. On the 3rd, Post was sick, but made a little tea which refreshed him. Nevertheless a council was held in the afternoon. Post received their answer with the belt, which he wrote down and had it signed by all the captains and counsellors. On the 4th, Post spoke, reiterating all he had previously said, and reviewing the French war and its causes. That day two hundred French and Indians arrived en route for Fort Duquesne. They remained over night. In the middle of the night King Beaver's daughter died, on which account many guns were fired in the town. Post was delayed further, the occurrence made a general stop in his journey, he wrote in his entry September 5. The French told their Indians to catch him privately or get his scalp. The French commander wanted to interview him—"examine me," as Post put it. When apprised of this, Post said, as the commander was going to Fort Duquesne to inquire concerning him there, he had nothing at all to say to or do with the French. The French at the fort could give them all the particulars they wanted to know; whereupon all of them came into the house where Post was, "as if they would see a new creature," he said.

Shamokin Daniel broke out again, dissatisfied with what was paid him. Post chided him mildly and promised that he should have for his journey whatever he desired when Post "reached the inhabitants, back to the settled parts of the province." Shingiss and King Beaver asked Post to remember their eldest brother, Pisquitomen, and furnish him with good clothes and reward him well for his trouble, for they would all look upon him when he comes back. On the 7th, there was a council to decide what route they would take returning to be safest; but their horses had gone astray and could not be found, so another day was lost. Heartsick and weary, Post concluded his entry for September 7th thus:

It is a troublesome cross and heavy yoke to draw this people; I suspect the reason they kept me here so long was by the instigation of the French. I remember somebody told me, the French told them to keep me twelve days longer, for that they were afraid I should get back too soon, and give information to the general. My heart has been very heavy here, because they kept me for no purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my life; but they did not know who was my protector and deliverer; I believe my Lord has been too strong against them; my enemies have done what lies in their power.

They made ready to go on the morning of the 8th, but before permitting Post to start, they examined him concerning what he had written the previous day. They wanted to know particularly what he had written about the English prisoners. Post stated he had written what it was his duty to write. He was ashamed he said to see them so jealous. Had he not brought writings to them? Did they think he must not carry some home to the governor? They had told him many times how kind they were to the prisoners. Now they did not wish any of them to speak to him. They replied they had cause to be afraid and "in a rough draught" showed how they were surrounded with war. Post advised them to

remain quiet and keep at a distance from the French and they need not fear. "Then they went away very much ashamed, one after another," he said.

Post accordingly set off that afternoon from Kushkuskking and made ten miles. They had many perils on the way. At the start they were mired. One Indian's horse fell in and the rider had a narrow escape from breaking a leg. With great difficulty the horse was rescued. They passed many such places. It rained all day and they got a double portion of it, for they got all that hung on the bushes in the little foot path they were traveling. "We were as wet," Post said, "as if we were swimming all day and at night we laid ourselves down in a swampy place to sleep, where we had nothing but the heavens for our covering."

They had little to live on. Occasionally a deer was shot. Everything was dear that could be purchased, so they bought little. The Indians said the commander at Fort Duquesne kept a store of his own and required the Indians to come and buy from him, but told them if they would go to war against the English they could have all the goods they wished. The French were quick to follow after Post to undo his work. Before leaving Kushkushking he was told of a French captain coming to Saukunk to collect all the Indians together to attack Forbes' army on the march. This officer was well known in all the Indian towns. He expostulated with the Indians at Saukunk for receiving Post and asked them not to believe what Post said, but was told that they did believe more than they did the French, for the French had set them against the English and they were about to have peace again. Crestfallen, the officer returned to the fort. "So I hope," wrote Post, "some good is done; praised be the name of the Lord!"

September 11, the party crossed the Allegheny river, after discovering fresh Indian tracks. They went up a high hill through thick bushes and slept without fire, for fear of the enemy. It was a cold night and Post had but one thin blanket for covering. The next morning they were obliged to make a fire to warm themselves. The Indians with him were ill at ease that night, and were alert, but Post slept soundly. The Indians were afraid and admitted it, for they kept a strict watch, one following another, which they did for several nights. They confided to Post finally, saying he knew nothing; that the French had put a great price on his head, and that they had sent out a great scout to lie in wait for him.

On the 15th they crossed the Susquehanna six times. That evening three Indians came and reported that they had seen the tracks of two Indians at a place where Post's party had slept, and the tracks turned back, as if to return with information to a party back. This was proof positive that Post was being followed. On the 16th, Post reached Big Island, and having nothing to eat they were obliged to remain and hunt. The next day they met a party of twenty warriors who had been on the warpath, returning with five prisoners and a scalp. Six of the warriors were Delawares, the rest Mingoes. Post told them where he had been. They were sorry they said; they did not know of the negotiations; if a

good peace was made they would deliver up the prisoners. Post remained all night with them. They killed two deer and gave Post one. September 20, they took leave of each other. On the 22d, Post arrived at Fort Augusta; very weary and hungry, but greatly rejoiced "at their safe return after a tedious journey.

Post had news from Fort Duquesne, especially of the garrison and the intent of the French to ambush Forbes. The last page of his first journal may be reproduced here. After discoursing on Indian trails and characteristics, he said:

Fort Duquesne is said to be undermined. The French have given out that if we overpower them, and they should die, we should certainly all die with them. When I came to the fort, the garrison, it was said, consisted of about one thousand four hundred men; and I am told they will now be full three thousand French and Indians. They are almost all Canadians and will certainly meet the general before he comes to the fort, in an ambush. You may depend upon it, the French will make no open-field battle, as in the old country, but lie in ambush. The Canadians are all hunters. The Indians have agreed to draw back; but how far we may give credit to their promises, the Lord knows it is the best way to be on our guard, against them, as if they really could, with one thousand, overpower eight thousand.

Post closes his journal in a most devout manner. He recapitulates his privations and sorrows, chief of which was the treason of the Indian scoundrel, Shamokin Daniel. We may follow Post's own record again and read:

Thirty-two nights I lay in the woods; the heavens were my covering. The dew came so hard sometimes, that it pinched close to the skin. There was nothing that laid so heavy on my heart, as the man that went along with me. He thwarted me in everything I said or did; not that he did it against me, but against the country, on whose business I was sent, I was afraid he would overthrow what I went about. When he was with the English he would speak against the French, and when with the French against the English. The Indians observed that he was a false fellow, and desired me that I would not bring him anymore, to transact any business between the English and them; and told me, it was through his means I could not have liberty to talk with the prisoners.

Post's closing paragraphs are an admirable psalm of thanksgiving to the Almighty who had brought him "from under a thick, heavy and dark cloud into the open air." Post signed the journal with his full name.¹²

The absolute fearlessness of Post stands revealed in his simple story, and if anything else was wanted to bring it more clearly to light, it is the fact that five weeks after his return he was again on his way to the Ohio to brave even greater perils and suffer greater privations, for winter had set in and with weather conditions severe his physical sufferings grew proportionately.

POST'S SECOND JOURNAL, 1758.

THE SECOND JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST, ON A MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE INDIANS ON THE OHIO, IN THE LATTER PART OF THE SAME YEAR.

Containing his further negotiation with these people, to accomplish the design of his

¹²Charles A. Hanna has traced Post's itinerary as Post recorded it. See "The Wilderness Trail," Vol. I, pp. 182, 212-213, and *Ibid.*, pp. 214-217, the extracts from Bishop Ettwein's Journal of 1772. See also "Narrative of Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger in "Penna. Archives," Second Series, Vol. VII, p. 404. These captives met Post at Kushkushking. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

former journey, and procure a peace with them; in which he met with fresh difficulties and dangers, occasioned by the French influence, etc.

But the Indians being acquainted with his honest simplicity, and calling to mind their former friendship with the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, so far paid a regard to his sincerity, as to listen to the terms proposed; and in consequence thereof the French were obliged to abandon the whole Ohio country to General Forbes, after destroying with their own hands their strong fort of Duquesne.

Post left Easton, October 25, 1758, and arrived at Bethlehem the same afternoon. He reached Reading early on the 27th and found his traveling companions in waiting, a Mr. Hays, Captain Bull; his former companion, Pisquitomen, and other Indians just mounted. Their welcome was hearty. Pisquitomen took Post in his arms, saying he would not let him go again from him. They went first to Conrad Weiser's house, where Post read them a letter from Governor Denny, requesting them not to travel the Shamokin route, but go a nigher way, where they could be better supplied and could travel with less fatigue and more safety. Hays, with the Indians, went ahead of Post, it having been determined to go the southern route via Harris' Ferry. When Post and Captain Bull came to Weiser's plantation, fourteen miles west of Reading, Pisquitomen was lying helplessly drunk on the ground, so sick in the morning he could scarcely stir. The other Indians had gone eight miles farther. After remaining over night at Weiser's and finally getting Pisquitomen on his feet, they overtook the rest and found them all drunk and discouraged and rueful of the route taken. After much persuasion Post got them on the way again and they arrived at Harris' Ferry late at night, where the Indians said they would consider the route. Two Cayugas were the most desirous of going through the woods. Post's instructions were to meet Forbes. The Indians debated on the road and being still undecided when Carlisle was reached, Post told them he had orders to go to the general, and if they did not accompany him he would go alone. This brought Pisquitomen over and he gave Post his hand and said they would put themselves under Post's protection and proceed. Post mollified the Indians by securing them lodgings without the fort there and hiring a woman "to dress their meals."

October 31st, in passing by Chambers Fort, there was trouble; some of the hangers on and traders' helpers at the fort reviling Post's Indians. "We had some difficulty," relates Post, "to get them clear." At Fort Loudon they met sixteen Cherokees, who proved friendly, much to Post's satisfaction. These Indians accompanied Post's party to Raystown (Bedford). The meeting with these ancient enemies was not reassuring and Pisquitomen reminded Post that he had brought them the route they were traveling, and if any mischief should befall them they would lay the blame entirely on Post. It took fine diplomacy to placate the Indians and to keep Bull and Hays from arguing with the Indians on their sore point, the land question.

Raystown was reached November 4, where there was a council with the Cherokees and some of their complaints explained to their satisfaction. It rained heavily on the 5th, nevertheless Post set forth and

reached the foot of the Allegheny Mountains at night. The next day they came to Stony creek, traveling over "the worst road that ever was traveled." Pisquitomen reminded Post that had he not come on his former mission, the road would not have been as safe as it was, for all the people traveling it could have been destroyed if Post had not come and drawn Pisquitomen's people back. "Great mischief, indeed, could have been done," Pisquitomen said.

At this place Post overtook a pack train and was informed that Forbes had not yet reached Fort Duquesne, whereupon Pisquitomen said he was glad and hoped he could come to the Delaware towns before Forbes began an attack. Pisquitomen was sanguine the Delawares in that event "would draw back and leave the French."

On November 7, Post overtook Forbes' artillery near the Laurel Ridge, and before sunset reached the Loyalhanna, where Forbes was with the advance. Post was accorded a warm welcome. His Indians made their fire close to the camps of Forbes' Indians, which was pleasing to Post's. Some rash officers came up and abused Post's Indians for their conduct towards the whites, which greatly incensed them and they answered defiantly that they did not understand such usage, as they had come on a mission of peace; if they had a mind to war, they knew how to help themselves and were not afraid of the whites.

The next day Forbes called a council, having the Cherokees and Catawbas present. He explained in a kind and loving manner the status of affairs. He desired them to withdraw from the French, for if he should find them among the French he would have to treat them as enemies. Then he drank the king's health, then Beaver's, Shingiss' and the warriors' health; and recommended Post and his fellows to their care and desired that credit be given Post for what he should say. Then Post and his Indians were in conference with the general alone and they were given a writing and they and the general "parted in love and well satisfied." Wonder was expressed by many of the officers regarding the manner in which Post could come through so many difficulties and how he could bring the Indians to reason, using neither sword nor gun. Post replied he did it by faith—he depended on the Lord alone.

The writing of the general was not ready until noon. Two messages were sent; one to the Shawanese and Delawares on the Ohio and a special one to Kings Beaver and Shingiss and all the warriors who joined with them. Post records this day, November 9:

We were escorted by a hundred men, rank and file, commanded by Captain Haselet; we passed through a tract of good land, about six miles on the old trading path, and came to the creek again, where there is a large fine bottom, well timbered, from thence we came upon a hill, to an advanced breast work, about ten miles from the camp, well situated for strength, facing a small branch of the aforesaid creek; the hill is steep down, perpendicular about twenty feet, on the south side, which is a great defence; and on the west side the breast works, about seven feet high, where we encamped that night. Our Indian companions heard that we were to part in the morning, and that twelve men were to be sent with us, and the others, part of the company, to go towards Fort Duquesne. Our Indians desired that the captain would send twenty men, instead of

twelve; and that if any accident should happen, they could be more able to defend themselves in returning back, "for we know, say they, the enemy will follow the smaller party." It began to rain. Within five miles from the breast work we departed from Captain Haselet; he kept the old trading path to the Ohio. Lieutenant Hays was ordered to accompany us to the Allegheny river, with fourteen men. We went the path that leads along the Loyal Hanning creek, where there is a rich, fine bottomland well timbered, good springs and small creeks. At four o'clock we were alarmed by three men; and preparation was made on both sides for defence. Isaac Still showed a white token, and Pisquitomen gave an Indian halloo; after which they threw down their bundles, and ran away as fast as they could. We afterwards took up their bundles, and found that it was a small party of our men, that had been long out. We were sorry that we had scared them, for they lost their bundles with all their food. Then, I held a conference with our Indians and asked them if it would not be good to send one of our Indians to Logstown and Fort Duquesne, and call the Indians from thence, before we arrived at Kushkushking. They all agreed it would not be good as they were but messengers, it must be done by their chief men. The wolves made a terrible music this night.

Lieutenant Hays, who was shortly afterwards killed, is to be distinguished from "Mr. Hays" traveling with Post. Isaac Still was a Delaware. On the 11th, after several mishaps, they reached an old Indian town which Post calls Kiskemeco, on a rich bottom, well timbered and with good grass and well watered, but laid waste since the French war began. Here their horses were well pastured and they parted company with Lieutenant Hays. The next day Post cautioned his Indians regarding what they should tell in the Indian towns—only good, agreeable news. "Take no bad stories along," he said. They took his advice kindly and in return advised him "not to mind the English prisoners, for the Indians were almost mad with him for it, and would have confined him, for they said he wrote something of them"—that is to say, the Indians believed Post wrote down what the prisoners told him and would report it to the Pennsylvania authorities.

This day, early in the afternoon, they came to the Allegheny river to an abandoned Shawanese town, situated under a high hill on the east and opposite an island. This was at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas. They were obliged to build a raft to cross the river, which they did not finish until the afternoon of the next day. They encamped near another old Indian town at a creek. This was Chartier's old town at the mouth of Bull creek, now the site of Tarentum. The Indians advised Post not to call Bull captain, for the other Indians would resent the bringing of a warrior among them in the state of affairs. The Indians wanted to know Forbes' message, so Post read it to them. They slept in the open this night, the first time they had done so. The next evening, November 14, they could plainly hear the guns fired at Fort Duquesne. "Whenever I look towards that place," records Post, "I felt a dismal impression, the very place seemed shocking and dark."

The next two days the traveling was difficult; through thick bushes of briars and thorns. At noon on the 15th, they crossed the road from Venango to Fort Duquesne and went west toward Kushkushking, halting only fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne. Pisquitomen advised sending a messenger to the town to announce their coming and one was sent with

some wampum. Meeting two Indians on the road the next day, Post was informed there was nobody at home there, and that one hundred and sixty from the town had gone to war against Post's party. Only two men and some women remained, who received Post kindly. Pisquitomen had Post read his message. Five Frenchmen were in the town—"the rest gone to war." Delaware George, a sachem, on receiving Forbes' sentiments and being informed what the general desired agreed to go with Bull to meet him. That night a chief returned (Keckkenepalin) from the war, and brought disagreeable news—sad news, one may say. His party had fallen in with Lieutenant Hays' squad and had killed Lieutenant Hays and four more, and took five prisoners, the others got clear off. They had a skirmish with them within twelve miles of Fort Duquesne. "Further he told us," Post recorded, "that one of the captives was to be burnt which grieved us. By the prisoners they were informed of my arrival, on which they concluded to leave the French, and to hear what news we brought them. In the evening they brought a prisoner to town. We called the Indians together that were at home, and explained the matter to them, and told them, as their own people had desired the general to give them a guide to conduct them safe home, and by a misfortune, your people have fallen in with this party, and killed five and taken five prisoners, and we are now informed that one of them is to be burnt; 'Consider my brethren, if you should give us a guide to bring us safe on our way home, and our parties should fall in with you, how hard you would take it'."

They answered it was a hard matter and they were sorry it had happened so. Post urged them to spare no pains to prevent any cruelty. After much persuasion an Indian named Compass agreed to go to Saukunk, where the prisoner was to be burned. A generous supply of black wampum was given him and Mr. Hays contributed a shirt and a dollar. Post sent a message stating he and two others were with the Indians at Kushkushking with good news and beseeching those at Saukunk to use no hardships towards the captives that had been guides for Post and his party.

Some of the warriors who had been in the affray told Post they had intended to go to Forbes and talk with him, but the French on the road made a division among them and they could not agree. They fell in with some Cherokees and Catawbias who fled, leaving an English color which enraged them; the French then persuaded them to attack the English at the Loyalhanna, which they did, and as they were driven back they fell in with Lieutenant Hays' party, not knowing these had been guides for Post. They were very sorry, they said.

November 18, Bull acted as commander, unknown to Post, and with Delaware George succeeded in getting a prisoner from the warriors. They were sorry for their acts and wanted General Forbes to consider, and if he had any of their young men to set them at liberty, as they did their captive. Pisquitomen answered that as the governor gave the three messengers into his bosom, he likewise by the string of wampum

gave Mr. Bull into the bosom of Delaware George to bring him safe to the general. Impolitic Mr. Bull sat down with the prisoner and gave him some intelligence in writing and at once the Indians' suspicions were aroused. They asked to know why he wrote. Bull and his companions set out for Forbes' camp. As soon as they were gone the released prisoner was found and carried to another town. "I, a thousand times, wished Mr. Bull had never meddled in the affair, fearing they would exceedingly punish the prisoner to bring him to confession of the contents of the writing," Post recorded.

November 19, many warriors returned. The French used the letters found upon Lieutenant Hays to influence the Indians in their behalf by falsely interpreting them. The French said that in one letter it was written that General Forbes would do all in his power to conquer the French, and, in the meantime, Post and the other messengers would do their utmost to draw the Indians back and keep them in conferences till Forbes triumphed, then he would fall upon all the Indians and destroy them. If Post and his companions were killed, the English would carry on the war as long as an Indian or a Frenchman was alive. As Post recorded it, the French speaker said to the Indians:

Now you can see, my children, how the English want to deceive you and, if it will not offend you, I would go and knock these messengers in the head before you should be deceived by them. An Indian captain replied, "To be sure it would offend us. If you have a mind to go to war, go to the English army and knock them in the head, and not these three men that come with a message to us."

It was apparent that Post was in great danger and knew it. Reference is made again to his journal, where he continues his entry of November 19, thus:

After this speech the Indians all went off and left the French. Nevertheless, it had enraged some of the young people, and made them suspicious; so that it was a precarious time for us. I said: "Brethren, have good courage and be strong; let not every wind disturb your mind; let the French bring the letter here; for, as you cannot read, they may tell you thousands of false stories. We will read the letter to you. As Isaac Still can read, he will tell you the truth."

After this all the young men were gathered together, Isaac Still being in company. The young men said: "One that had but half an eye could see that the English only intend to cheat them; and that it was best to knock every one of us messengers on the head."

Then Isaac began to speak and said: "I am ashamed to hear such talking from you; you are but boys like me; you should not talk of such a thing. There have been thirteen nations at Easton; where they have established a firm peace with the English; and I have heard that the Five Nations were always called the wisest; go tell them they are fools, and cannot see, and tell them that you are kings, and wise men. Go and tell the Cayuga chiefs so, that are here; and you will become great men." Afterwards they were all still, and said not one word more.

Post's journal entries during these days of peril make a thrilling story, and hence so best told in Post's own words. The day following he recorded:

20th—There came a great many more together in the town, and brought Henry Osten, the sergeant, who was to have been burnt. They hallooed the war halloo; and the men and women beat him till he came into the house. It is a grievous and melancholy

sight to see our fellow mortals so abused. Isaac Still had a long discourse with the French captain; who made himself great, by telling how he had fought the English at Loyal-Hanning. Isaac rallied him, and said he had seen them scalp horses, and take others for food. The first he denied, but the second he owned. Isaac ran the captain quite down, before them all. The French captain spoke with two Cayugas; at last the Cayugas spoke very sharp to him, so that he grew pale and was quite silent.

These three days past was precarious time for us. We were warned not to go far from the house, because the people who came from the slaughter, having been driven back, were possessed with a murdering spirit; which led them as in a halter, in which they were caught and with bloody vengeance were thirsty and drunk. This afforded a melancholy prospect. Isaac Still himself was dubious of our lives. We did not let Mr. Hays know of the danger. I said: "As God hath stopped the mouth of the lions, that they could not devour Daniel, so he will preserve us from their fury, and bring us through." I had a discourse with Mr. Hays concerning our message, and begged him he would pray to God for grace and wisdom, that he would grant us peace among this people. We will remain in stillness, and not look to our own credit. We are in the service of our king and country. This people are rebellious in heart; now we are here to reconcile them again to the General, Governor and English nation; to turn them again from errors. And I wish that God would grant his grace, whereby we may do it; which I hope and believe he will do. Mr. Hays took it to heart and was convinced of all; which much rejoiced me. I begged Isaac Still to watch over himself, and not to be discouraged for I hoped the storm would soon pass by.

In the afternoon all the captains gathered together in the middle town; they sent for us, and desired we should give them information of our message. Accordingly we did. We read the message with great satisfaction to them. It was a great pleasure both to them and us. The number of captains and counsellors were sixteen. In the evening messengers arrived from Fort Duquesne, with a string of wampum from the commander; upon which they all came together in the house where we lodged. The messengers delivered their string, with these words from their father, the French King: "My children, come to me and hear what I have to say. The English are coming with an army to destroy both you and me. I, therefore, desire you immediately, my children, to hasten with all the young men; we will drive the English and destroy them. I, as a father, will tell you always what is best." He laid a string before one of the captains. After a little conversation the captain stood up and said: "I have just heard something of our brethren the English, which pleaseth me much better. I will not go. Give it to the others, maybe they will go." The messenger took up again the string and said: "He won't go, he has heard of the English." Then all cried out: "Yes, yes, we have heard from the English." He then threw the string to the other fireplace, where the other captains were; but they kicked it from one to another, as if it were a snake. Captain Peter took a stick and with it flung the string from one room to the other and said: "Give it to the French captain, and let him go with his young men; he boasted much of his fighting; now let us see his fighting. We have often ventured our lives for him; and had hardly a loaf of bread, when we came to him; and now he thinks we should jump to serve him." Then we saw the French captain mortified to the utmost; he looked as pale as death. The Indians discoursed and joked until midnight, and the French captain sent messengers at midnight to Fort Duquesne.

21st.—We were informed that the general was within twenty miles of Fort Duquesne. As the Indians were afraid the English would come over the river Ohio, I spoke with some of the captains, and told them that I supposed the general intended to surround the French, and, therefore, must come to this side of the river, but we assure you that he will not come to your towns to hurt you. I begged them to let the Shawanese at Logstown know it, and gave them four strings of 300 wampum, with this message: "Brethren, we are arrived with good news, waiting for you; we desire you to be strong, and remember the ancient friendship your grandfathers had with the English. We wish you would remember it, and pity your young men, women and children and keep away from the French; and if the English should come to surround the French, be not afraid. We assure you they won't hurt you."

A noted warrior, Ketiuscund, came home on November 22. He informed Post that General Forbes was within fifteen miles of the French fort; that the French had uncovered their houses, and laid the roofs round the fort to set it on fire, and made ready to go off, and would demolish the fort, and let the English have the bare ground, saying: "They are not able to build a strong fort this winter, and we will be early back enough in the spring to destroy them. We will come with seventeen nations of Indians and a great army of French, and build a strong fort."

Ketiuscund reported truly, for the French did exactly as they said they would do. Their intention to return in the spring was frustrated, as will be related in proper sequence in this work. Forbes was getting close to the French fort and the Indians knew his daily progress. The Indians at Kushkushking were not averse, for Post records:

The Indians danced around the fire till midnight, for joy of their brethren, the English, coming. There went some scouting parties towards the army. Some of the captains told me that Shamokin Daniel, who came with me in my former journey, had fairly sold me to the French; and the French had been very much displeased, that the Indians had brought me away.

Nov. 23d—The liar raised a story, as if the English were divided into three bodies, to come on this side of the river. They told us the Cayugas, that came with us, had said so. We told the Cayugas of it, on which they called the other Indians together; denied that they ever said so, and said they were sent from the Five Nations, to tell them to do their best endeavors to send the French off from this country; and when this was done, they would go and tell the general to go back over the mountains.

I see the Indians concern themselves very much about the affair of land: and are continually jealous, and afraid the English will take their land. I told them to be still and content themselves: "for there are some chiefs of the Five Nations with the army—they will settle the affair, as they are the chief owners of the land; and it will be well for you to come and speak with the general yourselves."

Isaac Still asked the French captain, whether it was true, that Daniel had sold me to the French. He owned it, said I was theirs, they had bought me fairly; and if the Indians would give them leave, he would take me.

24th—We hanged out the English flag, in spite of the French, on which our prisoners folded their hands, in hopes that their redemption was nigh, looking up to God, which melted my heart in tears, and praying to God to hear their prayers, and change the times, and the situation which our prisoners are in, and under which they groan. "Oh Lord," said they, "when will our redemption come, that we shall be delivered and return home?" And if any accident happeneth, which the Indians dislike, the prisoners all tremble with fear, saying: "Lord, what will become of us, and what will be the end of our lives?" So they often wish themselves rather under the ground than in this life. King Beaver came home, and called us to his house, and saluted us in a friendly manner, which we, in like manner did to him. Afterwards I spoke by four strings of 350 wampum, and said as followeth.

Post told them he had a salutation for them from the governor and the general, that he had good news of great importance for them and desired them to call and their "kings and captains" (that is to say, their sachems and chief warriors) from all the towns and nations, that they might all hear him. Beaver replied that as soon as he heard of Post's return he "rose up directly" to come to him. He was very affable and had not gone to a meeting of six kings and six nations in order that he might talk with Post first. The kings could sit together awhile and

smoke their pipes and wait on him. Post said he had done well. The French captain present informed them that they would demolish Fort Duquesne, as he thought the English would reach it that day. They evacuated it the next day, November 24, and Forbes arrived at the smoking ruins on the evening of the 25th.

Shingiss arrived on the 25th and came to Post's house and saluted him in a friendly manner. Beaver accompanied him. They said they were ready to hear Post's message. The French captain had an inclination to hear the message, but Post told the two sachems it had been agreed at Easton that everything should be kept secret from the French. They replied that it was no matter; the French were beaten already. If they would say anything, they would tell the Frenchman what friendship they had with the English. Accordingly, to the number of fifty, they all met together with the French captain present. King Beaver opened the conference in a few words invoking attention and then Post made a speech. His journal entry reads:

Then I began to speak by four strings to them, and said: "Brethren: Being come here to see you, I perceive your bodies are all stained with blood, and observe tears and sorrows in your eyes; with this string I clean your body from blood, and wipe and anoint your eyes with the healing oil, so that you may see your brethren clearly. And so many storms have blown since we last saw one another and we are at such a distance from you that you could not rightly hear us as yet I, by this string, take a soft feather, and with that good oil, our grandfathers used, open and clear your ears, so that you may both hear and understand what your brethren have to say to you. And by these strings, I clear your throat from the dust, and take all the bitterness out of your heart, and clear the passage from the heart to the throat, that you may speak freely with your brethren, the English, from the heart."

Isaac Still produced the pipe sent by the Quakers of Philadelphia, who were greatly concerned in Post's negotiations, and whom the Indians always held in high regard. The pipe was filled with good tobacco sent with it and passed around as was the custom. Still said it was the pipe their grandfathers used to smoke when they met together in councils of peace. It helped clean their bodies, and wiped the tears from their eyes, etc., and when all had been duly prepared to hear and understand, Post delivered the governor's answer to the message of the Ohio Indians, which had been sent the governor by them on Post's previous mission. The Indians were told of the ancient chain of friendship and the governor's hope that some sparks of love still existed for the English. The king of England, who had for some time looked upon them as his lost children, as a tender father would forgive what is past and receive them again in his arms. If they were in earnest in desiring reconciliation they should keep their young men from attacking and killing "the back inhabitants" and carrying away captives. The governor gave orders that the Indians keep at a distance from Fort Duquesne, so that they would not be hurt by the English warriors who were sent by the king to chastise the French, and not to hurt the Indians. "Consider," wrote the governor, "the commanding officer of that army treads heavy and would be very sorry to hurt any of his Indian brethren." In conclusion the Indians

were earnestly besought to withdrew their support from the French and go to their own towns. If they received the belts then given them, a road would be opened to Philadelphia for them and they would be invited to come to the place of their first council fire; they would be welcomed and entertained and provisions laid up for them along the road. A large white belt was presented, having at each end the figure of a man, with streaks of black, representing the road from the Ohio to Philadelphia. Two belts tied together, given in conclusion, showed the governor and his people standing together with them joined hand in hand. The message was conciliatory throughout and thoroughly diplomatic. Forbes' letter was next presented:

GENERAL FORBES TO THE SHAWANESE AND DELAWARES, ON THE OHIO.

Brethren: I embrace this opportunity by our brother, Pisquetomen, who is now on his return home with some of your uncles of the Six Nations from the treaty of Easton, of giving you joy of the happy conclusion of that great council, which is perfectly agreeable to me; as it is for the mutual advantage of our brethren, the Indians, as well as the English nation.

I am glad to find that all past disputes and animosities are now finally settled and amicably adjusted; and I hope they will be forever buried in oblivion, and that you will now again be firmly united in the interest of your brethren, the English.

As I am now advancing at the head of a large army against his Majesty's enemies, the French on the Ohio, I must strongly recommend to you to send immediate notice to any of your people who may be at the French fort, to return forthwith to your towns; where you may sit by your fires, with your wives and children, quiet and undisturbed, and smoke your pipes in safety. Let the French fight their own battles, as they were the first cause of the war and the occasion of the long difference which hath subsisted between you and your brethren, the English; but I must entreat you to restrain your young men from crossing the Ohio, as it will be impossible for me to distinguish them from our enemies; which I expect you will comply with without delay, lest by your neglect thereof, I should be the innocent cause of some of your brethren's death. This advice take and keep in your breasts, and suffer it not to reach the ears of the French.

As a proof of the truth and sincerity of what I say, and to confirm the tender regard I have for the lives and welfare of our brethren on the Ohio, I send you this string of wampum. I am, brethren and warriors,

Your friend and brother,

JOHN FORBES.

Brethren: Kings Beaver and Shingiss, and all the warriors who join with you: The many acts of hostility, committed by the French against the British subjects made it necessary for the King to take up arms in their defence, and to redress their wrongs which have been done them; heaven hath favored the justice of the cause, and given success to his fleets and armies in different parts of the world. I have received his commands with regard to what is to be done on the Ohio, and shall endeavor to act like a soldier, by driving the French from thence and destroying them.

It is a particular pleasure to me to learn that the Indians, who inhabit near that river, have lately concluded a treaty of peace with the English; by which the ancient friendship is renewed with their brethren, and fixed on firmer foundation than ever. May it be lasting and unmovable as the mountains. I make do doubt but it gives you equal satisfaction, and that you will unite your endeavors with mine, and all the Governors of these provinces, to strengthen it. The clouds that for some time hung over the English and their friends, the Indians on the Ohio, and kept them both in darkness, are now dispersed, and the cheerful light now again shines upon us and warms us both. May it continue to do so, while the sun and moon give light.

Your people, who were sent to us, were received by us with open arms; they were kindly entertained while they were here, and I have taken care that they shall return safe to you; with them come trusty messengers whom I earnestly recommend to your protection; they have several matters in charge, and I desire you may give credit to what

they say; in particular, they have a large belt of wampum, and by this belt there shall be everlasting peace with all the Indians, established as sure as the mountains, between the English nation and the Indians all over, from the sun-rising to the sun-setting; and as your influence on them is great, so you will make it known to all the different nations that want to be in friendship with the English, and I hope by your means and persuasions, many will lay hold of this belt and immediately withdraw from the French; this will be greatly to their own interest, and your honor, and I shall not fail to acquaint the great King of it; I sincerely wish it for their good; for it will fill me with concern to find any of you joined with the French, as in that case you must be sensible I must treat them as enemies; however, I once more repeat that there is no time to be lost for I intend to march with the army very soon, and I hope I enjoy the pleasure of thanking you for your zeal and of entertaining you in the fort ere long. In the meantime I wish happiness and prosperity to you, your women and children.

I write to you as a warrior should, that is, with candor and love and I recommend secrecy and dispatch. I am, King Beaver and Shingiss,

And Brother Warriors,

Your assured friend and brother,

JOHN FORBES.

From my camp at Loyal-hannon, Nov. 9, 1758.

The messages pleased and gave satisfaction to all the hearers, except the French captain. He shook his head with bitter grief and often changed his countenance. Isaac Still ran down the French captain with great boldness and pointed at him saying, "There he sits."

After Shingiss had stated they had rightly heard and understood Post's messages, and promised full consideration of them, and Post had thanked him and some others in answer, Post "went out a little from the house." A dramatic incident occurred towards the close of the conference. Post records it thus:

In the meantime Isaao Still demanded the letter which the French had falsely interpreted, that it might be read in public. Then they called us back, and I, Frederick Post, found it was my own letter I had wrote to the General. I, therefore, stood up and read it, which Isaac interpreted. The Indians were well pleased and took it as if it was written to them; thereupon they all said: "We always thought the French report of the letter was a lie; they always deceived us." Pointing at the French Captain who, bowing his head, turned quite pale and could look no one in the face. All the Indians began to mock and laugh at him; he could hold it no longer and went out.

The Cayuga chief delivered a string of wampum in the name of the Six Nations with appropriate words, and then one from the Cherokees with their message and then the conference ended for that day. Post closed his journal entries for the day as follows: "Then the council broke up. After a little while messengers arrived, and Beaver came into our house, and gave us the pleasure to hear that the English had the field, and that the French had demolished and burnt the place entirely and went off; that the commander is gone with two hundred men to Venango, and the rest gone down the river in battoes, to the lower Shawanese town, with an intention to built a fort there; they were seen yesterday, passing Sawkung (Saukunk). We ended this day with pleasure and great satisfaction on both sides; the Cayuga chief said, he would speak further to them to-morrow."

Pittsburghers are to remember that these proceedings took place while General Forbes, carried on his litter, was leading his forces, trailing slowly through the rough country between Turtle Creek and the site of

Pittsburgh and that he came to the abandoned French fort when dusk was coming on in the midst of a snow storm and saw only desolation. The French regime in Western Pennsylvania was soon to end. Its terrors had ended.

November 26, the council reconvened at 10 o'clock. That day and the next were spent in deliberations. The Indians are slowly deliberative. Post said he waited all of the 27th for an answer. Beaver came to him and told him the Indians were "busy all the day long." "It is a great matter," explained that sachem, "and wants much consideration." It certainly got it.

On the morning of the 28th, "Beaver arose early before break of day and bade all his people good morning and desired all to arise early and prepare victuals, for he had to answer their brethren, the English." At ten o'clock the council opened. The French captain was again present. This time Post records his name as Canaquais. Beaver made a long speech, addressing the French captain; then the Mingoes; then the general, through Post; the governor next, but nothing decisive was determined.

On the 29th, Beaver and Shingiss called Post and his companions to a council before daybreak. The sachems had been deliberating the whole night. It was determined that all the other nations should be notified and Shingiss could not go with Post, but remain to help his brother, Beaver, in the great work, for Beaver would send nobody but go himself to the other nations.

Ketiuscund, one of the chief counselors, told Post in secret, "That all nations had jointly agreed to defend their hunting place at Allegheny, and suffer nobody to settle there; and as these Indians are very much inclined to the English interest, so he begged us very much to tell the Governor, General, and all other people not to settle there. And if the English would draw back over the mountain, they would get all the other nations into their interest; but if they staid and settled there, all the nations would be against them; and he was afraid it would be a great war, and never come to a peace again."

Post promised to inform the governor and General Forbes and all others of it and again requested that the Indians not permit any French to settle among them. That evening Post, attended with twenty Indians, left for Saukunk. Halfway there they met a messenger from Fort Duquesne with a belt from Thomas King, inviting all the chiefs to Saukunk for a conference. King was an Oneida sachem, a notable Indian, later an Iroquois overlord among the Western Indians. The inference is that he was among Forbes' contingent, for Post recorded November 23: "There are some chiefs of the Five Nations with the army. Many Indians had English names and these are sometimes misleading. Teedyuscung had a son, Captain Bull, probably named for the companion of Post, for it is plain that this companion was a white man."

King's messenger further informed Post that Croghan and Henry Montour, the official interpreter of Pennsylvania, would be at Saukunk

that day. The messenger was one of three sent to meet Forbes. About these there had been much solicitude. Post arrived at Saukunk in the evening and was well received. Croghan, Montour and Thomas King were there. On the evening of the 30th there was a long conference with the chiefs lasting until eleven o'clock, at which Post explained the meaning of the belts he had brought. The horses of Post's party, having strayed, he was compelled to give an Indian three hundred wampum to find them and the next day buy corn for the horses of the Cayugas, which took three hundred also. It was agreed that Post should go ahead to meet Forbes, and as his journey and the events attending it are good history, it is well to follow Post's records from December 2:

Beaver creek being very high, it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon before we came over the creek; this land seems to be very rich. I, with my companion, Ketiuscund's son, came to Logstown situated on a hill. On the east side is a great piece of low land, where old Logstown used to stand. In the new Logstown the French have built about thirty houses for the Indians. They have a large cornfield on the south side, where the corn stands ungathered. Then we went farther through a large tract of fine land, along the river side. We came within three miles of Pittsburgh, where we lodged, on a hill in the open air. It was a cold night, and I had forgot my blanket, being packed upon Mr. Hays' horse. Between Sawkung and Pittsburgh, all the Shawanese towns are empty of people.

We started early and came to the river by Pittsburgh; we called that they should come over and fetch us; but their boats having gone adrift, they made a raft of black oak palisadoes, which sunk as soon as it came into the water. We were very hungry, and staid on that Island, where I had kept council with the Indians in the month of August; for all I had nothing to live on, I thought myself a great deal better off than at that time, having now liberty to walk upon the Island according to pleasure, and it seemed as if the dark clouds were dispersed.

While I waited here, I saw the General march off from Pittsburgh, which made me sorry that I could not have the pleasure of speaking with him. Towards evening our whole party arrived; upon which they fired from the fort with twelve great guns; and our Indians saluted again three times with their small arms. By accident some of the Indians found a raft hid in the bushes, and Mr. Hays coming last, went over first with two Indians. They sent us but a small allowance, so that it would not serve each round. I tied my belt a little closer, being very hungry and nothing to eat.¹⁸ It snowed and we were obliged to sleep without shelter. In the evening they threw light balls from the Fort; at which the Indians started, thinking they would fire at them; but seeing it was not aimed at them, they rejoiced to see them fly so high.

4th—We got up early and cleared a place from the snow, cut some fire wood and hallooed till we were tired. Towards noon Mr. Hays came with a raft and the Indian chiefs went across; he informed me of Col. Bouquet's displeasure with the Indians' answer to the general, and his desire that they should alter their mind, in insisting upon the General's going back; but the Indians had no inclination to alter their minds. In the afternoon some provisions were sent over, but a small allowance. When I came over to the Fort, the council with the Indians was almost at an end. I had a discourse with Col. Bouquet about the affairs, disposition and resolution of the Indians.

Post drew provision for their journey to Fort Ligonier, and baked bread for the whole company; towards noon the Indians met together in a conference. Beaver conferred with some Mohawks regarding any settling at Fort Pitt. The Mohawks said they lived at such a distance they could not defend the English should any accident befall them.

¹⁸This was an Indian custom when compelled to be without food for several days, and a custom well known to Post from his long residence among them.

The Delawares, living close by, must think what to do. The Delawares were averse to any settlement here. Bouquet was anxious to learn the Indians' answer committed to Post for the governor. Post records December 5:

Neither Mr. Croghan nor Montour would tell Colonel Bouquet the Indians' answer. Then Mr. Croghan, Colonel Armstrong and Colonel Bouquet went into the tent by themselves and I went upon my business. What they have further agreed I do not know; but when they had done, I called King Beaver, Shingiss and Kedeuscund and said: "Brethren: If you have any alteration to make in the answer to the general, concerning leaving this place, you will be pleased to let me know." They said they would alter nothing: "We have told them three times to leave the place and go back; but they insist upon staying here; if, therefore, they will be destroyed by the French and Indians we cannot help them."

This day there was a double tragedy due to liquor. Post tells it in plain words: "Colonel Bouquet set out for Loyalhannon: The Indians got some liquor between ten and eleven o'clock. One Mohock died; the others fired guns three times over him; at the last firing one had accidentally loaded his gun with double fire; this gun burst to pieces and broke his hand clean off; he also got a hard knock on his breast; and in the morning at nine o'clock he died, and they buried them in that place, both in one hole."

On the 6th, Post had an altercation with Croghan, who was unjust and abusive. Post's journal entry that day states:

6th—It was a cold morning; we swam our horses over the river, the ice running violently. Mr. Croghan told me that the Indians had spoke upon the same string that I had to Col. Bouquet, and altered their mind; and had agreed and desired that 200 men should stay at the fort. I refused to make any alteration in the answer to the general till I myself did hear it of the Indians; at which Mr. Croghan grew very angry. I told him I had already spoke with the Indians; he said it was a lie; and desired Mr. Hays to enquire of the Indians, and take down in writing what they said. Accordingly he called them and asked them if they had altered their speech, or spoke to Col. Bouquet on that string they gave me. Shingiss and the other counsellor said they had spoken nothing to Col. Bouquet on the string they gave me, but was agreed between the Indians at Kuskushking. They said Croghan and Montour had not spoken and acted honestly and uprightly; they bid us not alter the least, and said: "We have told them three times to go back, but they will not go, insisting upon staying here. Now you will let the governor, general, and all people know, that our desire is that they should go back, till the other nations have joined in the peace, and then they may come and build a trading house." They then repeated what they had said the 5th instant. Then we took leave of them, and promised to inform the governor, general, and all other gentle people of their disposition; and so we set out from Pittsburgh, and came within fifteen miles of the breast works, where we encamped. It snowed, and we made a little cabin of hides.

The incidents of Post's return journey from this point are best told by his entries, these following being salient extracts from them:

December 7th—Our horses were fainting, having little or no food. We came that day about twenty miles, to another breast-work, where the whole army had encamped on a hill, the water being far to fetch.

8th—Between Pittsburgh and Fort Ligonier the country is hilly with rich bottoms, well timbered, but scantily watered. We arrived at Fort Ligonier in the afternoon about four o'clock, where we found the general very sick; and, therefore, could have no opportunity to speak with him.

9th—We waited to see the general; they told us he would march the next day, and

we should go with him. Captain Sinclair (the quartermaster) wrote us a return for provisions for four days.

10th—The general was still sick, so that he could not go on the journey.

11th—We longed very much to go further; and, therefore, spoke to Major Halket, and desired him to enquire of the general, if he intended to speak with us, or, if we might go, as we were in a poor condition for want of linen and other necessaries. He desired us to bring the Indians' answer and our journal to the general. Mr. Hays read his journal to Major Halket and Gov. Glen. They took memorandums, and went to the general.

14th—The general intended to go, but his horses could not be found. They thought the Indians had carried them off. They hunted all day for the horses, but could not find them. I spoke to Col. Bouquet about our allowance being so small, that we could hardly subsist and that we were without money, and desired him to let us have some money, that we might buy necessaries. Provisions and everything is exceedingly dear. One pound of bread cost a shilling, one pound of sugar four shillings, a quart of rum seven shillings and sixpence, and so in proportion. Col. Bouquet laid our matters before the general; who let me call, and excused himself, that his distemper had hindered him from speaking with me; and promised to help me in everything I should want and ordered him to give me some money. He said farther, that I often should call, and when he was alone he would speak with me.

16th—Mr. Hays, being hunting, was so lucky as to find the general's horses and brought them home; for which the general was very thankful to him.

17th—Mr. Hays, being desired by Major Halket to go and look for the other horses, went but found none.

18th—The general told me to hold myself ready, to go with him down the country.

Two days were spent hunting Post's horses. The weather was bad, rain and snow, and becoming cold and stormy. When Post's horses were found he was obliged to turn them over to the king's commissary, as they were not able to carry their riders on account of weakness. Post's entry of December 24 is most interesting, for it gives some history. He wrote:

The sergeant, Henry Osten, being one of the company that guided us, as above mentioned, and was that same prisoner, whom the Shawanese intended to burn alive, came to-day to the fort. He was much rejoiced to see us, and said: "I thank you a thousand times for my deliverance from the fire; and think it not too much to be at your service my whole life time." He gave us intelligence that the Indians were, as yet, mightily for the English. His master had offered to set him at liberty, and bring him to Pittsburgh, if he would promise him ten gallons of rum; which he did; and he was brought safe to Pittsburgh. Delaware George is still faithful to the English; and was very helpful to procure his liberty. Isaac Still, Shingiss and Beaver are gone with the message to the nations living further off. When the French had heard that the garrison at Pittsburgh consisted of only 200 men, they resolved to go down from Venango and destroy the English fort. So soon as the Indians at Kushkushking heard of their intention, they sent a message to the French desiring them to draw back, for they would have no war in their country. The friendly Indians have sent out parties with that intention, that if the French went on their march towards the fort, they would catch them, and bring them to the English. They showed to Osten the place where eight French Indian spies had lain near the fort. By their marks upon the place they learned that these eight were gone back, and five more were to come to the same place again. He told us further, that the Indians had spoke among themselves, that if the English would join them, they would go to Venango and destroy the French there. We hear that the friendly Indians intend to hunt round the fort at Pittsburgh, and bring the garrison fresh meat. And upon this intelligence the general sent Captain Weddeshotz with fifty men to reinforce the garrison at Pittsburgh.

Post spent a lonely Christmas, for he records:

25th—The people in the camp prepared for a Christmas frolic, but I kept Christmas in the woods by myself.

26th—To-day an express came from Pittsburgh to inform the general that the French had called all the Indians in their interest together, and intended to come and destroy them there.

The privations Post was compelled to undergo will appear as the story of the march progressed. Weather conditions could not have been more disagreeable. One may well conclude Post was possessed of great endurance, as well as the other endowments, such as heroism and fidelity:

27th—Towards noon the general set out, which caused joy among the garrison, which had hitherto lain in tents, but now being a smaller company, could be more comfortably lodged. It snowed the whole day. We encamped by a beaver dam, under Laurel Hill.

28th—We came to Stony Creek, where Mr. Quicksell is stationed. The general sent Mr. Hays, express, to Fort Bedford (Rays Town) and commanded him to see if the place for encampment, under the Allegheny Mountain, was prepared, as also to take care that refreshments should be at hand at his coming. It was stormy and snowed all day.

29th—On the road I came up with some wagons; and found my horses with the company, who had taken my horse up, and intended to carry the same away. We encamped on this side, under the Allegheny hill.

30th—Very early I hunted for my horses, but in vain, and, therefore, was obliged to carry my saddle bags, and other baggage on my back. The burden was heavy, the roads bad; which made me very tired and came late to Bedford, where I took my lodging with Mr. Frazier. They received me kindly and refreshed me according to their ability.

31st—This day we rested, and contrary to expectation, preparation was made for moving further to-morrow. Mr. Hays, who has his lodging with the commander of the place, visited me.

January 1st, 1759—We set out early. I got my saddle bags upon a wagon; but my bed and covering I carried upon my back, and came that day to the crossing of the Juniata, where I had poor lodgings, being obliged to sleep in the open air, the night being very cold.

2nd—We set out early. I wondered very much that the horses in these slippery roads came so well with the wagons over these steep hills. We came to Fort Littleton, where I drew provisions, but could not find any who had bread to exchange for flour. I took lodgings in a common house. Mr. Hays arrived late.

3rd—We rose early. I thought to travel the nearest road to Shippen's Town, and therefore desired leave of the general to prosecute my journey to Lancaster, and wait for his Excellency there; but he desired me to follow in his company. It snowed, freezed, rained, and was stormy the whole day. All were exceedingly glad that the general arrived safe at Fort Loudon. There was no room in the fort for such a great company; I, therefore, and some others, went two miles further, and got lodgings at a plantation.

4th—I and my company took the upper road; which is three miles nearer to Shippen's Town, where we arrived this evening. The slippery roads, made me as a traveler, very tired.

Near Shippenstown, now Shippensburg, Post awaited Forbes' arrival, there being no room for him in the crowded town. General Forbes felt strong enough to go ahead, so the next stop was at Carlisle. Post could find no lodging there, but Montour was kind enough to share his room with him. Post begged Forbes to give him leave to proceed to Lancaster to transact some private business, and the general consented. Sinclair gave him an order for horse, but Post very much disgusted with the hunt for one, resolved to walk, as he had been doing. January 9, he crossed the Susquehanna on the ice, but was obliged to stop within thirteen

miles of the town. It was slippery and heavy travelling, he said. The next day was rainy; he kept on, however, arriving in Lancaster at two in the afternoon, quite refreshed to have the favor of seeing his brethren.

In Post's narrative there are found the names of many noted Indians, the brothers, Shingiss, Beaver and Pisquitomen, among them. Shingiss, whom Heckewelder calls "Shingask," and Post, "Shingas," was the chief sachem of the Turkey tribe of Delawares in 1753, when Washington and Gist met him at his town at the mouth of Chartiers creek. When Bouquet went to the Muskingum towns in 1764, Beaver was the chief sachem of the Turkey tribe. When the Virginia commissioners, Patton, Fry and Lomax, were at Logstown in June, 1752, to make a treaty, Tanacharison, the Half King, was there in his official capacity, the overlord of the Iroquois, and he then bestowed the sachemship upon Shingiss. A memorandum made by Jasper Yeates at Fort Pitt in 1776 states that Beaver was chief of the Turkey tribe. White Eyes, Custaloga and Killbuck figure largely in all the exciting Indian history previous to and during the Revolution.

It was common for Indians to have English names. Thomas Hickman, one of Post's Indian guides, was a Delaware. It was also common for English notables to have Indian names. Washington's Indian name was Conotocaurious, as he himself attested in a letter to Montour in 1755, whom he addressed as "Dear Montour." This was Captain Montour, sometimes called Henry and as often Andrew, a noted character in Pennsylvania history, whose family name has been well commemorated in the State's geographical nomenclature.

OHIO R.

M.

PLAN FORT

- A. Fort Duquesne
- B. Stockade Fort
- C. Fort Pitt - Built
- D. Stockade cover

PLAN OF THE NEW FORT AT PITTSBURGH, NOVEMBER, 1759
Second or Permanent Fort Pitt

CHAPTER XXII.

Fort Pitt, 1758-1763.

General Forbes and his army left Pittsburgh on December 3, 1758, and arrived in Philadelphia on January 17, 1759. The winter having set in, there was no possibility of erecting a permanent fort at the Forks, not alone by reason of weather conditions but for lack of workmen and materials. It was the firm intention of the British Government to hold the place at all hazards, for as it had been a vantage point for the French, it was to be likewise for the new power in control. Accordingly Forbes' men had immediately set to work to build a temporary fortification, the site slightly southeast of the ruins of Fort Duquesne. The cabins that had stood around the French fort were mostly destroyed, and as there had been much ground cleared about it, there was no delay in preparing a site for the new work. This was a square stockade with a bastion at each angle, and was erected on the banks of the Monongahela between what is now Liberty and West streets. The Map of Pittsburgh in 1795 shows that the eastern bastion crossed West street, and the western bastion extended to within 125 feet of the southerly line of Liberty street. From the plan obtained by William G. Johnston, the distance from one stockade to the opposite was 290 feet.¹

Craig in his history states that it is not known precisely when this temporary work was completed; most probably about January 1, 1759, for Col. Hugh Mercer, who was left in command, wrote on January 8th: "This garrison now consists of 280 men and is capable of some defence, though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being extremely severe."²

Mercer's situation was indeed perilous. We may believe the severity of the weather which entailed so great discomfort and at times suffering upon the little garrison, operated to their advantage as it prevented any expedition of the French against them. The enemy, although driven from the Forks, were able to maintain a force at Venango and had some troops at Kushkushking (or Kuskuskies), a Delaware town on the Mahoning river at its junction with the Big Beaver, the site of the Indian town now that of Mahoningtown, Lawrence county. In the letter of January 8th, Mercer said that the intelligence he had from every quarter made it evident that the French had not lost hopes of securing a post again on the site of Duquesne. They were extremely busy in collecting their over-the-lake Indians and assembling them near Kuskuskies, where they were forming a magazine of arms and provisions. They had yet many friends among the Delawares, Mercer was informed, and also by the deputies of the Six Nations who come from Venango; the French then had but a

¹"Life and Reminiscences," W. G. Johnston. See plan opposite his p. 22.

²"History of Pittsburgh," Craig (Edition 1917), p. 66. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 194. "Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 292.

small force there. However, the winter passed without an attack on Mercer, and the spring also, but early in July Mercer had positive assurance that a formidable force of French and Indians were about to descend the Allegheny from Venango and with sufficient artillery to render his holding Fort Pitt impossible. Only the fortune of war saved Mercer. Had not circumstances intervened to divert this French force, Mercer was doomed. The urgent necessity of the French at Niagara compelled them to abandon their cherished project of again securing the Forks of the Ohio. Niagara had been invested by the English under Prideaux on July 6th.

A letter from William Pitt to Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, shows that Fort Pitt was built by special orders from the King. The letter is dated Whitehall, January 23, 1759. An extract reads:

Sir: I am now to acquaint you that the King has been pleased, immediately upon receiving the account of the Success of his Arms on the River Ohio, to direct the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, and Brigadier-General Forbes to lose no time in Concerting the properest and speediest means for completely restoring, if possible, the ruined Fort Duquesne to a defensible and respectable State, or for erecting another in the Room of it, of Sufficient Strength and every Way adequate to the great importance of the several objects of maintaining His Majesty's Subjects on the undisputed Possession of the Ohio; of Effectually cutting off all Trade and Communication this Way, between Canada and the Western and Southern Indians; of protecting the British Colonies from the Incursions to which they have been exposed since the French built the above Fort, and thereby made themselves Masters of the Navigation of the Ohio; and of fixing again the Several Indian Nations in their Alliance with and dependance upon His Majesty's Government.³

An express, the records state, brought two letters received by the Halifax packet. The other was to Amherst, who immediately wrote to Denny enclosing Pitt's letter. These were read at the Provincial Council in Philadelphia, April 2, 1759. Urgency was strongly set forth in each letter. Amherst's, dated New York, March 28, 1759, complete, is as follows:

Sir: With my Dispatches from Mr. Secretary Pitt, this Moment received by the Halifax Packet, came the enclosed for you, by which you will see that the King has been pleased to direct me and Brigadier General Forbes to lose no Time in concerting the properest and speediest means for compleatly restoring, if Possible, the ruined Fort Duquesne to a defensible and respectable state, or for erecting another in the room of it, of sufficient strength and every way adequate to the great importance of the several objects of maintaining His Majesty's Subjects in the undisputed possession of the Ohio; of effectually cutting off all Trade and Communication this way between Canada and the Western and Southern Indians; of protecting the British Colonies from the Incursions to which they have been Exposed since the French built the above fort, and thereby made themselves Masters of the Navigation of the Ohio; and of fixing again the Several Indian Nations in their alliance with and dependence upon his Majesty's Government, for all which wise and good purposes, it is his Majesty's Pleasure that you should use your utmost endeavours with your Council and Assembly to induce them to exert every means in their power for collecting and forwarding the Materials of all sorts, and the workmen which shall be wanted, and which the Commander-in-Chief in North America or Brigadier-general Forbes shall require for this service; and that your

³"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 315.

Province do also furnish every other Assistance of men, cattle, carriages, provisions, etc., that shall be necessary for the support and maintenance of the King's forces that shall be employed in this essential work, as well as in all further operations to be undertaken in those parts the ensuing campaign.

These directions being so full and explicit, leaves me nothing to doubt, to add to them than my warmest wishes and hopes, that they will meet with a vigorous and speedy execution, as well on the part of your Province as those of Virginia and Maryland, who are equally with you so particularly and nearly interested therein, and to whom the same is likewise recommended in the strongest terms.

And as I have already signified to you that I had appointed Brigadier General Stanwix to succeed Brigadier General Forbes in the Command to the Southward, and desired you to correspond and co-operate with him in every matter relative to the service in those parts, I am now to request of you that all the aid and assistance required by you by Secretary Pitt's letter in favor of the late Brigadier Forbes may be granted to Brigadier Stanwix to enable him in the most expeditious manner to execute the before mentioned great and salutary work or any other that may be found necessary for the good of the Service, and that you would look upon whatever he may ask or require of your province, during his continuance in that command, as coming from myself.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

Your most humble and obed't. servt.,

JEFF. AMHERST.⁴

The reference to General Forbes in the second paragraph was an inadvertence, as a subsequent paragraph shows that Amherst knew Forbes was dead. It is evident that the King had not yet received the intelligence, for he had not had time. In the meantime Mercer was kept well informed, for his Indian spies had easy access to the French camps. One of these was Killbuck, a Delaware, famous on the side of the Colonists during the Revolution. Another was "Captain Bull," who was a son of Teedyuscung, therefore a Delaware, who later turned against the English when Pontiac struck. Mercer wrote Governor Denny, March 17, 1759:

The greatly superior force which the enemy had collected at Venango greatly alarmed the Indians. Again on the 15th instant we had the following accounts from two Six Nations Indians sent to spy at Venango, who left this place the 7th. They found at Venango, 700 French and 400 Indians. The commanding officer told them he expected 600 more Indians, that as soon as they arrived he would come and drive us from this place. Next day 200 Indians came to Venango, and the same number the next day, and the third day they were all fitted off for the expedition by the 11th at night, and three pieces of cannon brought from Le Bœuf, the others expected every hour, with a great many batteaux loaded with provisions. In the morning, the 12th, a grand council was held, in which the commandant thanked the Indians for attending him, threw down the war-belt and told them he would set off the next day. The Indians consented, but were somewhat disconcerted by one of the Six Nations, who gave them wampum, telling them to consider what they did, and not to be in too great a hurry; soon after messengers arrived with a packet for the officer who held the council, at which he and other officers appeared much concerned, and at length he told the Indians: "Children, I have received bad news; the English are gone against Niagara. We must give over thoughts of going down the river, till we have cleared that place of the enemy. If it should be taken, our road to you is stopped, and you must become poor." Orders were immediately given to proceed with the artillery, provisions, etc., up French Creek, which the spies saw set off, and the Indians making up their bundles

⁴"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, pp. 316-317.

to follow. They reckon there were upwards of 1000 Indians, collected from twelve different nations, at Venango. Half the party that attacked Ligonier were returned without prisoner or scalp. They had, by their own account, one Indian killed and one wounded. Twenty-two Wyandots have just arrived, probably of those collected at Venango. Since the Conference we have, in conjunction with the Delawares, sent messengers with belts to all the nations in French interest, to inform them of what their chiefs have agreed to here, and this, with the enemy's embarrassed situation, we expect may break off numbers off from them.⁵

On March 17th, Mercer made a return of the garrison as follows: 10 commissioned officers; 18 non-commissioned officers; 3 drummers, 346 rank and file, fit for duty; 79 sick; 3 unaccounted; making a total of 428. Twelve had died since January 1, 1759. In respect of their command they were divided as follows: Royal Artillery, 8; Royal Americans, 20; Highlanders, 80; Virginia regiment, 99; First Battalion, Pennsylvania, 136; Second Battalion, Pennsylvania, 85.⁶ It will be noted that over twenty per cent. of the entire force were sick.

Mercer's return for April 4, 1759, shows only 326 effectives, nine men having died since the previous report, and one was captured; four officers were absent on leave, among them Captain Ward, on detached duty. No reinforcements had arrived and no details had been sent out.⁷

The following list of officers at Fort Pitt, July 9, 1759, will be found in Craig's histories: Col. Hugh Mercer; Captains Waggoner, Woodward, Prentice, Morgan, Smallman, Ward and Clayton; Lieutenants Matthews, Hydlar, Biddle, Conrod, Kennedy, Sumner, Anderson, Hutchins, Dangerfield, and Wright of the train; Ensigns Crawford, Crawford and Morgan.⁸

There are some noted names here, easily recognized as leading characters in the history of Pittsburgh in the Colonial era. First there is gallant Hugh Mercer, physician and soldier, who fell at Princeton. A native of Scotland, then thirty-nine years old, Mercer had served as an assistant surgeon at Culloden on the side of the Pretender, and in consequence was obliged to leave his native land. He came to Virginia and settled at Fredericksburg. He served under Braddock and was wounded at the battle on the Monongahela, but managed to conceal himself until the French and Indians left the field; when he slowly and painfully made his way back to civilization. He was a captain under John Armstrong, and was wounded at Kittanning when that place was destroyed in 1756, and again was compelled to brave the perils of the wilderness to reach a haven. He was reported wounded and missing by General Armstrong. This time Mercer had some of his men with him, and four English prisoners rescued from the Indians—a woman, a boy and two little girls.⁹

⁵"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, pp. 292-293. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 194-195. "History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917), p. 67. "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, p. 101.

⁶"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 314.

⁷"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 580.

⁸"History of Pittsburgh;" (Edition 1917), p. 67. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 195.

⁹Armstrong's report in "History of Pennsylvania and the West," etc.; p. 129. "Colonial Records," Vol. VII.

Mercer was really pleased at his appointment for he wrote Governor Denny from "Loyal Hanning, 3rd December, 1758: Give me leave to render your Honour my most grateful acknowledgements for so distinguishing a mark of the command of a Battalion in your Regiment," etc.¹⁰

At the taking of Fort Duquesne, Mercer was lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment of which John Armstrong was colonel. In this battalion Edward Ward was a captain—who as a Virginia ensign had surrendered to Contrecoeur's overwhelming force of French and Indians, April 17, 1754, on the same ground where Fort Duquesne arose. John Prentice was another captain in the First Battalion under Mercer, and Robert Anderson, Nicholas Conrad, and Edward Matthews lieutenants. Of the same rank and quartermaster was the celebrated Thomas Hutchins, subsequently geographer-general of the United States, who served under Bouquet and Harry Gordon, and who after the war was possessed of much land in Pittsburgh and who died there in 1789.¹¹

The Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment was Colonel Burd's; of his captains, Jacob Morgan, Asher Clayton, Thomas Smallman were with Mercer at Fort Pitt. Smallman is the only one of the three who has any further history in this region. He became prominent later as a trader, and suffered great loss and was made a prisoner during Pontiac's war. His name is commemorated in Smallman street in Pittsburgh, and there are numerous descendants from him in Pittsburgh at this day. Waggoner was a Virginia officer who had served under Washington at Fort Necessity and with the Virginia Regiment at Braddock's battle. Edward Biddle, a lieutenant in Burd's Battalion, in Pennsylvania history ranks high—as high as his chief. Biddle was born in Philadelphia, but located at Reading after his military service, where he was admitted to the bar and became noted as an attorney. He entered the General Assembly of Pennsylvania before the Revolution, and became speaker of that body. He was a member of the First Continental Congress and elected to the second, but could not attend its sessions on account of the lingering illness that caused his death in 1779. He was a true patriot and one of the foremost advocates of independence, having served as a delegate in the Provincial Convention that met in Philadelphia in January, 1775, and on the Committee of Safety for Berks county in June the same year.

Of the ensigns under Mercer at Fort Pitt, Hugh Crawford was one of Armstrong's First Battalion. He was an Indian trader, first licensed in 1747, and is accredited of having made the first settlement at Standing Stone, subsequently Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. Crawford also was made prisoner when Pontiac's allies made sad work of the traders and confiscated their goods. Crawford served as a guide and interpreter for Mason and Dixon in 1767 when they were "running" their famous line. Crawford died in 1770. Like Captains Smallman and Ward, he was one

¹⁰"Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, p. 571.

¹¹"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 325.

of the noted traders setting out on their trips from the Forks of the Ohio. Many references to Crawford's career can be cited.¹² At the time of his capture in 1763 Crawford was an employee of Smallman.

Captains Samuel Miles and Samuel Atlee, of Burd's Battalion, both colonels in the Pennsylvania line during the Revolution, were at Fort Pitt with their companies in 1760, and Capt. William Clapham, also of the same battalion, a lieutenant in 1759, most probably colonel in 1763, and one of the first victims of Pontiac's hordes under Guyasutha when they attacked Fort Pitt in 1763.¹³

In the records of the British army, Thomas Hutchins is listed as an ensign from March 2, 1762, in the 60th Regiment of Foot, and a lieutenant in the same from August 7, 1771. Hutchins, who was a native of New Jersey, was a patriot during the Revolution. He was in England when the war began, and was for a time imprisoned. His services with Bouquet were most valuable.¹⁴

In 1759 three expeditions were planned by Amherst—the first under Wolfe against Quebec; the second, under Amherst himself, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third against Niagara, under Prideaux. "It was this last expedition," says Craig, "whose influence was so timeously felt at Venango." General Prideaux immediately invested the French fort at Niagara, an old-time stronghold at the mouth of that river, and was soon after killed in the battle that ensued, whereupon the command devolved upon General Sir William Johnson, who pressed the siege with great vigor. July 24th a battle took place in which the French were defeated and D'Aubry, their commander, was captured. On the following day, Niagara capitulated, the garrison, 607 men, surrendered. After reciting Mercer's reports of danger from Venango, Craig says, "So much for Col. Mercer's statements. We will complete the narrative of the providential means by which this place (Fort Pitt) was relieved from any further alarm from the French."¹⁵

Craig found evidence of the scare at Fort Pitt during this eventful summer. To resurrect an obsolete word used by Craig, once good and thoroughly expressive, the situation at Venango prior to the fall of Niagara was "timeously felt" at Pittsburgh. If Craig himself did not know John Ormsby at anytime, Craig's father, Maj. Isaac Craig, who came to Pittsburgh during the Revolution, knew Ormsby well and lived neighbor to him. Neville Craig records having had access to Ormsby's books after his death and has given in the "Olden Time" many extracts from the journals Ormsby kept by penning them on pages of books he had owned.¹⁶ Craig quotes Ormsby, who was a most competent wit-

¹²"Gist's Journals;" Darlington, pp. 128-129, and his citations. "The Wilderness Trail;" Hanna, Vol. II, p. 329, and his citations.

¹³Capt. Jacob Morgan had a long and distinguished career. His home was in Berks county. See "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" Vol. I, p. 121.

¹⁴"British Officers in America, 1754-1774;" W. C. Ford, p. 56.

¹⁵"History of Pittsburgh;" (Edition 1917), p. 68. Cf., also "Frontier Forts Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, p. 103, and "Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, pp. 671, 674.

¹⁶See "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 1.

ness. Craig says: "There is something so frank, and so full of naivete, in John Ormsby's account of this matter, that we cannot overlook it." The extract reads:

Very few incidents occurred during the early part of the year 1759. Towards the close of it, however, fresh troubles commenced. The French in Canada began to raise an army at Niagara, to attack our small garrison, (now called Fort Pitt) which was in an ill state for defence, when our commandant, Col. Mercer, was informed by express that there were 1500 regulars and a strong body of Indians at Venango, making ready for an expedition against our post, which would attack us within three days. This information, you may be sure, struck a panic into our people, being 300 miles from any aid, and surrounded by the merciless savages, from whom no expectation of mercy was in view, but immediate destruction by the tomahawk, or lingering starvation. I must own I made my sincere application to the Almighty, to pardon my sins and extricate us from this deplorable dilemma. Our prayers were heard, and we extricated from the dreadful massacre, for day before the expected attack, an Indian fellow arrived from Niagara, informing Col. Mercer that General Johnson laid siege to Niagara, with a formidable English army, so that the attack upon Fort Pitt was countermanded, and the French and Indians ordered to return towards Niagara with the utmost haste. This was done, and when they arrived within a day's march of Niagara, the brave Irish General Johnson ordered an ambuscade to a difficult pass, through which the above troops were to march, and thus they were all killed or taken, to the great joy of poor Ormsby and his associates.¹⁷

Craig continues:

Niagara was then regarded as one of the most important military positions on this continent. Through it alone, could France supply the Indians on the upper Ohio and the Lakes. Well had the French commandant at Venango said, "If it (Niagara) is taken our road to you is cut off and you must become poor." While, therefore, the British held Niagara there was but little reason to fear the French at Fort Pitt. Still, however, the British government resolved to erect here a formidable work, which would insure their dominion for all time. We cannot fix the precise date of the arrival here of General Stanwix, but it must have been after the 9th of July, 1759, as on that day Colonel Mercer was the commandant; and we judge from the following letter that it must have been before the 1st of September:¹⁸

"Pittsburgh, Sept. 24, 1759.

"It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most formidable fortification; such a one as will, to the latest posterity, secure the British empire on the Ohio. There is no need to enumerate the abilities of the chief engineer, nor the spirit shown by the troops, in executing the important task; the fort will soon be a lasting monument of both. Upon the General's arrival, about 400 Indians, of different nations, came to confirm the peace with the English, particularly the Ottawas and Wyandotts, who inhabit Fort Detroit; these confessed the errors they had been led into by the perfidy of the French; showed the deepest contrition for their past conduct, and promised not only to remain fast friends to the English, but to assist us in distressing the common enemy, whenever we should call on them to do it. And all them that had been at variance with the English, said they would deliver up what prisoners they had in their hands to the General, at the grand meeting that is to be held in about three weeks. As soon as the Congress was ended, the head of each nation presented the calumet of peace to the General, and showed every token of sincerity that could be expected, which their surrender of the prisoners will confirm. In this, as in everything

¹⁷"History of Pittsburgh" (Edition 1917), pp. 68-69. "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 3.

¹⁸"We have no precise information as to what time he arrived here, but the following extract of a letter, written at this place on the 24th of September, 1759, shows that he must have commenced operations about the last of August, or the first of September of that year." "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 195.

that can preserve the lasting peace and happiness of these colonies, the General is indefatigable."¹⁹

General Stanwix did come to Pittsburgh during the summer of 1759, and remained until March 21, 1760. Craig has Smollett for authority that Stanwix spent the winter of 1759 and 1760 at this place, strengthening it by fortifications, and cultivating peace and friendship with the Indians. Speaking of the operations of 1758 Smollett says:

In the mean time, the British interest and empire were firmly established on the banks of the Ohio, by the prudence and conduct of major-general Stanwix, who had passed the winter at Pittsburgh, formerly Du Quesne, and employed that time in the most effectual manner for the service of his country. He repaired the old works, established posts of communication from the Ohio to the Monongahela, mounted the bastions that cover the isthmus with artillery, erected casemates, storehouses, and barracks for a numerous garrison, and cultivated with equal diligence and success the friendship and alliance of the Indians. The happy consequences of these measures were soon apparent in the production of a considerable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittsburgh, and in the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of the lands from whence they had been driven by the enemy of the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.²⁰

All familiar with the topography of Pittsburgh will remark a curious error in the use of the word "isthmus." Smollett should have said, "the bastions that cover the peninsula." A writer in Hazard's "Register," in 1832, refers to the site as a delta.²¹

General Forbes died March 13, 1759. Announcement of the fact and of the appointment of Stanwix in his place was made by General Amherst, commander-in-chief, two days later. Stanwix arranged to go to Fort Pitt immediately after his appointment, for there was, as Ormsby relates, the greatest apprehension there of an attack by the French with the forces they were known to have collected at Fort Machault, or Venango. The investment of Niagara by the English compelled the French to abandon the project of an expedition against Fort Pitt. Stanwix was subjected to the same delays on the part of the Pennsylvania authorities that had exasperated Braddock and Forbes. Requisitions by Stanwix for the necessary supplies and for the requisite number of men and artificers were not honored by Governor Denny, despite Pitt's and Amherst's positive orders. The season was slipping by and Stanwix was becoming impatient. He wrote, August 13, 1759, from his camp at Bedford, beseeching Denny to furnish carriages, as Stanwix was stopped in his march and could not proceed without them. Stanwix addressed a circular letter to the managers for wagons in each county appealing thus: "The season advances upon us and our magazines are not full. All our delays are owing to a want of carriages. The troops are impatient to

¹⁹"History of Pittsburgh;" (Edition 1917), pp. 70-71. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 195-196. Rupp has this letter in "History Western Pennsylvania, etc.;" footnote to p. 144. The letter was originally published in the "American Magazine," printed at Woodbury, N. J.

²⁰"A Compleat History of England;" Vol. II, p. 638.

²¹See footnote "Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, p. 579, and Chap. XIX herein. Date in "Archives" is March 11th.

dislodge and drive the enemy from their posts on this side of the lake, and by building a respectable fort upon the Ohio, secure to his Majesty the just possession of that rich country."²²

The number of wagons to be furnished was apportioned among the several counties, of which Philadelphia was to furnish 84; Lancaster 200; and Cumberland 50; Chester, Bucks, Berks, Northampton and York their equitable portions. Rates were fair—42 shillings 6 pence per hundred weight from Carlisle to Ligonier; 17 shillings 6 pence, Carlisle to Bedford, etc. If a wagon was destroyed, 15 shillings was allowed for each 20 miles from place of abode. However, with memories of the experiences of Braddock's wagoners still strong in mind, there was no keen desire to team over the mountains and into the wilderness about Fort Pitt. Stanwix's specifications were strict: Each wagon was to be fitted in the following manner, viz: With four good, strong horses, properly harnessed; the wagon to be complete in everything, large and strong, having a drag chain eleven feet in length with a hook at each end, a knife for cutting grass, falling axe and shovel, two sets of clouts and five sets of nails, an iron hoop to the end of every axletree, a linen mangle, a two-gallon keg of tar and oil mixed together, a slip bell, hoppers, two sets of shoes, and four sets of shoe nails for each horse, eight sets of spare hames and five sets of hame-strings, a bag to receive their provisions, a spare set of linch pins and a hand screw for every three wagons. The drivers to be able-bodied men, capable of loading and unloading and of assisting each other in case of accidents.²³ Provision was made and the same rates established per horse for pack-horses to any of the posts between Carlisle and Pittsburgh, with 18 pence per horse for every twenty miles from the places of abode to Carlisle. After long delay a sufficient number of wagons were secured, and Stanwix was appeased. How he would have fared had not Niagara fallen, can be conjectured.

During the summer many Indians had collected about Fort Pitt, who were dependents of the English, brought there by the Pennsylvania authorities to attend conferences and councils. There had been a conference immediately after Forbes' departure, the next day, December 4, 1758, as noted. Four weeks later Colonel Mercer held another, but the great gathering was about two months after Stanwix's arrival, beginning October 25th, 1759. Work upon the permanent fort was begun September 3, 1759, within a week at least after Stanwix came. The drain upon the commissary for supplies for the gathered Indians became serious, indeed; by August 6th it had become so much felt that the garrison was put to great straits. Mercer was compelled to reduce his garrison to 350 men, and when a convoy of provisions arrived the supplies brought by the succeeding convoy had been exhausted. A failure of any convoy to

²²"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, pp. 376-377.

²³"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 377. "Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, pp. 628-629.

arrive would have put the little garrison to dire extremities.²⁴ Return of provisions at Pittsburgh April 4, 1759, is of record as follows:

Pounds of flour	33,499
Pounds of Indian meal	6,200
Pounds of beef
Pounds of pork	1,383
Bags of salt	6
Gallons of rum and whiskey ²⁵	112

Beef was on the hoof, for cattle were always driven as a matter of their own transportation. The minutes of Mercer's conference at Fort Pitt beginning July 4, 1759, show that Col. Croghan was present as "Deputy Agent to the Hon. Sir William Johnson, Baronet," who in addition to a command in the field has remained "His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs in North America." Col. Hugh Mercer, commandant at Pittsburgh, and a number of officers of the Garrison—Capt. William Trent and Capt. Thomas McKee, assistants to G. Croghan, Esq., and Capt. Henry Montour, interpreter, were also present. At this meeting there were in attendance three chiefs and sixteen warriors of the Six Nations, eleven chiefs and captains of the Delawares; three chiefs and fourteen warriors of the Shawanese; five Wyandots, deputies representing their own and eight other nations, with twenty-two warriors, and "a great number of other captains." Here are distinctly enumerated seventy-six males, apart from the "great number of other captains." As the Indians usually had their women and children at such conferences, we may well believe that there were at least five hundred Indians present—all good feeders and all guests of the province of Pennsylvania, for Virginia did not intervene under the circumstances. In October there were probably more, but the figures then are not recorded by Rupp.²⁶

Events at Fort Pitt during the summer as obtained from Colonel Mercer's letters have been noted. The minutes of the conferences he held are of record also in the "Penna. Archives," and the "Colonial Records," and have been in part reprinted by Rupp. While Mercer seems to have been in no danger after the fall of Niagara, the determination to erect a strong fort at Pittsburgh was not abandoned.²⁷

August 6th, Mercer reported the arrival of Capt. Harry Gordon, chief of engineers, with most of the artificers, but Gordon could do nothing until his superior arrived to lay off the ground on which to construct the fort. Gordon, however, went to work immediately²⁸ to prepare the materials for building with what expedition he could with his small force.

²⁴"Colonial Records," Vol. VIII, p. 305, 391.

²⁵"Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, Vol. III, p. 579.

²⁶See "History Western Pennsylvania, etc.," Appendix, pp. 133, 135, 138.

²⁷"Colonial Records," Vol. VIII, p. 391.

²⁸There was always peril outside the fort: "Some Taway Indians, that had been entertained here some Days, and met with equally kind Treatment of others, took off two Highlanders, one of them a Sentinel from his Post, and we find, since killed them both, and were soon proceeding to Venango with their scalps."—Mercer to Gov. Denny, Aug. 6, 1759. "Colonial Records," Vol. VIII, p. 390. The Taways or Tawas were Ottawas—French allies.

Mercer was a good writer, and kept the authorities informed of everything that took place. September 15, Mercer reported:

A perfect tranquility reigns here since Gen. Stanwix arrived; the works of the new fort go on briskly and no enemy appears near the camp or upon the communication. The difficulty of supplying the army here obliges the General to keep more of the troops at Ligonier and Bedford than he would choose; the remainder of the Virginia regiment joins us next week. Col. Burd is forming a post at Redstone Creek, Col. Armstrong remains some weeks at Ligonier and the greater part of my battalion will be divided along the communication to Carlisle.²⁹

The fort at Redstone creek was called Fort Burd. After Forbes' successful campaign it became necessary to establish more intimate and accessible communication between the little settlement around Redstone "Old Fort" and the new Fort Pitt, "and also the establishment of others appurtenant to prevent predatory incursions of the savages into the settled parts of the territory," wrote James L. Bowman, of Brownsville, in his sketch of that place.³⁰

Colonel Burd was dispatched with 200 men to cut a road from Braddock's road to the Monongahela so as to secure a more direct communication with Fort Pitt. This road of Burd's was selected by the commissioners in laying out the route of the National road from Brownsville, and but slight deviation made from it and Braddock's road. Traders and hunters continued for some years to call Fort Burd the "Old Fort," which, according to Veech, stood on the site of the new work. Burd had been instructed by Bouquet to march from Carlisle with the battalion of the King's troops, and when his work was completed to garrison the fort with an officer and 25 men and march the remainder of his battalion to Fort Pitt. Fort Burd was erected in accordance with the science of backwoods fortifications of the times, with bastions, ditch and draw-bridge, built wholly of earth and wood. The bastions and central "house" were of timbers laid horizontally, and the "curtains" were of logs set vertically in the ground, like posts in close contact; thus forming a stockade or palisades. The plans of Fort Burd can be seen in the "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, Vol. XII, p. 347. Joseph Shippen, who accompanied Colonel Burd, was the engineer. The log house in the center, to contain the women and children, was 39 feet square. The curtains were 97½ feet, the flanks 16, the faces of the bastions 30 feet. The ditch between the bastions was 24 feet wide, and opposite the faces 12 feet. The gate was six feet wide and eight feet high. The width of the draw-bridge has not been recorded, probably wide enough for a wagon to cross, or artillery. This fort became famous, and one of the best known in the Western region. For a time during Pontiac's war the fort was abandoned for want of men to garrison it.

The gallant Burd was in as great straits as his comrade Mercer at

²⁹"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, pp. 391-392. "Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, p. 685.

³⁰"American Pioneer;" February, 1843. Extracts in "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania;" Day, p. 342, q. v.

Fort Pitt, and from his journals there is ample corroboration that keeping the frontier garrisons supplied was a somewhat difficult matter. Burd wrote that he had kept his people constantly employed since his arrival, with an allowance of only one pound of beef and a half-pound of flour per man a day, and that at one time he had not an ounce of flour left and only three bullocks, therefore he had to cease work until he could receive supplies. These soon came, and he held resolutely to his task. His last entry was November 4th—"Sunday, snowed to-day, no work. Had sermon in the fort. Dr. Allison sets out for Philadelphia."

With Fort Ligonier, Fort Burd was a main place of refuge on the lines of communication from Fort Pitt. Each figured extensively in our frontier history. As Mercer stated, the greater part of his battalion was kept employed keeping up communication, and the two forts were of urgent need. While Burd was employed at old Redstone, work was going on apace at the new Fort Pitt, as Stanwix's letters testify. On October 18th, Stanwix wrote Denny as follows:

We are proceeding here to establish a good post by erecting a respectable fort. Our advancements are far unequal to my wishes, beginning so very late as the 10th of September which was as soon as I got up working tools, and have continued as many troops here as I can feed for the work, to have been often brought to eight days' provisions. It is this that must bound every enterprise of every sort in this so distant a country, and all land carriages. The troops in the garrison, and on the communication, suffered greatly by death and desertions, although they were then paid to the first of October, and now only to the first of August.⁸¹

Stanwix wrote Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, who had succeeded Denny, a letter dated "Camp at Pittsburgh, 8th December, 1759," in which he stated that:

The works here are now carried on to that degree of defence which was at first prepared for this year, so that I am now forming a winter garrison which is to consist of 300 provincials, one half Pennsylvanians, the other Virginians, and 400 of the first battalion of the Royal American regiment, the whole to be under the command of Major Tulikens when I leave it. These I hope I shall be able to cover well under good barracks, and feed likewise, for six months from the first of January; besides artillery officers and batteaux men, Indians must be fed and they are not a few that come and go and trade here and will expect provisions from us, in which at least at present they must not be disappointed.⁸²

Craig wrote: "The work, erected by Gen. Stanwix, was five sided, though not all equal, as Washington erroneously stated in his journal in 1770." Washington said in 1770:

The fort is built on the point near the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Du Quesne stood. It is five sided and regular, two of which near the land are of brick; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish commanded by Captain Edmondson.⁸³

⁸¹"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 427.

⁸²"Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, p. 693.

⁸³Journal, Oct. 17. This officer's name was Edmonstone. Craig has it Edmonson in the "History of Pittsburgh" (Edition 1917, pp. 94-97), and Edmonstone in his account of the sale of the material of the fort by that officer in Oct., 1772. See "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 95.

Charles Edmonstone was a captain in the 18th Regiment of Foot, the Royal Irish; his commission as captain dated May 27, 1758. Edmonstone was promoted steadily, for the records show that he was lieutenant-colonel of the 18th from 1768-1773. Craig alludes to him as Major Edmonstone in 1772, when orders came from Gage, then commander-in-chief in North America, to abandon Fort Pitt, which orders Edmonstone carried out. Craig had some recollections of what remained of Fort Pitt in his boyhood. His father, Maj. Isaac Craig, and his grandfather, Gen. John Neville, could describe it accurately to him. Craig said:

The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up so as to enclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. On the two sides facing the country was supported by what the military men call a revetment,—a brick work, nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy, not easily overcome. On the other three sides, the earth in the rampart had no support, and, of course, it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy—one which could readily be ascended. To remedy, in some degree, this defect in the work, a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch which would, of course, be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage. In the summer, however, when the river was low, the ditch was dry and perfectly smooth, so that the officers and men had a ball-alley in the ditch, and against the revetments. This ditch extended from the salient angle of the north bastion—that is, the point of the fort which approached nearest Marbury Street, back of the South end of Hoke's Row—down to the Alleghany where Marbury Street strikes it. This part of the ditch, during our boyhood, and even since, called Butler's Gut, from the circumstance of Gen. Richard Butler and Col. Wm. Butler resided nearest it,—their houses being the same which now stand at the corner on the south side of Penn and east side of Marbury.⁸⁴ Another part of the ditch extended to the Monongahela, a little west of West Street, and a third debouche into the river was made just about the end of Penn Street.

The redoubt, which still remains near the Point, the last relic of British labor at this place, was not erected until 1764. The other redoubt, which stood at the mouth of Redoubt Alley, was erected by Col. Wm. Grant; and our recollection is, that the year mentioned on the stone tablet was 1765, but we are not positive of that point. Judge Brackenridge, in a communication in the first number of the Pittsburgh Gazette, on the 29th of July, 1786, stated that this fort cost the British Government sixty thousand pounds sterling.⁸⁵

There has been much discussion concerning Brackenridge's estimate of the cost of Fort Pitt. Many have believed that a typographical error was made making Brackenridge say £60,000, when he wrote £6,000, which seemed more reasonable. That Brackenridge meant the greater figures, there can be no doubt. His communications to "The Gazette" beginning with the first issue, ran weekly until September, and he had ample opportunity for correcting any errors. He is discredited in this respect, however, for his extravagant statement regarding the population of the town in 1786, made in these communications—100 houses in which there dwelt 1,500 people. As the houses were mostly log cabins, it will be readily acknowledged that fifteen people to a house must have crowded

⁸⁴In 1868 Marbury street was numbered Third, in 1910 this designation was changed to Barbeau.

⁸⁵"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917), pp. 71-72. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 196-197.

them to some degree.⁸⁶ Brackenridge, who came to Pittsburgh in 1781, could easily describe Fort Pitt as he found it and knew it for more than ten years, indeed until its complete demolition. In his "Gazette" stories in 1786, under the heading "On the Situation of the Town of Pittsburgh and the State of Society at that place," he records:

On this point stood the old French fort known by the name of Fort Duquesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under Gen. Forbes. The appearance of the ditch and mound, with the salient angle and bastions, still remain so as to prevent that perfect level of the ground which otherwise would exist. It has been long overgrown with the finest verdure, and depastured on by cattle; but since the town has been laid out it has been enclosed and buildings are erected.

Just above these works is the present garrison, built by Gen. Stanwix, and is said to have cost the Crown of Britain £60,000. Be that as it may it has been a work of great labor and of little use—for, situated on a plain, it is commanded by heights and rising ground on every side, and some, at less than the distance of a mile. The fortification is regular, constructed to the rules of art, and about three years ago put into good repair by Gen. Irwin, who commanded at this post. It has the advantage of an excellent magazine built of stone, but the time is come and it is hoped will not again return, when the use of this garrison is at an end.⁸⁷

Although Brackenbridge's estimate of the cost of Fort Pitt has been controverted, it has never been refuted, for no reliable evidence has been produced to refute it. Per contra, we have Arthur Lee's estimate, which in comparison is ridiculous: Lee says: "Fort Pitt is regularly built, cost the Crown £600, and is commanded by cannon from the opposite bank of the Monongahela and from a hill above the town called Grant's Hill from the catastrophe that befel General Grant at that place."⁸⁸ Either Lee left out a cipher, or Brackenbridge added one; so most writers of history are inclined to compromise on £6,000 as the cost of famous Fort Pitt. Brackenridge's reference to "Gen. Irwin" is to be taken to mean Gen. William Irvine; Lee's to General Grant was correct at the time Lee wrote. On Grant's Hill, in 1758, Grant's rank was major. Lee could have said that the fort was commanded also by a hill on the north side of the Allegheny as close to the fort as Grant's Hill—Seminary Hill, first called The Hogback, and since 1870, Monument Hill. Fort Pitt, however, was never subjected to artillery fire. Such fire from the many heights would have quickly reduced it to a heap of ruins. It was a defence against enemies who would come against it by water and without heavy artillery, or with slight ordnance, if any. A batteau would convey nothing heavier than a four-pound gun. A return of the artillery at

⁸⁶"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917), pp. 187-188.

⁸⁷"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917). pp. 181-182. "Annals of the West;" J. R. Albach, pp. 423-424. "History of Allegheny County;" Warner & Co., p. 498. "History of Pittsburgh;" S. H. Killikelly, p. 94. "History Western Pennsylvania," etc.; App., p. 310. After his removal to Carlisle, Brackenridge's contributions to the first issues of the "Pittsburgh Gazette" were published in book form, under the title "Gazette Publications"—now very rare. The full title to these articles as it appeared in the first number of the Gazette is: "Observations on the Country at the Head of the Ohio River, with Digressions on Various Subjects, July 29th, 1786."

⁸⁸"Journal of Arthur Lee;" Dec. 17, 1784. Reproduced in the "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 334, *et seq.*

Fort Pitt, April 4, 1759, shows that there were mounted "2 royal hoitzers [howitzers], 6 cohorns, and a proportion of shott and grape shott and shells." This report was signed "Hugh Mercer, Col. of ye Pa. Rt."³⁹

The fort was designed for a garrison of one thousand men, and could mount eighteen pieces of artillery. That it did protect many hundreds will be apparent in the account of the siege by Guyasutha in 1763.

Day, in his history of Allegheny county, in his "Collections," has inserted several pages of Craig's writings, introducing them with the paragraph: "The following extracts are taken from three numbers published by Neville B. Craig in the 'Pittsburgh Gazette' for 1841." In describing the first fort here, Day quotes: "The first Fort Pitt, a slight work, composed of pickets, with a shallow and narrow ditch, was hastily thrown up for the reception of 220 men. That work was intended for a temporary purpose, and in the summer of 1759 Gen. Stanwix arrived and commenced the erection of Fort Pitt. The draught of that work was made by R. Rutzer, who probably superintended the work as engineer."

Day inserted the well-known and oft-published plan of the second work, with references, and proceeded to say: "The preceding plan is a reduced copy of the draught made by Engineer Rutzer in 1761 and afterwards given to George III., and by George IV. presented to the British Museum. From the original a copy was made for the Hon. Richard Biddle, of Pittsburgh, during his visit to London in 1830. In the south-east bastion Mr. Rutzer places two magazines marked 'dd' on his plan. Within a few years past a single stone magazine stood in that place, erected it is said, by Maj. Isaac Craig, in 1781."⁴⁰ In a copy of Day's book (p. 78) once owned by Judge James Veech, now in the Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Veech has a pencil annotation: "It was Harry Gordon, Engineer, and not Rutzer." Gordon will be remembered as one of Braddock's engineers, and wounded in Braddock's battle. Gordon was in Pittsburgh as late as September, 1765, having been sent there by Gage to accompany Croghan to the West, proceeding down the Ohio to Fort Chartres. Gordon kept a journal of this trip.⁴¹

There is no doubt that Gordon designed and superintended the erection of the second Fort Pitt. The "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania" attest his arrival, as Mercer reported. Rutzer must have made the plan in London, and nearly two years after the completion of the fort. Craig has nothing of Rutzer in his "History," or the "Olden Time." Day may be wrong in the date of Craig's history in the "Pittsburgh Gazette." That it was 1841 cannot be verified for there is no complete file of the "Gazette" for that year, and none for 1842. "This draft gives us reliable data of the fort", but not the only data, for there are Craig's recollections of it in his "History". Rutzer could not have been one of Gordon's detail on the work, for his name as an officer is not on the army registers. Gordon is down in the army records of officers serving in

³⁹"Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, p. 581.

⁴⁰"Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," Sherman Day, 1843, pp. 76, 78; Craig's "Pittsburgh," Edn. 1917, p. 270; "American Pioneer," Vol. 1, p. 237.

⁴¹"The Wilderness Trail," Hanna, Vol. II, pp. 40-55.

America as engineer in ordinary and captain from January 4, 1758. He was a lieutenant-colonel of the line in 1777. This is Sargent's footnote in his "History of Braddock's Expedition" (page 364). It was the custom in the British army to confer rank in the army as well as in the regiment. Gordon was a lieutenant in the 62d Regiment of Foot from February 12, 1756, and captain in the 60th from April 16, 1759, according to Ford's records.⁴² The 62d Regiment was commanded by John, the Earl of Loudon, to 1756, January 1st, when Stanwix succeeded him.⁴³ The 60th Regiment served in America from 1758-1763 under Abercrombie first, and from 1759 under Amherst. It was previously numbered the 62d. Amherst succeeded Abercrombie when the latter was promoted to lieutenant-general.⁴⁴ There is always a distinction to be noted between officers of the regular establishment or those commissioned by the King, and those of the provincial militia or levies. Mercer and Burd were colonial officers in the Pennsylvania service, although Mercer was a Virginian. There were colonials in the regular service, notably Horatio Gates, and Thomas Hutchins as noted *ante*. Gates, however, was a native of England, and though with Braddock as colonial, served in the British army before coming to America.

Stanwix left Pittsburgh March 21, 1760. On the 17th he wrote Governor Hamilton from "Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh," in which letter he said:

As soon as the waters are down we propose to leave this post for Philadelphia which I can do now with great satisfaction having finished the works all around in a very defenceable manner, leave the garrison in good health, in excellent barracks and seven months' good provisions from the first of April next; the rest of the works may now be finished under cover and be only obliged to work in proper weather which has been very far from our case this hard winter and dirty spring, so far as it has advanced, but have carried the works as far into execution as I could possibly propose to myself in the time and don't doubt but it will be finished as soon as such work can be done, so as to give strong security to all the Southern Provinces, and answer every end proposed for his Majesty's service.

A letter from Stanwix to Secretary Richard Peters, of Pennsylvania, is of record, endorsed "Rec'd Mar. 28, 1760," but no date to letter in which Stanwix says: "I propose setting out as soon as the present wet weather is over and have the pleasure soon to kiss your Honour's hand at Philadelphia," etc.⁴⁵

There can be no doubt that life at Fort Pitt, especially during the first winter, was a dreary round of duty, with no pleasure and much privation. We are not surprised when we find in a letter from Mercer to Secretary Peters, dated March 1, 1759, a concluding paragraph as follows: "As my knowledge of Publick Affairs scarcely extends without the limits of Pittsburgh, whatever you are pleased to favour me with will be highly agreeable."⁴⁶

⁴²"British Officers Serving in America, 1754-1774;" Worthington C. Ford, 1894, p. 45.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 63, 95.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8, 9.

⁴⁵"Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, pp. 711, 713.

⁴⁶"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 305.

Some news items were brought in by Mercer's Indian spies during the summer of 1759. Thus, early in August, among these was the intelligence that "De Linnery" had been shot through the thigh at Niagara and taken prisoner in the battle there in July. This was Ligneris, the last commandant at Fort Duquesne, referred to by Craig generally as "Lignery" and pronounced as Mercer has it—"Linnery." Ligneris was one of the three French captains at Braddock's battle, the others, Beaujeu and Dumas, both superior to him.

Another bit of intelligence was that an old, one-eyed captain had been killed in battle. This was the veteran and courtly Jacques Legardeur de St. Pierre, with whom Washington dealt at Le Bœuf in 1753, who met his fate in Dieskau's battle on Lake George, September 8, 1755, where St. Pierre commanded the Indian allies. News traveled slowly in those years, especially in the wilderness.

Craig notes in his magazine that "Sparks in his 'Life and Writings of Washington' has the following remark about the gentleman who built Fort Pitt: 'General Stanwix was a military man, and a gentleman of an elevated and liberal spirit. His letters bear a high testimony to his good sense, as well as to the delicacy of his feeling, the amenity of his good temper and the generosity of his character.'"⁴⁷

Little history of events at Fort Pitt after Stanwix left is available. Craig has gathered all there is. He says: "We have been enabled to gather a few more scraps in relation to transactions here in 1759 and 1760, and insert them as we find them:"⁴⁸

Fort at Pittsburgh, March 21st, 1760.

This day Major General Stanwix set out for Philadelphia, escorted by thirty-five chiefs of the Ohio Indians and fifty of the Royal Americans. The presence of the General has been of the utmost consequence at this post during the winter, as well as for cultivating the friendship and alliance of the Indians; as for continuing the fortifications and supplying the troops here and on the communications. The works are now quite perfected, according to the plan, from the Ohio to the Monongahela, and eighteen pieces of artillery mounted on the bastions that cover the isthmus; and casemates, barracks and storehouses are also completed for a garrison of 1000 men and officers, so that it may now be asserted with very great truth, that the British dominion is established on the Ohio. The Indians are carrying on a vast trade with the merchants of Pittsburgh and instead of desolating the frontiers of these colonies, are entirely employed in increasing the trade and wealth thereof. The happy effects of our military operations are also felt by about four thousand of our poor inhabitants, who are now in quiet possession of the lands they were driven from on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

On Saturday last his Excellency General Stanwix arrived in town, (Philadelphia) accompanied by a number of gentlemen of the army.—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 17, 1760.

When General Stanwix left Fort Pitt there were present as a garrison, 150 Virginians, 150 Pennsylvanians and 400 of the 1st battalion of Royal Americans, all commanded by Major Tulikens. We know but little more about this general, who seems to have been highly esteemed and respected.

⁴⁷"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 195. "Writings of Washington;" Sparks, Vol. II, p. 243, footnote. See also Washington-Stanwix correspondence, *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 241, 245, 263, *et al.*

⁴⁸"History of Pittsburgh;" (Edition 1917), p. 73, *et seq.*

A London paper of July 29th, 1760, says: "Thursday last Major General Stanwix arrived from America, waited on his Majesty, and was most graciously received." The following article, which we find in the seventh volume of Hazard's *Pennsylvania Register*, is the last notice of him which we have seen:

"Philadelphia, 2d January, 1767.—Shipwreck.—It is with much regret that we announce the loss of the 'Eagle,' on board of which was General Stanwix, his lady and only daughter, a relative and four servants, who all untimely perished."

Extract from a letter dated Pittsburgh, July 4th, 1760.—"General Monckton arrived here the 29th ult. and immediately gave orders for the march on a large detachment of the army to Presqu'île, [now Erie]. The troops are to march on Monday."

"Philadelphia, July 24th, 1760.—On the 7th instant, four companies of the Royal Americans, under command of Col. Bouquet, marched from Pittsburgh toward Presqu'île, as did also Captain McNeil's company of the Virginia Regiment. On the Wednesday following, Col. Hugh Mercer, with three companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment, under Captains Biddle, Clapham and Anderson; and two days after two other companies of the same Regiment, under Captains Atlee and Miles, were to follow."

"Philadelphia, July 31st, 1760.—From Pittsburgh, we learn that Major Gladwin had arrived at Presqu'île with 400 men from the northward, and that our troops would arrive at the same place by the 15th of this month."

These movements were all made for the purpose of taking possession of Detroit and Mackinaw, which had been surrendered along with Montreal on the 8th of September, 1759.

The completion of Fort Pitt, in the spring of 1760, preceded as it had been by the surrender of Montreal, and with it the whole of Canada, held out a promise of permanent peace in the interior of this country. The promise, however, proved delusive. The preliminaries of the treaty of peace between France, Spain, and Great Britain were signed and interchanged on the 3rd of November, 1762, and the definite treaty of the 10th of February, 1763, and it is highly probable that at that very time, Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawa Indians, was arranging the grand confederacy of Indian tribes, which scattered death and desolation along the frontier from Niagara and Fort Pitt to Mackinaw.

We have but a glimpse of Fort Pitt from the summer of 1760 until 1763. In August 1760 Gen. Monckton held a treaty here with the Six Nations, and the Shawanese and Delawares, at which he delivered to them a speech from Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North America, in which it was stated that the King did not intend to deprive them of any of their lands, except as necessity obliged him to take posts and build forts in some parts of the country, to prevent the enemy from taking possession of their lands. He also added that he would give them some presents as a consideration for the lands where the forts and trading houses should be built. He also said to them that if they lay off a space of land adjoining to each fort, to raise corn, they might fix the limits and should receive such consideration, as should be agreed between them, to their satisfaction.

A Philadelphia paper of November 5th, 1760, says: "Last night the Honorable General Monckton arrived here from Pittsburgh." In the same paper of December 11th, 1760, it is stated: "On Monday last, the Honorable Sir John St. Clair, Deputy Q. M. General of his Majesty's forces arrived from Pittsburgh with several other gentlemen. All well there."⁴⁹

The records of the British army show that Stanwix was colonel of the 62d Regiment of Foot from January 1, 1756, and major-general from June 25, 1759.⁵⁰ Major Gladwin, mentioned in the item of July 31st, was engaged with his regiment in Braddock's battle, and in 1763 made himself famous defending Detroit against Pontiac and his hordes.

⁴⁹In addition to Craig's "History," etc., see his "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 199-200.

⁵⁰"British Officers, etc.;" Ford, p. 95, as to rank of Stanwix; p. 89, as to that of Sir John St. Clair, Baronet.

That a collection of log huts arose immediately around Fort Pitt, there can be no doubt. The traders who came to the locality, the purveyors to the army, and the camp followers, could not be provided for within the limited quarters provided for the troops. Necessarily they were compelled to furnish their own quarters. The name of the town was contemporary with the fort. The first authentic mention of the town as a place of permanent habitation will be found in Colonel Burd's journal. Burd, in command of his battalion, arrived in Pittsburgh on Sunday, July 6, 1760, and remained on duty here with his command until the following November. His command is often referred to as the Augusta Regiment. He recorded in his journal two weeks after his arrival:

21st, Monday.—To-day numbered the houses at Pittsburgh, and made a return of the number of people—men, women and children—that do not belong to the army:

Number of houses, 146; number of unfinished houses, 19; number of huts, 36; total, 201.

Number of men, 88; number of women, 29; number of male children, 14; number of female children, 18; total, 149.⁵¹

Under his tabulation, Burd has this footnote: "N. B.—The above houses exclusive of those in the Fort: in the Fort five long barracks and a long casimitt"—by this last word he evidently meant a casement.

Colonel Bouquet came back to Pittsburgh as Burd records in his journal: "Sunday, 6th July, 1760—This day arrived with the Pennsylvania Regt. at Pittsburgh, Col. Bouquet, to march tomorrow to Presqueel, with a Detachmt. of 400 Royal Americans, 100 Virginians."⁵²

On July 22, 1760, a census of the inhabitants of the village at Fort Pitt, not belonging to the army, was taken by order of Colonel Bouquet; and a similar census was taken April 14, 1761. At that time, nearly all the male inhabitants of Pittsburgh were Indian traders. Following is the enumeration of 1760; those marked with a star were also there April 14, 1761:

Cornelius Atkinson, Mary Atkinson, Anthony Baker, John Barklit, Lewis Bernard, Ephraim Blanc,* Erasmus Bokias, Charles Boyle,* Philip Boyle,* James Braden, Thomas Bretton, Andrew Biarly, Phebe Byarly,* Philip Byarty,* William Bryan, James Cahoon (Calhoun), George Carr, John Coleman, Edward Cook, Hugh Crawford,* Judah (Judith) Crawford, Windle (or Vendot) Creamer,* Kate Creamer, Conrad Crone, Margaret Crone, Patrick Cunningham, John Daily,* Sarah Daily, Matthias Dobcrick, William Downy, John Duncastle,* John Everlow, Alexander Ewing, John Finley,* William Fowler, Joseph George, Edward Graham,* John Graham, John Greenfield, Isaac Hall, France Ferinanders Harnider, James Harris, Charles Hays, Mary Hays, William Heath,* Uriah Hill, Samuel Hayden, Robert Hook, Samuel Hyden, William Jacobs, Elizabeth Jacobs, John Judy, Mary Judy, John Langdale,* John Lindsay,* Abraham Lingenfelder, Lazarus Lowry, William McAllister,* Patrick McCarty,* Lydia McCarty, John McClure, Neil McCollum,* Chris'm McCollum (a woman), John McKee (Imperfect), Hugh McSwine,* Susannah McSwine, Chris. Millar,* Eleanor Millar, James Milligan,* Peter Mumaw, Adam Overwinter, Robert Paris,* Nicholas Phillips, John Pierce, Margaret Pomry, Henrietta Price, Elizabeth Randal, James Reed, Martha Reed, Mary Reed, Mary Reed (2), Robert Reed,* John Robinson, Leonora

⁵¹"Pennsylvania Archives;" Second Series, Vol. VII, p. 422. "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania;" Vol. II, p. 109. "Pennsylvania Magazine of History;" Vol. II, pp. 303-305.

⁵²"Pennsylvania Archives;" Second Series, Vol. VII, p. 421.

Rogers, Chris. Rorabunck, James St. Clair, James Sampson, Margaret Sampson, Paul Sharp, ——— Sinnott, Jacob Sinnott,* Susannah Sinnott, George Sly,* Margaret Sly, Thomas Small,* Chris. Smith (a woman), Peter Smith, Tincas Smith, John Snider, Joseph Spear, William Splane, Anna Thomas, George Tomb, Agnes Tomb, William Trent,* Mary Wallon, Edward Ward, Thomas Welsh, Bridget Winsor, William Winsor, John Work,* William Work, Henry Wumbock, ———alesby, ———dor, ——— (imperfect). Male Children:—Robert Atkinson, Jacob Byarly, Godfrey Christian, George Creamer, Patrick Feagan, Thomas McCollum, George McSwine, Henry Millar, Chris. Phillips, George Reed, John Sinnott, Philip Sinnott, John Work. Female Children:—Nancy Ba——, Margaret Boyle, Rebecca Boyle, Margaret Coghnan, Margaret Cro——, Susan Daily, Margaret Jacobs, Elizabeth Judy, Mary Judy, Mary McSwine, Elizabeth Otter, Elizabeth Pomroy, Mary Sinn——, Elizabeth Sly, Rachel Sly, Susanna Sly, Nelly Thomas, Elizabeth Work. Total population, 149.

The census for April 14, 1761, gives the names of the house owners only, with the number of men, women and children in each house. Their names, exclusive of those who were there in 1760 (shown for both years on the former list) and exclusive of some forty-three "out-lying soldiers," with their families, were as follows:

William Armstrong, Thomas Box, Thomas Brighton, William Brown, Joseph Budwick, Thomas Calhoun, Thomas Camey (artificer), John Campbell, John Carter, William Cassady, William Clapham, Ellena Clark, Isaax Conn, James Crampton, John Craven, Eleanor Crawford, George Croghan, Arthur Curvent, Dennis Drogharty, John Field, Henry Fregstaff, Matthew Fulneck, James Gilbey, William Guttery (Guthrie, or Gauterais?), John Hadley (artificer), Dennis Hall, John Hart, John Hayton, Hugh Henry, John Hillman, Conrad House, Humphrey Kies, Frederick Klinge, John Leach, Chris. Limes, Michael Longsold, John McCantash (McIntosh), Dennis McGlaulin (McLaughlin), Richard McManhan, Joseph McMurray, Michael McMurray, Patrick McQuaid, John Meatcalf, Thomas Mitchell, John Neal, Christopher Negty (Negley?), Ambrose Newton, Jacob Nyers (Myers), John Ormsby, John Owen, Rowland Pemberton, Philip Phillips, Woodrow, Ramsay & Co., Hugh Read, Daniel Saller, Thomas Sheppard (artificer), Samuel Shunner, Frederick Sligh, Martin Smith, George Snigh, John Sutton, Nancy Thomas, William Thompson, William Venible, William Vinson (Winsor, or Winston?) Thomas Walker, John Welch, George White.⁵⁸

Some names are evidently misprints from poor penmanship. "Camey" was likely intended for Carney; "Byarty" for Byerly; "Sinn—," rest of word illegible—faded out—whole name—Sinnot, etc.

James Kenny kept a store in Pittsburgh in 1761. He kept a diary; the item below dated 8th mo. 20th. It reads:

I have been informed by a young man that was ordered by y^e Commanding Officer, Collonel Bouquet (this summer) to number all y^e dwelling houses without y^e fort, marking the number on each door; that there was above one hundred houses, but y^e highest number I have seen, by better accounts, there is one hundred and fifty houses to take notice of, I think was seventy-eight, these being y^e inhabitants of Pittsburgh where two years age I have seen all y^e houses that were without y^e little fort, they had then, thrown down, only one, which stands yet, also two that was within that little fort is now standing, being y^e hospital now, now all y^e rest being built since, which if y^e place continue to increase near this manner, it must soon be very large, which seems likely to me. (Kenney's "Journal," in "Pennsylvania Magazine of History;" Vol. III, p. 351).

⁵⁸"Pennsylvania Magazine of History;" Vol. II, p. 303; III, p. 351; VI, p. 498. Hanna has listed these names in alphabetical order. See "Wilderness Trail;" Vol. II, pp. 360-361.

In the list of houses in 1761, one is marked vacant and another "Artificers 4." Kenney, on November 19, 1761, penned a few of his impressions of the town and the fort. These are most interesting, in his quaint style and olden-time phrasing, and one of the very few accounts that have come down to us. He records:

1th mo. 19th—The Fort Banks here is very near raised which makes it look much stronger than it was in times of more danger; by accounts y^e front next y^e inhabitants being of brick, and corners of y^e angle of hewn stone, about—foot high, y^e back part next y^e point where y^e two rivers meets being of earth, and soded all so that it grows thick of long grass that was done last year, and they have mowed y^e bank several times this summer; it four squair with a row of barracks along each squair, three rows of which are wooden frame, and y^e row on y^e back side next y^e point is brick also a large brick house built this summer in y^e southeast corner, y^e roof being now aputing on, having fine steps at y^e door of hewn freestone, a cellar all under it, at y^e back side of y^e barracks opens y^e doors of y^e magazines, vaults, and dungeons; lying under y^e great banks of earth thrown out of y^e great tranches, all around in these are kept y^e stores of ammuniton etc., and prisoners that are to be tried for their lives; in these vaults are no light, but do they carry lanthorns, and on y^e southeast bastion stands a high poal like a mast, and top mast to hoist y^e flag on, which is hoisted on every first day of y^e week from about 11 to 1 o'clock, and on state days, etc., there are three wells of water wall'd in y^e fort and a squair of clear ground in y^e inside of about two acres.⁵⁴

A letter to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, shows Mercer with his command was at Fort Augusta (now Sunbury), April 23, 1760.⁵⁵

During the winter of 1760-1761, Colonel Vaughn, with "His Majesty's Regiment, the Royal Welsh Volunteers," were garrisoning several posts within communication of Pittsburgh, but Amherst, needing these troops elsewhere, requested Governor Hamilton to provide provincial troops in their place, but there was the usual delay in providing them. The Pennsylvania Council and the Assembly disagreed, and the matter went over until the next Assembly. Monckton, much worried, appealed to Amherst, who wrote Hamilton, stating that as it was indispensibly necessary that Vaughn's regiment be removed from their present quarters, it was requisite to send in their stead for the security and protection of the country to the several forts and posts within the communication to Pittsburgh a sufficient number of men properly officered. Amherst requested 300 men so officered be raised by the Assembly for the purpose. The bill was passed March 16, 1761, and concurred in by the Governor. Monckton, as noted in the extracts from Craig (*ante*) had left Pittsburgh, October 27, 1760, but had charge of the department for some time later. March 22, 1761, Amherst wrote again to Hamilton, stating that Monckton would leave New York the next day in order to station the new troops and put Vaughn's troops in motion.⁵⁶

There was little of interest here between that date and Pontiac's

⁵⁴Journal, "Pennsylvania Magazine of History;" Vol. III, p. 350.

⁵⁵"Pennsylvania Archives;" Vol. III, p. 721.

⁵⁶Various references to these items are: "Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. IV, p. 39. "Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, pp. 509, 511. *Ibid.*, pp. 578, 582. "Archives;" Second Series, Vol. VII, p. 428. "Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 592. See also "Frontier Forts," etc.; Vol. II, pp. 110-111.

outbreak, as Craig has told us. There were several conferences with the Indians at Fort Pitt during the interval. Monckton had held his great council beginning August 12, 1760, at which many representatives of the Western tribes were present. All were well treated, and a great trading house set up by the Governor at Pittsburgh, and another at Fort Augusta, Shamokin on the Susquehanna. At these stations the Indians were furnished all the varieties of goods they needed at cheap rates.⁵⁷

An English tourist in his travels prior to the Revolution, met Mercer, and in his published journal after the war had a good word to say of Mercer. This was the same man, Smyth by name, who was in Connolly's Conspiracy, and who intended to pass through Pittsburgh on a secret expedition.⁵⁸

Smyth's reference to Mercer reads:

In Fredericksburg I called upon a worthy and intimate friend, Dr. Hugh Mercer, a physician of great merit and eminence, and as a man possessed of almost every virtue and accomplishment. He was a native of Scotland, was bred to physic and surgery, but having a talent for military affairs, left the line of healing for that of war, in which he soon distinguished himself, and acquired the provincial rank of Lieutenant-Colonel during the former war, wherein he had served with great credit and character, had been dangerously wounded, and surmounted many great perils and difficulties. Dr. Mercer was afterwards a Brigadier general in the American army; to accept of which appointment I have reason to believe he was greatly influenced by General Washington, with whom he had been long in habits of intimacy and bonds of friendship; for Dr. Mercer was generally of a just and moderate way of thinking, possessed liberal sentiments and a generosity of principle very uncommon among those with whom he embarked.

This worthy but mistaken and unfortunate person was killed at Prince Town in the Jerseys, where he was then commanding in the American army as one of their Brigadier-Generals. The loss to them was great, and truly lamented by his friend General Washington.⁵⁹

To make clear the history of the three forts at the Forks of the Ohio, the following resumé is appended:

Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt as terms are used interchangeably by some historians—however, never by real historians. Even the block house erected by Col. Henry Bouquet has been made to serve as both forts as occasion or whim demanded.

To get at the facts in proper order, let us always remember that Fort Duquesne was built by the French forces under Contrecoeur, who surprised and captured Ensign Edward Ward, second in command of a small Virginia detachment under Capt. William Trent, April 17, 1754. The French fort that arose in place of the little work begun by the Virginians was named in honor of Duquesne de Menneville, then governor-general at Quebec. It was burned November 24, 1758, when the army under Gen. John Forbes was within a day's march of the Forks of the Ohio, or while at Turtle Creek on the just completed Forbes road. The smoke of the fort apparent, the army hastened its footsteps to find the fort a ruin.

⁵⁷Cf. "Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, Vol. III, p. 744. "Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, pp. 646, 739.

⁵⁸"Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 106, quoted from Smyth's book.

⁵⁹"A Tour in America;" J. F. D. Smyth, Vol. II, pp. 154-155.

Then arose the first Fort Pitt in December, 1758, the command of which was given to that gallant Virginian, Col. Hugh Mercer. This fort was about four hundred yards from Fort Duquesne, that is to say, the site of that fortification or its remains.

The next year there was built by the orders of the British ministry by Gen. John Stanwix who came here, the second, or permanent Fort Pitt, which lasted until 1791. It was a really formidable work for a wilderness fort. Bouquet, who was at the taking of Fort Duquesne, or what remained of it, November 25, 1758, was here again with his succoring force fresh from his great victory over GUYASUTHA at Bushy Run, August 5, 1763. The next year, before his departure on the expedition to the Muskingum country, he had erected outside the main walls of Fort Pitt the pentagon shaped little blockhouse that has remained to us. It was intended as an outpost for riflemen to prevent surprise by any enemies entering within the outer fortifications by reason of low water in the rivers and the draining of the ditches. The original rifle holes may be seen in the building. Fort Pitt was five-sided, necessitating the block house likewise. In the wall of the block house Bouquet placed the stone tablet that is now seen there, reading: "A. D. 1764, Coll. Bouquet." The abbreviation is with two ls, an old time form, and after the A and D are stars. After the date and the abbreviation, "Coll." is a sign that resembles the letter S on its side.

This tablet fully establishes the date of erection and the builder. We now come to the query: "How can a small brick block house, 16 feet front, figure as a formidable earthwork that was blown up six years previous to the erection of the block house?" Similarly: "How can Fort Pitt, the second fortress, be confounded with the French Fort Duquesne which passed out of existence at least ten months before any work was done on Pitt?"

In fact these forts had nothing in common save that they were built for a similar purpose: each was intended to further and perpetuate the sovereignty of the nation whose flag it flew. The close proximity of their sites has confused many, especially those who "did not stop to think."



CHAPTER XXIII.

When Pontiac Struck.

When the great Pontiac struck he struck suddenly and hard—in more than one place, too. Three only of the English forts held out against the hordes of Pontiac's Algonquin allies, who had in a moment changed from friends to foes to the English, and become besiegers. Niagara, too strong, was in little danger. Detroit was saved as by a miracle; Fort Pitt withstood a long siege and was relieved by the gallant Bouquet and his once sturdy Highlanders, physically ill-fitted for the task, and the few Colonial troops he could secure. Forbes came to Fort Duquesne and obtained a bloodless victory. Bouquet fought his way through, and at the rivulet known as Bushy Run gave to the world for all time an example of intrepidity, unsurpassed in the annals of border warfare in America. True,—it has been equalled. With Bouquet there could be no thought of failure—no halting, no halfway measures. It was go through, and he went. Fort Pitt was saved.

The conspiracy of Pontiac has been written of time and again. All historians attest the marvelous mentality of the great Ottawa who organized the widespread revolt against the English, and failed after much bloodshed, and early successes that were futile, and valueless to him.

Parkman, in his inimitable manner, has told the story of the conspiracy of Pontiac—and all the story. The relative danger of Detroit and Pittsburgh will be apparent. The chief conspirator himself deigned to take Fort Detroit. His Mingo subordinate, Guyasutha, essayed to capture Pitt. Both were humiliated and defeated. All of the harrowing tales of the fall of the little forts cannot be given. Some of them must appear in the narration of events at Pittsburgh during the days of terror there in the summer of 1763. In this narration one should go back to the days of French dominancy and recite again the long story of how, from year to year, the discontent of the Pennsylvania Algonquins grew apace, and it needed only the machinations of a master mind who came with flaming torch to spread a devastating fire. The memories of the Long Walk, the taking of the Juniata Valley hunting grounds and a long series of wrongs were burning memories, whose light never darkened. Revenge had been partly obtained under the French regime, but although the French Indian allies had carried the tomahawk and the torch to the Delaware, they had not, could not, come back to their old homes along and east of the Susquehanna. Though Post had withheld the aid of the Delawares and Shawnese from the French at a critical period, he had no inkling of a general Algonquian uprising. Though he was then living at one of the Tuscarawas towns in 1763, one hundred miles west of Fort Pitt, it does not appear that he knew that a great blow would soon be struck. We may believe the conspirator nations took good care that the converted Delawares on the Tuscarawas did not receive any information for fear some Christian would consider it a duty to apprise the English

commander at Fort Pitt of the trend of events, and look upon the overhanging cloud of devastation—as in exact manner Gladwyn was informed at Detroit in the very moment of Pontiac's success, with the fatal hatchet about to fall with crushing force on Gladwyn and his garrison. [Note the more common spelling "Gladwyn," instead of "Gladwin," *ante*]. The change of sovereignty, too, had its mighty influences. From Onontio to King George of Great Britain was a great leap. We read of these facts with keen appreciation of their truth:

To the Indian tribes, natural owners of the country, the change was nothing but a disaster. They had held, in a certain sense, the balance of power between the rival colonies of France and England. Both had bid for their friendship, and both competed for the trade with them. The French had been the more successful. Their influence was predominant among all the interior tribes, while many of the border Indians, old allies of the English, had of late abandoned them in favor of their rivals. While the French had usually gained the good will, often the ardent attachment, of the tribes with whom they came in contact, the English, for the most part, had inspired only jealousy and dislike. This dislike was soon changed to the most intense hatred. Lawless traders and equally lawless spectators preyed on the Indians; swarms of squatters invaded the lands of the border tribes, and crowded them from their homes.

No race on earth has a more intense and unyielding individuality than the Indian. To the weakness and vices inseparable from all low degrees of human development, he joins a peculiar reserve and pride. He will not coalesce with superior races, and will not imitate them. When enslaved, he dies, kills himself, kills his master, or runs away. It has been his lot to be often hated, but seldom thoroughly despised. His race has never received a nickname, and he has never served as a subject of amusement. There is some humor in him, but he is too grim a figure to be laughed at. One is almost constrained to admire the inflexible obstinacy with which he clings to his own personality, rejects the advances of civilization, and prefers to die as he has lived.

Such, indeed, is the alternative; and it was after the peace of 1763 that this inexorable sentence of civilization or destruction was first proclaimed over the continent in tones no longer doubtful.

That the Indians understood the crisis, it would be rash to affirm; but they felt it without fully understanding it. The result was the great Indian war under Pontiac. The tribes leagued together, rose to drive out the English, and the frontiers were swept with fire. The two great forts, Detroit and Fort Pitt, alone withstood the assailants, and both were reduced to extremity. Pontiac himself, with the tribes of the Lakes, beleaguered Detroit, while the Delawares and Shawanese, with some of the Wyandottes, laid siege, in their barbarous way, to Fort Pitt, or Pittsburgh. Other bands of the same tribes meanwhile ravaged the frontiers of Pennsylvania, burning houses, murdering settlers, laying waste whole districts, and producing an indescribable distress and consternation.¹

S. G. Drake, in a little work, has aptly told of some conditions preceding the outbreak. Speaking of the change of sovereignty, Drake says:

All thinking men saw that such a political upheaval as this would leave many ugly questions unsettled. In the first place, a vanquished population of foreigners was to be reconciled. As to this, the temper of the Canadians was sullen, though subdued. England was no less hated that her rule was silently assented to. Not so, however, with the French Indians. They also, were sullen, but unsubdued. This feeling was artfully kept alive by the French traders, who often secretly hinted that English rule would soon come to an end.

Fickle as these savages were, habit had strongly attached them to the French. Many spoke the language. Some had been baptized. Others had intermarried with the traders and bush-rangers, so that there had come to be in most villages a distinct body

¹"An Historical Account of an Expedition against the Ohio Indians, etc.;" Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv.

of half-breeds, who might be described as uniting the worst qualities of both races. Not unfrequently these strangers had been adopted into the tribes, and sometimes made chiefs. Such bonds as these, it is plain, could not be sundered in a day.

When the Indians were told that they would shortly see themselves turned out of their hunting grounds, they believed it. Savage though he was, the Indian could not fail to read the signs of the times in the history of his race. Within the memory of their old men his people had been pushed over the Endless Mountains by the ever-advancing whites, who also drove back the game, so that every year the range grew less and less. Their wise men said that either the white men must turn back, or the Indians all turn women and hoe corn for the Englishmen.²

Bishop De Schweinitz, in his biography of Zeisberger the Moravian missionary among the Delawares, naturally had to write much of Pontiac's uprising. Referring to the growing power of the English, De Schweinitz says:

No one realized this more keenly than Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas. The Iroquois, and especially the Senecas, in spite of Sir William Johnston's unceasing efforts, had for two years been looking with extreme distrust upon the progress of the British flag, and had incited the Delawares and Shawanese to take up the hatchet; and the Delawares and Shawanese had again stirred up the tribes of the West with the note of alarm, "The English mean to make slaves of us, by occupying so many posts in our country!" But it is not likely that a well-concerted, general rising of the natives would have occurred had it not been for Pontiac. He was the head of the confederacy which embraced his own tribe and the Ojibiwes and Potawatomes, but exercised, also, undisputed and supreme influence throughout the Northwest, being "the king and lord of all that country," as Rogers called him. Endowed with natural qualifications of a high order, born to rule, brave, far-sighted, a wild statesman, and a savage hero, he organized and upheld that conspiracy which has made his name famous, which had for its aim the expulsion of the English from the American continent, which inflicted severe injury upon the Colonies, and which might have been successful had France, as he hoped, lent her aid.

As the year 1762 drew to a close, Pontiac sent out his ambassadors. They passed through the entire West to the many tribes that hunted there; they proceeded far down the Mississippi, almost to its mouth; they everywhere displayed the broad war-belt of the chief, and rehearsed his words of fiery eloquence, calling upon all red men to save the race to which they belonged from slavery and ruin. A chief of the Abanakis, who gave out that he was possessed of a prophetic spirit, and that the Great Manitou commanded the extirpation of the English, effectually seconded Pontiac's scheme, until nearly the whole Algonquin stock of Indians, the Wyandots, several tribes of the lower Mississippi, and the Senecas, were banded in a conspiracy.

With the subtleness for which the aborigines are noted, this widespread plot was kept a secret. In February of the new year, when the peace of Paris had been ratified (February 10, 1763) which gave a continent to England, not one of her Colonial officers suspected that, in all the villages of the West, the savages were silently preparing to wrench that continent from her grasp. On the twenty-seventh of April, Pontiac convened a council on the bank of the Ecorces, a small stream not far from Detroit. Representatives of many tribes were present; and their deep ejaculations of assent to the chief's impetuous speech showed that they were terribly in earnest. First Detroit, next the other posts and forts—the garrisons of which severally numbered a mere handful of men—were to be captured, and then desolation, with bloody strides, was to take its way to the settlements.³

²"Making of the Ohio Valley States;" Drake, pp. 80-81.

³"Life and Times of David Zeisberger;" E. De Schweinitz, pp. 268-270.

The good Zeisberger was greatly perturbed on account of the Christian Indians, many of whom he assisted to safety. Zeisberger was at Wyoming when he heard of Pontiac's conspiracy. "The whole valley," relates Bishop De Schweinitz, "rang with the news, and the scattered Christian and friendly Indians were preparing to leave. The war had broken out in all its vengeful fury. While nature was robing the forests of the West in the green mantle of May, the savages had silently stolen through them, seized most of the forts unawares, and massacred the garrisons. Thus fell St. Joseph, Miami, Ouatanon, Venango, and Michilimachinac. Detroit, the most important post of all, the honor of taking which Pontiac had reserved for himself, remained, indeed, in the hands of the English, his plot having been betrayed to Major Gladwyn; but the fort was now regularly and closely besieged by seven hundred savages. In the course of June, Presque Isle capitulated, and Le Bœuf was deserted."⁴

The growing discontent among the Pennsylvania Indians was long a source of worry to Charles Thomson, who wrote his well known work, frequently referred to in this history, under the abbreviated title, "Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese, etc.," or simply "Alienation," published in 1759, four years after Braddock's defeat, and the year the permanent Fort Pitt arose. In his introduction, Thomson says:

It has been to many a cause of wonder, how it comes to pass that the English have so few Indians in their interest, while the French have so many at command; and by what means and for what reason those neighboring tribes, in particular, who, at the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, and for a long series of years afterwards, showed every mark of affection and kindness, should become our most bitter enemies, and treat those whom they had so often declared they looked upon us as their brethren, nay as their own flesh and blood, with such barbarous cruelties.

By some, they are looked upon as faithless and perfidious; while others, considering their former friendship, the many services they have done the English, and the steady attachment they have showed to our interest during several wars with the French, imagine there must be some cause for this change in their behaviour.

The Indians themselves, when called upon in a public treaty, to explain the motives of their conduct, declare that the solicitations of the French, joined with the abuses they have suffered from the English, particularly in being cheated and defrauded of their land, have at length induced them to become our enemies and to make war upon us.

That the French have been active to draw off the Indians, and engage them in their interests, was not doubted; but as to the complaints that they made of abuses received from the English, and of their being wronged of their land, much pains have been taken to represent them as groundless, and only lame excuses for their perfidiousness. Nay, some have gone so far as to say that these complaints are the effects of the unhappy divisions that prevailed in this government.

In order, therefore, to clear up these points and to examine into the foundation and truth of these complaints, recourse has been had to as many of the treaties and conferences held between the Indians and the government, for about thirty years past, as could be procured.

It is a matter of no small consequence to know that the ground of complaints made by the Indians, that in case they are false, justice may be done to the characters of those who are injured thereby, and, if true, that proper remedies may be applied and the Crown of Great Britain may not, by the avarice and wickedness of a few, be deprived

⁴"Life and Times of David Zeisberger," p. 270.

of the friendship and alliance of those nations who are capable of being our most useful friends or most dangerous enemies.

It could have been wished for the sake of truth, that access had been allowed to the minutes of Council, which are the only public records kept of the transactions between the Government of Pennsylvania and the Indians, or the minutes of several conferences with the Indians had been duly taken and regularly published, or that all the deeds granted by the Indians had been recorded in the Rolls-Office, as they ought to have been: had these been done, the matter might have been set in fuller and clearer light. However, by pursuing the following extracts, taken from such as could be met with, from the "Votes of the Assembly," from such deeds as have been recorded, and from other authentic papers and letters, it will be clearly seen whether the complaints of the Indians are only invented to palliate their late conduct; whether they are the effects of party; or whether their pretensions are reasonable and their demands consistent with justice.

Nevertheless, Thomson obtained sufficient data which even to-day stands forth vividly a sorry indictment of the Pennsylvania authorities of those unhappy years. Slight wonder the province paid most dearly in precious blood and a devastation that could not be measured in money value. The wickedness of the white traders among the Indians, other than the French, is detailed by Thomson with surprising frankness; and the power of rum also, and the evils (a mild word here) of the rum traffic. Says Thomson:

There is one paragraph in the Governor's Message which deserves to be strictly attended to. "I cannot," says he, "but be apprehensive that the Indian Trade, as it is now carried on, will involve us in some fatal quarrel with the Indians. Our Traders, in Defiance of the Law, carry spirituous Liquors among them, and take the Advantage of their inordinate Appetite for it to cheat them of their Skins and their Wampum, which is their Money, and often debauch their wives into the Bargain. It is to be wondered at then, if, when they recover from their drunkenness, they should take some severe Revenges. If I am rightly informed, the like Abuses of the Traders in New England were the principal Causes of the Indian Wars there, and at length obliged the Government to take the trade into their own Hands. This is a matter that well deserves your attention, and perhaps will soon require your Imitation."⁵

All the old historians of Pennsylvania enlarge on the evils of this traffic. While the Indian orators declaimed against it and acknowledged the evils, they became in the end passive and drank with the rest of their people. At times the Indians were plied with liquor for base purposes, notably at the treaty of Lancaster in 1742. Thomson says further:

The Indians as early as 1736 called the traders Rum Carriers, and requested that these be prohibited from coming among them and that none but honest and sober men be suffered to deal with them. Had this request been complied with, the English might easily have engrossed the hate and secured the affection of the many Indian nations, whereas, by neglecting this and suffering a Parcel of Banditti under the character of traders to run up and down from one Indian town to another, cheating and debauching the Indians, we have given them ill opinion of our religion and manners and have lost their esteem and friendship.

With what Earnestness the Indians desired to have the Trade regulated may be seen from the Speech of the Indian Chief to the Commissioners; "Your Traders," says he, "bring scarce anything but Rum and Flour; They bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such Quantities by regulating the Traders. We never understood that the Trade was to be for Whisky and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the

⁵"Alienation," etc.; pp. 55-56.

Indian country; but that, if the Indians will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants and deal with them for it. When these Whisky-Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink, and get all the Skins that should go to pay the debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the fair Traders, and by this Means we not only ruin ourselves but them too. These wicked Whisky-Sellers, when they have got the Indians in Whisky, make them sell the very Cloaths from their Backs. In Short, if this Practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it."⁶

How much horror may have been caused by rum will never be told, cannot be told. The practice was continued and the province well-nigh ruined. The trouble with drunken Indians was a constant one. Teedyuscung was drunk whenever he could get drink, and died drunk in the burning of his house. Post has told of his troubles with drunken Indians, and Gist also, and Logstown is a name fit to write with Sodom instead of Gomorrah. Even Weiser complained of Andrew Montour, who when drunk proved the veritable thorn in the side of honest faithful Weiser.

Having now learned of conditions antecedent to Pontiac's outbreak, the reader is prepared for the account of what took place at Fort Pitt and other points in Western Pennsylvania.

The year 1763 was fateful in American history. Then the British settlements did not extend beyond the Allegheny mountains. Bedford in Pennsylvania was the extreme verge of our frontier. To the south the Virginia settlements extended to a corresponding distance. To protect the frontiers, the Colonial authorities had besought the Crown to establish forts after the manner of the French. The French forts taken over after the conquest of Canada were garrisoned and maintained. In the West these were the posts against which Pontiac directed his fury. The English built some new works.

Fort Stanwix, in 1758, named for the British general who built Fort Pitt, was the most important northern English fort. It stood where the city of Rome, New York, now stands. Two or three smaller posts formed a chain of defense. On the western extremity of Lake Ontario stood Fort Niagara at the mouth of that river. It was a strong work, a work most necessary to hold, as it guarded the whole New York country.

The chain of forts continued to the South, the route following the river by the great cataract to Presque Isle on Lake Erie, now within the city of Erie. There the chain went by a short overland passage to Fort Le Bœuf, on French creek, now Waterford in Erie county. Thence it went to the mouth of French creek, to Venango, since Franklin, Pennsylvania, thence down the Allegheny to Fort Pitt.

Parkman says of Fort Pitt that its position was as captivating to the eye of an artist as it was commanding in a military point of view. "It was a strong fortification with ramparts of earth, faced with brick on the side looking down the Ohio. Its walls have long since been levelled to the ground and over their ruins have risen warehouses and forges with countless chimneys rolling up their black volumes of smoke; where once the bark canoe lay on the strand, a throng of steamers now lie, moored along the crowded levee."

⁶"Alienation," etc.; p. 75.

Parkman gives the name of the commander at Fort Pitt during the memorable siege as Captain Simeon Ecuyer; most writers call him Simon Ecuyer. He was a Swiss, a countryman of Bouquet and like him a soldier of fortune serving in the British army, a cool, brave, energetic commander. The fame of one carries with it the fame of the other, the besieged and the reliever.

Detroit, where Major Gladwyn held out, was saved by a friendly squaw with timely warning. Fort Pitt must have succumbed had it not been for Bouquet and Bushy Run.

Previous to the Pontiac outbreak, the borderland was quiet. Early in May, 1763, Captain Ecuyer received warnings of danger. Ecuyer for a time kept in communication with Detroit and managed to communicate with Bouquet, even when affairs were desperate at Fort Pitt. Ecuyer kept a journal and was a good writer. His letters are full of human interest. He wrote Bouquet before the latter left Philadelphia: "Major Gladwyn writes to tell me that I am surrounded by rascals. He complains a great deal of the Delawares and Shawanese. It is this canaille who stir up the rest to mischief."

A rapid review of the early events of the siege and how it dragged on is here given, followed by extracts from Ecuyer's journal. These will give the complete story of the siege.

May 27, at dusk, a party of Indians came down the banks of the Allegheny with laden pack horses. They made their fires and camped on the river bank until daybreak. They had a great quantity of valuable furs, which they traded at the fort, demanding in exchange bullets, hatchets and gunpowder,—no finery, gew-gaws or strouds, (Indian coats), or blankets. Their conduct was peculiar—sufficiently so to excite suspicion. One could be naturally suspicious of the redskins then and for a century after. The impression deepened that these Indians were either spies or had hostile designs. These suspicions were well grounded. Hardly had the Indians gone when the tidings came that Colonel Clapham, and other persons, male and female, had been murdered and scalped near the fort. Later tidings came of Indians abandoning their towns. This meant that they were bent on mischief. The alarm spread. There were daily refugees, traders and others coming into the fort. News came of the murder and capture of all English traders in the Western country, and the confiscating of their goods.

A messenger sent to warn the garrison at Venango was driven back, returning sorely wounded. One trader, Calhoun, on the Tuscarawas in Ohio, with thirteen companions, was deprived of arms and sent under escort of three braves for safe guidance to Fort Pitt. These guides led the men into an ambush at the mouth of Beaver river. Eleven were killed. Calhoun and two others succeeded in escaping. This was Indian treachery. Accounts of these outrages came in to Fort Pitt daily. At Fort Ligonier the alarm was great. A volley of bullets fired suddenly upon the garrison there did little harm, but left no doubt that the redskins were nearby and in force. Even in the vicinity of Fort Bedford there

were outrages. Bouquet was kept informed of affairs by Ecuyer. May 29 the latter wrote:

Just as I finished my letter three men came in from Clapham's with the Melancholy News that yesterday at 3 o'clock in the Afternoon, the Indians murdered Clapham, and Every Body in his House. These three men were out at work and escaped through the Woods. I immediately armed them and sent them to assist our people at Bushy Run. The Indians have told Byerly (at Bushy Run) to leave his place in four days or he and his Family would all be murdered: I am Uneasy for the little Posts—As for this, I will answer for it.⁷

Ecuyer got busy. All houses and cabins outside the ramparts of Fort Pitt were leveled to the ground. Before dawn each morning drums were beaten and the troops ordered to the alarm posts. The fort was defended by 330 soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen. The numbers may seem large, but there were within the fort 100 women and a still larger number of children, families of settlers in the neighborhood about to build cabins in and about the new town of Pittsburgh. Ecuyer was confronted by dangers within and without. He wrote Bouquet, June 16th:

We are so crowded in the fort that I fear disease, for in spite of every care I cannot keep the place as clean as I would like. Besides the smallpox is among us, and I have therefore caused a hospital to be built under the drawbridge out of range of musket shot. I am determined to hold my post, spare my men and never expose them without necessity.

Ecuyer had previously written:

We have alarms from and skirmishes with the Indians every day but they have done us little harm as yet. Yesterday, I was out with a party of men when we were fired upon and one of the sergeants was killed, but we beat off the Indians and brought the man in with his scalp on. Last night the Bullock Guard was fired upon and one cow killed. We are obliged to be on duty day and night. The Indians have cut off above 100 of our traders in the woods besides all our little Posts. We have plenty of provisions, and the fort is in such good posture for defense, that with God's assistance we can defend it against 1,000 Indians.

Ecuyer lives only in history. Bouquet has been commemorated in a street name here.

Summer came on. The desultory outrages reported were mainly the mischief of unruly young warriors, with no chief of sufficient ability or renown to control them. It became dangerous to venture outside the walls of Fort Pitt. A few attempted it, but were shot and scalped by lurking savages. The sentinels were nightly fired on; even during the day it was dangerous to expose a head above the ramparts. Prowling savages were everywhere, whose numbers seemed daily increasing, yet no attempt was made at a general attack.

This came June 22, when a war party appeared at the farthest extremity of the cleared lands east of the fort. This party drove off all the horses that were grazing there and killed the cattle. Having accomplished this there was opened a general fire of musketry from all sides upon the fort and though the range was long two men of the garrison

⁷"Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier;" Mary Carson Darlington, p. 124; from "Bouquet Papers" in British Museum.

were killed. The garrison answered by a discharge of howitzers from the fort, whose bursting shells brought dismay and astonishment to the Indians in the woods. They drew off but at intervals throughout the night the flashes of rifles were seen and Indian whoopings heard.

June 23 at 9 o'clock a. m. the Indians approached the fort, with perfect confidence, and stood at the outer end of the ditch. A Delaware chief, Turtle's Heart, addressed the garrison with a characteristic Indian speech. The Indians were their friends, he said. All the English forts had been overcome except Pitt; a great army of Indians was marching hither to destroy the garrison; they must leave, take all the women and children and go down to the English settlements; they must go at once. There were many bad Indians about, he said, but Turtle's Heart and his warriors would give them safe guarantee. If they hesitated until the six great nations arrived, all the garrison and people in the fort would be killed, he threatened.

The Indians, hoping to gain a safe and easy possession, were quite discomfited, when Ecuyer resolutely refused these demands and replied in kind, telling of three armies on the way to his relief. Six thousand English, a host of Virginia frontiersmen, and a large war party of the hereditary foes of the Delawares, the Cherokees and Catawbas. Ecuyer besought them to withdraw and save themselves, their wives and children, and said Ecuyer naively: "We hope that you will not tell the other Indians lest they should escape from our vengeance."

June 26 another parley ensued. A party of Indians numbering among them Shingiss and Turtle's Heart, were admitted. These were all chiefs of distinction. They told of the Ottawas about Detroit, spurring them on to overpower and destroy the garrison and people at Fort Pitt. In characteristic Indian language what they had to say came from their hearts and not from their lips. They wished to hold fast the chain of friendship, the ancient chain that their forefathers held with the English. The English had let the chain fall to the ground. The Delawares still had their end fast in their hands. The English, despite remonstrances, had marched armies into their country and built forts that the Indians wished removed. Pitt was one of these. The land was the Indians' land. They recited the demands of the Ottawas and finally demanded that the English leave the fort immediately and no harm would come of it, but if they stayed, they must blame themselves for what would happen.

Ecuyer absolutely refused. He could hold out three years, he said; he would fire bombs into them and their bursting shells would destroy them by the hundreds. He again advised the Indians to go home. From this time, when a general siege was begun, until after August 6 when Bouquet came was a critical point in our history.

Rupp, in his account of events at Pittsburgh, after detailing those at Detroit and the terror on Pennsylvania frontiers, says:

The Indians had already surrounded Fort Pitt, and cut off all communication from it, even by message. Though they had no cannon, nor understood the methods of regular siege, yet with incredible boldness they posted themselves under the banks of both rivers by the walls of the fort, and continued as if they were buried there, from day to

day, with astonishing patience, pouring in an incessant storm of musketry and fire arrows; hoping at length, by famine, by fire, or by harrassing the garrison to carry their point.

Captain Ecuyer, who commanded there, though he wanted several necessities for sustaining the siege, and the fortifications had been damaged by the floods, took all the precautions that art and judgment could suggest for the repair of the place, and repulsing the enemy. His garrison, joined by the inhabitants and surviving traders who had taken refuge there, seconded his efforts with resolution. Their situation was alarming, being remote from all immediate assistance, and having to deal with an enemy from whom they had no mercy to expect.

Fort Pitt remained all this while in a most critical situation. No account could be obtained from the garrison, nor any relief sent to it, but by a long and tedious march of near two hundred miles beyond the settlements, and through those dangerous passes, where the fate of Braddock and others still rises to the imagination.⁸

Verily those were days of peril. How great the panic in Pennsylvania will appear as the story proceeds.

Ecuyer's journal begins May 14th. He recorded that a number of the Six Nation Indians that lived about ninety miles down the Ohio came up and settled at Pine creek on the Allegheny, where they began to plant corn. Three days later their chiefs collected a number of horses their young men had stolen, and delivered them up. From this time until the 26th they were busy planting their corn. The Indians were the Ohio Senecas, generally called Mingoos. May 27th two men that went up the Ohio (Allegheny) seven miles to a Delaware village of the Munsey tribe returned and informed Ecuyer that all the Indians the preceding night had removed from their towns and carried everything with them, leaving their crops. This, said Ecuyer, made him suspect some mischief about the fort was intended. That day the Indians (Delawares) came down with the peltries. "Mischief" was, in the language of the records, a synonym for deviltry. The hurry of the chiefs to dispose of their extraordinary large quantity of furs and their indifference to prices, and the solicitation they expressed to McKee, urging him to go down the country and not to stay over four days, was ample cause of suspicion—"More suspicion," says the commander,—and caused the inhabitants to arm themselves. The following extracts from Ecuyer's journal tell the happenings from day to day:⁹

May 28th, 1763.—At break of day this morning three men came in from Colonel Clapham's, who was settled at the Sewickly old town, about 25 miles from here, on the Youghyane river, with an account that Colonel Clapham, with one of his men, two women and a child, were murdered by Wolfe and some other Delaware Indians, about 2 o'clock the day before. The 27th Wolfe with some others robbed one Mr. Coleman on the road between this and Ligonier, of upwards of 50 pounds. The women that were killed at Colonel Clapham's were treated in such a manner that decency forbids the mentioning. This evening we had two soldiers killed and scalped at the saw-mill.

May 30th—All the inhabitants moved into the fort. About 4 o'clock one Coulson came in who had been a prisoner (at the lower) Shawanese town, and gave the following account. We came to town with some traders, where an Indian arrived from the Lakes with a belt to acquaint the Delawares that Detroit was taken, the post at Sandusky burnt, and all the garrison put to death, except an officer whom they made prisoner. Upon this news, the Beaver and Shingiss (the two chiefs of the Delawares, com-

⁸"History of Western Pennsylvania, etc.," pp. 155-156.

⁹"Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier." Darlington, p. 84, *et seq.*

monly called King B and King S) came to acquaint Mr. Calhoun (the trader there) with it, and desired him to move away from there as quick as possible, with all his property, and that they sent three Indians to conduct him and the rest of the white people safe to this post, and yesterday as they were crossing Beaver Creek, being fourteen in number, they were fired on and he believes all were killed except himself.

31st. Two of Mr. Calhoun's men came in and confirmed the above account. A second express was despatched this night to the general.

The journal from the 1st of June to the 9th contains mainly the news brought by Calhoun, together with a message from the Delaware chiefs on the Tuscarawas, Beaver, Shingiss and Wingenum, the message accompanied by a string of wampum. This message told of the slaughter and capture of the traders in the western country, and that the fort at Detroit had been taken and all the English there had been killed—"not one left alive." The message had been given to Calhoun by the above-named chiefs May 27th at 11 o'clock at night, he said. Detroit was still safe, yet so sure were the Indians elsewhere that Pontiac had succeeded there that they spread the news widely of the capture and massacre of the people within the fort.

The Delawares desired Calhoun to tell Croghan and "all the great men" that they must not ask them about the news they sent, as the Delawares were not concerned in it; the nations they said that had taken up the hatchet against the English were the Ottawas and Chippewas. When the English first went to speak to these nations they did not consult the Delawares and therefore Croghan and the "great men" must not expect that the Delawares were to account for any mischief these nations would do. The word "mischief" here again is significant in its mildness. All Indian depredations were mischief only—generally done by their "young men, who could not be restrained."

The order to pull down and burn the outhouses in the town was issued by Ecuyer, June 1st. These were the houses outside of the fort—a hundred or more. June 2d the second express sent out to Venango returned, having proceeded only twenty miles when they fell in with a party of Indians. While the men from the fort were burning the houses on the hill, says Ecuyer, the Indians set fire to Thompson's house, about a half mile from the fort. Thompson's location later was on the eastern slope of Grant's Hill about Forbes and Boyd streets. It is presumed to have been in that vicinity at the time of the siege. Thompson was a tanner whose home is mentioned by Brackenridge. From Ecuyer's mention of the houses on the hill, referring to Grant's Hill, there can be no doubt that the number of houses enumerated by Bouquet in April, 1761, had increased, and that cabins and little clearings extended well up to Grant's Hill and had been built on the flat along the Allegheny and along the fort side of the Monongahela. On the north side of the Allegheny there were no houses until James Robinson built his cabin about 1786. The wooded island opposite the fort, later known as Smoky Island, subsequently two islands, the second called Nelson's, as old maps show, was not inhabited. Post had spent a night there before General Forbes marched away in 1758. The Monongahela in those years had high banks,

and the Allegheny also. Brackenridge records that a great flood had taken away the banks on the Allegheny side of the fort and a number of dwellings and other houses erected by the traders at Fort Pitt. The town of Pittsburgh, a mere hamlet about the fort, by Ecuyer's orders, was completely destroyed. Fort Pitt and Pittsburgh again coincided as in the beginning soon after Forbes called the place "Pitts-Borough."

June 3d and 4th all the garrison were employed in repairing and strengthening the fort. At 2 a. m. on the 5th a man named Benjamin Sutton got in from Redstone and reported that fort abandoned, and that shoe tracks going towards Cumberland indicated the garrison had sought refuge there. Shoe tracks were significant indeed; Indians wore moccasins. With Sutton at Redstone there was a white man named Hicks and an Indian, of what tribe not recorded. Hicks had difficulty in preventing the Indian from burning the fort. The Indian informed Hicks, who told Sutton that an Indian war had broken out and that the white people would be killed wherever found. The Indian had intended to murder a family named "Madcalf," nine miles from Fort Pitt, but they had removed some time before. We may take it "Madcalf" was Ecuyer's spelling of Metcalfe. Sutton intended to take the Indian prisoner, but could not. His story was that as the wind was blowing very hard and "it turned very dark when he came nigh the fort, he made for it and called to the sentinel. Hicks and the Indian went by in their bark canoes." The inference is plain that each had a separate canoe and that they had come down the Monongahela.

We have some account of this man Hicks in a letter written by Captain Edward Ward (Ensign Ward in 1754) from Carlisle to Sir William Johnson and dated May 2, 1764. Ward wrote:

Yesterday I received a letter from Lieut. Hutchins from Fort Pitt in five days and he informs me that a few days ago, one Hicks (a renegade and a scoundrel) came into Fort Pitt from the Indians who informs him that for certain my cousin Major Thomas Smallman is a prisoner with the Shanneys at a place called Mugguck [on the Pickaway Plains]. I would begg as the greatest favor ever don my Brother that you would please send some of the Five Nations to make enquiry for my poor Cousin, and if possible, for them to bring Him to you, or to some post where he may be safe out of their reach.

From this Hicks' known attachment to the Indian life, and a dog that was seen, and some shotts that was heard after he came into the Fort, it is thought he came as a spie. This Hicks was taken at the beginning of a former war, and he is in fact an Indian and acquainted with every of the Indian's Villainy, and a greater Villain is not in the Indian nations.

It is clearly evident why Hicks and the Indian went by Fort Pitt in their canoes. The "Shanneys" were the Shawanese, the corrupted name common on the frontiers. Smallman was among the prisoners surrendered to Bouquet on the Muskingum, November 9, 1764. He was a captain at Fort Pitt in 1759, under Colonel Hugh Mercer, a large trader among the Ohio Indians, and one of the heaviest losers in goods when Pontiac struck. Smallman served through the Revolution in the patriot army. His name is familiar to Pittsburgh people in Smallman street.

The original letter from Ward to Johnson is now in possession of C. A. Hanna, the historian.¹⁰

June 6th Ecuyer records: "Nothing extraordinary." On the 7th he wrote: "This morning Mr. Wilkins with his wife and one child arrived here in a day and a half from Venango." How is not stated. From the rapid journey the inference is they came by canoe down the Allegheny. Andrew Wilkins, often recorded Wilkey, was a trader at Venango. Resuming the records as Ecuyer wrote them:

June 9th—By a great smoke up the river, we suppose the enemy has burnt Mr. Croghan's house, the smoke rising where we imagine his house stood. Nine o'clock, two more expresses were sent to Venango.¹¹

10th—This morning the two expresses returned, having lost themselves in the night. About ten o'clock in the morning as some of the militia were putting up some fences about 1000 yards from the fort the enemy fired, they returned the fire, and retreated safe to the fort.

June 11th—At break of day some Indians were discovered among the ruins of the upper town.

About 10 o'clock at night they set fire to a house, on which a shell was thrown among them; some time after Indians were seen in the lower town and some hallooing heard at a small distance from the fort.

There was comparative quiet during the next three days.

15th—A party was sent out to cut spels¹² and were fired on. Sergeant Miller of the militia, contrary to orders, with three others, advanced to Grant's Hill, and just as they had gained the summit, Miller was shot dead; a party advancing drove the enemy off and prevented their scalping him. Between 11 and 12 o'clock at night, as an express from Bedford was challenged by some of the sentinels from the rampart the enemy fired a number of shots at him and the sentinels in the fort.

On the 16th four Shawanese appeared on the opposite side of the Allegheny and requested Captain McKee to come over and speak to them. He complied. These Indians said that they had some traders, prisoners in their towns, among them Baird and Gibson who had been taken by the Delawares but given to them. They promised to take care of these prisoners until after the war was over. They said further that the Delaware warriors had paid no regard to their chiefs but were determined to prosecute war against the English. It was the Six Nation Indians and Delawares that had ambushed and killed most of Calhoun's men at Beaver Creek.

On the 17th these same Indians called again and wanted McKee to meet them, but he refused. They recommended, McKee said, that he set off for the inhabitants in the night or to come with them and they would take care of him in their towns until the war was over. They said all the nations had taken up the hatchet against the English and in a few days a great body would attack Fort Pitt; and that all the other posts were already cut off. They said, the Shawanese were afraid to refuse to take up the hatchet against the English as so many Indians had done it, to force the Shawanese to come to them.

June 19th—Two Indians crept along the bank of the Monongahela towards the sentinel who was posted on the bank of the river and fired at him. Soon after a number of Indians were seen at the head of the fields, taking off some horses, as the garrison was turning out a soldier's gun went off, by accident and mortally wounded him, of which he died the next day.

On the night of the 21st the Indians across the Monongahela mocked the sentinels calling, "All's well."

¹⁰See "The Wilderness Trail;" Vol. II, p. 29. "Colonial Records Pennsylvania;" Vol. 14, p. 223.

¹¹Croghan's house, an elaborate log structure, was burned to the ground. It stood about the foot of McCandless avenue and was rebuilt.

¹²German wheat (spelts), a cereal intermediate between wheat and barley.

22d—Between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning a smoke was seen rising on the back of Grant's Hill, where the Indians had made a fire and about 2 o'clock several of them appeared in the speltz field, driving off the horses and cattle. About 5 o'clock one James Thompson, who it was supposed was gone after a horse, was killed and scalped in sight of the fort; on this a great number of Indians appeared on each river, and on Grant's Hill shooting down the cattle and horses. A shell was thrown amongst a number of them from a howitzer, which burst just as it fell among them. About an hour after they fired on the fort from Grant's Hill and the other side of the Ohio, a shot from the opposite side of the Ohio wounded a man in the Monongahela bastion. About 7 o'clock three Indians were seen about 150 yards from the fort on the Monongahela bank. Mr. McKee and two others fired on them and killed one of them.

June 24th—Turtle's Heart and McKee had their parley. Out of regard to them Ecuyer presented this chief with two blankets and a handkerchief from the small-pox hospital which Ecuyer hoped would have the desired effect.

26th—Six o'clock in the morning Ensign Price with five men came in from Le Boeuf and gave the following account of his miraculous escape from that place, and while they were bringing him across the river seven Indians showed themselves on Grant's Hill.

Early in the morning of the 18th instant five Indians came to his post and asked for some tobacco and provisions, which he gave them. Soon after they went off, about thirty men came down the road leading to Presqu' Isle, laid their arms a short distance off, and asked liberty to come in and said they were going to war against the Cherokees, would stay with him that night and that they proposed to pass by Fort Pitt in order to speak with Mr. Croghan; Mr. Price, suspecting their design, had all his people under arms and would not suffer them to go in, upon this the Indians took up their arms, and got to the back of an out store, where they picked out the stones it was underpinned with and got into it, then they began to roll out the barrels of provisions and shoot, fired arrows into the top of the block house which was put out several times, this continued till some time in the night when Mr. Price finding it impossible to defend the place any longer, or prevent its being consumed took advantage of the night, got all his people out at a window and made off without being observed, but unfortunately left six of his men and a woman who he supposed fell into the hands of the enemy, some time after he left the block house the Indians began to fire upon it and when he came to Venango, he found it in ashes, kept the road all the way here, and saw the bones of several people who had been killed while going to Venango: they were Six Nation Indians who attacked him.

28th—Several Indians have been seen to-day on Grant's Hill and about the fields. About nine o'clock at night the sentinels discovered some canoes in the river and presently after saw some people in the ditch. The garrison turned out to their alarm posts, remained under arms till 12 o'clock, then went to their barracks, all but the guard. A great smoke was seen up the river this morning supposed to be a house on fire.

July 2, 1763—About seven o'clock this morning some Indians appeared on Grant's Hill; at 12 o'clock they came into the cornfield, drove off a number of cows and shot at several; this night several Indians were seen near the Glacis.

3rd.—At 10 o'clock this morning as a party of men went to the gardens for greens etc., they were fired upon by some Indians who had hidden within thirty yards of the fort; our people hurried forward and fired upon them, and it was thought that Adam Terrence either killed or wounded one badly, as the others were seen helping or carrying him away. Our people pursued them till they were ordered back, they found his tomahawk, pipe and handkerchief which he dropped. At 10 o'clock two guns were heard on the opposite side of the Allegheny and immediately four Indians naked and their bodies painted with different colors, singing as they came along according to their custom when appearing as friends; they had two small sets of British colors. Mr. McKee went down and asked who they were and what their business was; they answered him they were Ottawas and came from Detroit ten days ago, where they said everything was settled between them and us in that place, and that they had brought letters from the commanding officer there, therefore desired to be brought over. Notwithstanding the fair appearance they came under, McKee directed them to go up the river and cross at a place where Indians were frequently seen crossing and while

they were away a canoe was sent and left for them on the other side. When they came over McKee went and met them a small distance from the fort. One of them (commonly called Chatterbox) displayed two large belts tied on a stick. They made the following speech to Mr. McKee: "Brother: (showing the belts, one of which he called the Friendship Belt, and the other for clearing the path between them and us). This is what we called the writing we had for you and we are sent by our chiefs, (who will be here to-morrow) to acquaint you that they are coming to renew their friendship by their belts and to assure you that they are coming with a good intention and hope to be received as friends. This is all we have to say; we propose to go and meet our chiefs this afternoon and will return to-morrow." They asked for some thread and tobacco. During this time on Grant's Hill a number of Indians appeared very uneasy, and came running toward us; five more appeared over the Ohio or Allegheny. Upon this the Ottawas went to their canoes, where they met those Indians who came from Grant's Hill; they talked some time together. During this our people fired several shots at those who came from the hill, which they returned. At 6 in the afternoon three of the Ottawas, with their colours, came to the same place and Mr. McKee went to them; they informed him that their chiefs had come to the opposite shore and desired them to deliver the following speech: "Brother the Commanding Officer:—By this string of wampum we open your ears, wipe the tears from your eyes and remove everything that is bad from your heart, that you may hear and receive them in friendship to-morrow." Gave a string painted with blue clay. Mr. McKee gave them some bread and tobacco and they returned across the river.

As soon as it was dark our sentinels gave fire at some Indians in the ditch, the whole garrison turned out and remained under arms until 1 o'clock, and then went to their barracks and lay on their arms till daylight.

July 4th, This morning the canoe we had left the Indians yesterday was seen aground in the middle of the river on a bar.

About 11 o'clock the Ottawas appeared on the opposite side, ten in number, and requested to be brought over, upon which McKee desired them to take the canoe which lay on the bar and cross in her, but they made many excuses saying they intended no harm. Upon their fair promises the commanding officer sent two soldiers in a canoe for them, and at their landing on the other side several hallooos were heard on Grant's Hill and the Ottawas began to sing, five of them came down to the canoe, three of which seized the soldier at the head, the two others made toward the man in the stern who threw himself into the water, they followed and stabbed him with their knives in two places; the other soldier they had got up to the bank, but on some shots being fired from small arms and a cannon with grape shot they all retreated into the woods and left their kettle with one set of their colors on the bank; both soldiers got back without further damage though one of the wounds is thought dangerous.

Three o'clock, the Indians returned and took their colours and kettle, then fired several shots at the fort. A cannon with grape shot was fired at them, the Indians on Grant's Hill likewise fired several shots, this continued till dark; several bullets came into the fort, but did no damage.

July 5th, 11 o'clock in the morning the Indians fired from both sides of each river and Grant's Hill; several crossed in a canoe up the Monongahela. 5 o'clock in the afternoon they crossed back again.

From July 6th to the 14th Ecuyer records nothing alarming. Single Indians were seen several times, some of whom fired the guns at the fort. A large fire was discovered up the Ohio (Allegheny). On the 6th Ecuyer thought this quiet ominous, for, he said: "By their being so quiet we imagine they are gone down to meet our troops, attack Ligonier, or fall on the country people." On the 9th and 10th none of the enemy were seen, which made the town people careless, for they struggled about the fields in perfect security. Ecuyer recorded that July 13th was the first night he had stripped since the alarm began:

14th, One of the militia fired on and wounded in three places by some Indians within two hundred yards of the fort as they were taking care of some cattle, we sent out a party and brought him in, but fear he will die, being shot through the arm, body and thigh and the bones broken.

15th, 16th, and 17th—Nothing more than a number of Indians appearing and the man wounded on the 14th dying.

18th—A party was sent out to cut the spelts. An Indian killed near Grant's Hill and scalped by Mr. Calhoun one of Mr. Fleming's party who went out the day before to scour the hill while our people were at work, getting in part of the spelts; a large body of the enemy appeared over the Monongahela, at the mouth of the Saw-mill Creek, they called from this side over each river, on which the covering and working parties came in. Soon after a large body of the enemy appeared about the upper end of the field where our people had been at work. Three Indians from the Monongahela came over, they are Delawares, they say they are for peace and will go to war against the Ottawas and Chippawas. Another Indian, one James Wilson, came down from Grant's Hill without arms and walked close to the fort, being known and without arms prevented his being killed, he likewise says that the Beaver and chiefs of the Delawares are coming here, as well as three Indians who came from the other side of the river, they can tell nothing of Mr. Lowry and our people. They say that Mr. Gibson, Baird, Cammel and one Robinson, a hired man, was at Beaver Creek waiting for their canoe coming up the river; that canoe was just by when the enemy began to fire on them, that Gibson and the rest jumped to their arms to go to their assistance, but they persuaded them not to, that they would be all killed, but they persisted. That they seized Gibson, Cammel and Robinson, but Mr. Baird who got to his arms fought bravely until he was killed.¹³

July 20th, The Indians, men, women, and children, continued passing over the Allegheny in canoes and on horseback, near the fort, supposed to be going to fetch Indian corn, and I believe endeavoring to make us believe their numbers much greater than what they are.

21st, 9 o'clock in the morning, three Shawanese waded across the Ohio to the Point, just by the fort, and asked for some provisions for their chiefs, who were just come. The commanding officer told them he had none, and that he would not speak any more with them till their chiefs came themselves.

22nd, Gray Eyes, Wingenum, Turtle's Heart and Mamaulter came over the river, told us their chiefs were in council, and that they waited for Custaloga, whom they expected that day. The Indians passed backwards and forwards, men, women and children, up the river in canoes. It appeared that they were carrying things down to the saw-mill in their canoes, and several horses passed with loads, in sight of the fort, which I took to be Indian corn from the deserted plantations and leather from Anthony Thompson's tan-yard, though many suspect it is plunder from the frontier habitations. They were told not to go backwards in their canoe or they would be fired upon.

July 23rd, we heard nothing from the Indians to-day; two of them appeared over the Ohio but said nothing.

24th, Four Indians discovered at the upper end of the garden; several tracks found about the River Ohio bank, where they had been last night. At dusk three Indians came on the opposite side of the Ohio and told us that Custaloga was come. They were throwing the water out of the canoes, that lay on the shore where they were, with the intentions, as I suppose of coming over when it is dark. While we were talking with them we heard three death halloos. Mr. McKee asked them who it was. They said they knew nothing of it (perhaps they were Ottawas) but said they would let us know in the morning.

July 25th—Four Indians passing up the Monongahela, close by the opposite shore, contrary to orders, a six-pounder with grape was fired on them. They all made their escape (the shot fell all around them) leaving their canoe. Four of the militia set out in a canoe to a bar in the middle of the river, and then one swam and brought off their

¹³John Gibson, John Baird and Lowry were traders. "Cammell," Ecuyer's spelling of Campbell, was a smith at Fort Pitt: see "The Wilderness Trail," Hanna, Vol. II, p. 379.

canoe. They left four rifles with eight pair of new Indian shoes, all their powder-horns and pouches full of powder and ball, and two pairs of leggings for each, with five blankets—a sure sign they were going to war.

27th—Fifty-seven Indians all on horseback were seen from the fort, going down the road and some on foot. Soon after some were seen returning, some appeared in Hulings' field cutting some wheat with their knives and scythe, we imagined they were hungry.

A gun was fired according to agreement to call them over to get their answer, soon after they appeared on the other side; as soon as they came over, Captain Ecuyer's answer to this speech was delivered them, letting them know that we took this place from the French, that this was our home and we would defend it to the last, that we were able to defend it against all the Indians in the woods, that we had ammunition and provisions for three years, (I wish we had for three months) that we paid no regard to the Ottawas and Chippawas that we knew that if they were not already attacked, that they would be in a short time in their own country which would find enough for them to do.

That they pretended to be our friends, at the same time they murdered our traders in their towns and took their goods, that they stole our horses and cows from here, and killed some of our people and every three or four days we hear the death halloo, which we know must be some of their people who have been down the country and murdered some of the country people. That if they intended to be friends with us to go home to their towns and sit down quietly till they heard from us or else to send some of their people down to Bedford to the General who had only power to treat with them of Peace, they say they will come to-morrow and let us know when they will go home.

The Yellow Bird, a Shawanee chief, asked for the four rifles we had taken from the four Indians of the 25th, they were answered, if it appeared that their nation had done us no harm, and that they continued to behave well, when we were convinced of it, that then they should either have their guns, or pay for them. He was very much enraged and the whole changed countenance on the speech that was made them. White Eyes and Wingenum seemed to be very much irritated and would not shake hands with our people at parting. These two were Delawares.

28th—In the morning the Indians were seen crossing the river by Shanopins' Town on horseback, or swimming. Half an hour after, about 2 o'clock, they fired on our people in the garden, who I had desired not to stay as I was positive they were coming down, but they paid no regard to it, they got in with only one man wounded in the knee. Soon after they began firing on the whole fort and continued to fire all day and night. Captain Ecuyer was wounded in the leg with an arrow, a Corporal and one of the men, mortally.

29th—Continued firing on the fort, the whole day, from the Ohio bank, they kept up a very smart fire, this day and yesterday a number of shells were thrown to disperse them, but they only shifted places, this day and yesterday about 1,500 small arms fired on them from the fort. Wounded this day: Marcus Huling's leg broken, Sergeant Hermon shot through the lungs; a grenadier shot through the leg; fired three round shots from a six pounder, as they were passing the river in canoes; obliged them at once to throw themselves into the river, one of them said to be cut in two by one of the shot. These two days killed several of them from the fort, one of them wounded and drowned in the river, attempting to swim over and five more seen carried out of the canoe on the farther side of the Ohio, supposed to be wounded. The roofs of the Governor's House and the Barracks much hurt by the enemy's fire. In the night they shot several arrows at the fort, some with fire, mostly fell short.

30th, The enemy continued to fire random shots. Two shells were thrown at some reaping in Huling's field. In the evening they called to the fort and told us they had letters from Colonel Bouquet and George Croghan and desired me to go for the letters and they would give them to me. Continued firing at the fort all night, threw some hand grenades into the ditch, where we imagined some of the enemy were.

August 1st, The enemy continued firing random shots from under the bank of the Ohio, till 3 o'clock when they withdrew, and soon we saw a large number crossing from

this to the opposite side of the Ohio with their baggage; about 6 o'clock they put up a paper fixed on a stick from under the bank.

August 2, All quiet until about 11 o'clock when two Indians and a white man came down the opposite shore of the Ohio and called over that they were expresses from Colonel Bouquet and G. Croghan at Bedford; they were desired to come over, the white man made answer that he was a prisoner and would not come, the Indian came over in a small bark canoe and produced his letters; he was a Cuyuga Indian named John Hudson, he said that the Indians took him and detained him three days, broke open the letters and made a white prisoner read them; one letter they kept and suffered him to bring the other two to the fort. The white on the other side was an express, taken between this and Fort Cumberland they had all his letters but would not let the Indian bring them over after they had read the letters and heard the message he delivered them from Mr. Croghan, some set off home, and some few to War against the settlements, and some Wyandotts to reconnoitre our army. The Wyandotts, in a council had declared that they would carry on the war against us while there was a man of them living, and told the Delawares and Shawanese that they might do as they pleased. In the evening they set off with letters down the country.

On the next day Ecuyer examined the bank of the river where the enemy fired from on the 1st, and saw blood in many places. He records that for the last six nights the whole force had been under arms, the garrison having two reliefs. Everything was quiet on the 4th. On the 5th, three expresses came from Bouquet, whom they had left at Ligonier with his troops. At Turtle creek these expresses heard a great deal of cheering, shouting and ringing of bells. They correctly inferred that the Indians were preparing to attack Bouquet, which they did the next day at Bushy Run. Ecuyer sent two expresses to meet Bouquet. Nothing extraordinary was recorded on the next three days. Ecuyer wrote on the 8th: "The troops not having arrived, according to expectations, makes us believe they were attacked on their march." The 9th was quiet. Still no word of the troops.

10—At break of day, in the morning, Miller, who was sent by express, the 5th, with two others, came in from Colonel Bouquet, whom he left at the Nine Mile Run. He brings an account that the Indians engaged our troops for two days, that our people beat them off. About 10 o'clock a detachment from the garrison under the command of Captain Philips, marched to meet the troops and returned about 2 o'clock, having joined the Colonel at Bullet's Hill.

Captain Ecuyer was not only a good journalist, but also an excellent correspondent. His letters to General Bouquet are preserved among the Bouquet Papers in the British Museum. Much of the matter in these letters is also in his journal. His letters prior to the 1st of May tell of the affairs at the fort. There is a deep pathos here and there in Ecuyer's letters. When the news of the destruction of Calhoun's party and other massacres was learned, Ecuyer wrote to Bouquet, May 30th. He evidently wrote in French, for he said in his postscript: "You will have the goodness to translate this letter for the general as you like," meaning Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British Forces in America. Three paragraphs read:

I fear the affair is general, I tremble for our posts. I fear according to the reports that I am surrounded by Indians. I neglect nothing to receive them well, and I expect to be attacked to-morrow morning. God wills it, I am passably ready. Everyone works and I do not sleep; but I fear that my express will be stopped.

I have formed two companies of militia, which amount to 80 or 90 men. I have had the oxen and cows brought near for service. In one word I have neglected nothing and have spared neither care nor trouble.

I hope to be capable to do more for the service of the king, whom I have the honor to serve. Whatever happens I will do all that is in my power. Excuse haste as they say.

I have the honor to be very sincerely, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

S. ECUYER.

June 2 he wrote again. This letter is endorsed, "Received the 10th. Duplicates sent to the General." In the letter he said:

Here is an abridgement of our work; I have demolished the lower town and brought the wood into the fort. I have burnt the high town; every person is in the fort; where I have constructed two ovens and a forge. I have surrounded our bastions with barrels full of earth, made good even places and embrasures for our cannon. I have a good entrenchment on the mined bastion and on the two curtains at the right and left. All around the rampart my people are covered by strong planks joined with stakes and an opening between two for firing guns, without being exposed in any manner. If there were any places open I would place across them bales of skins of deer which belong to the merchants. I have in the same way made galleries at the gorge (breast) of the bastion which corresponds with that of the barracks.

I have placed the powder of the merchants in the king's magazine. I have also prepared everything in case of fire. My bastions are furnished with casks full of water, as well as the interior of the fort. The women are appointed for this service. One must take service from all in this life.

The rascals burned the houses in the neighborhood. They have shot balls at the saw-mill. If I had foreseen it I could have saved all. Burnet, my right arm, does not let me forget anything. A king would be happy to have 100,000 such subjects.

I have made Trent Major-Commandant of the militia, but as that does not agree with my fancy, I have incorporated the militia in our companies, having given the best to the grenadiers. Being mixed with our men we can draw from the better parties. Three companies serve twenty-four hours. At two hours after midnight all the garrison is at its post, or place of alarm, so that I believe that we are guarded from all surprises. I have been obliged to make some outlay, but I hope his excellency will find them just, reasonable and necessary. My pocket is empty, nothing remains there but ten shillings. I would like very much to have a little more rum to give from time to time a drop to my brave men, they know my will and say nothing. I will be well recompensed if you approve of the measures I have taken. I have done all for the best. If I have erred it is from ignorance. I would wish to be a good engineer to be able to do better, in short I have neglected no care, no trouble, be persuaded of that.

On the 16th, he wrote Bouquet a long letter, reciting all the events at Venango, Presqu'isle and Detroit.

My fort is formidable at present, 16 pieces mounted on good platforms. I have a sufficiently good retrenchment joined to a fraise which is not set over all, so it is not altogether as regular as it should be. But without engineers and being much hurried this should pass, and I think is good enough against this rabble, so that I begin to breathe. We have worked eleven days in an incredible manner, our men are much fatigued, but I do not complain. In the future they will have rest. I have divided my little garrison into two divisions, each with three officers, five sergeants, one drum, and from 68 to 70 men. We are all doubly armed, so that I have 500 shots to give them as they are in the moat. These are the measures which I have taken, during our work. I had 100 men on the rampart all night, and at 2 o'clock in the morning the rest of the garrison were under arms until 5 o'clock, when they went to work. I have collected all the beaver traps which could be found with our merchants and they were placed in the evening outside of the palisades. I would be pleased to send you one with the leg of

a savage, but they have not given me this satisfaction. I have made a quantity of crow-foot traps for the fosse, they are pointed enough for their moccasins.

No one has offered to help me but Mr. Trent, to whom I am much obliged as well as Mr. Hutchins, who has taken no rest. He oversaw the works and did his duty, at the same time, that is praiseworthy and he merits recompense.

June 26th, in his letter to Bouquet which was received at Carlisle on July 3, Ecuyer made his return for the month. He said: "Three deaths, are three of my men killed. I have besides that a regular wounded, two militia killed and two wounded. The garrison consists of 330 men, 104 women, 106 children. Total, 540 mouths of which nearly 420 receive food from the king." The presumption here is that over 100 people were self-sustaining.

The siege of Fort Pitt was much like that of Detroit. While the investment of Pitt was not so tragic in loss of life, it will be seen that Bouquet, in relieving the fort, did not suffer lightly in his famous battle.

Ecuyer had trouble with his subordinates also, for he had to confine two lieutenants "for faults and other crimes for which in all other services the one of them would have had his head broken. I am not surprised if the soldiers mutiny when the officers conduct themselves in that way. One of these men named Guy left his guard the day of the mutiny, took lodgings in town, without permission, while, I though sick, camped with the soldiers." Ecuyer reasoned with this man to no avail. He describes the erring lieutenant as an idiot who lets himself be led, and who follows a bad guide.

In great distinction he said a good word for Thomas Hutchins: "I must not neglect to recommend to you Mr. Hutchins as a worthy officer. He has given himself all imaginable trouble and has been of great use to Captain Stewart and the detachment. His diligence and good will merit more than I can tell you."

A long letter written from Fort Pitt from Bouquet to Major Gladwyn at Detroit is also among the Bouquet Papers. In this letter Bouquet details the events of his march and the happenings at the several forts. It is a stirring story of faithful soldiers with great fatigues, of long marches and of being always under arms, which occasioned much sickness, which, with the loss in the action in Bushy Run, put it out of his power to send to Gladwyn the remains of a chief.

Among other Bouquet Papers are those that Ecuyer wrote between August and November, 1763, in which he gives the history of events during the remainder of the year. From this letter it appears that he was in Bedford, November 8th, and wrote Bouquet at Fort Pitt, which letter was received on the 13th. Ecuyer on his way east was greatly troubled with deserters. He had eight in custody at one time, whom he described as rascals and mutineers of the first order. These deserters left him on November 8th. He said: "The soldiers at Bedford and Ligonier complained that they were not well provided for and not well paid. We prepare for snow, snow and cold, without counting fatigue, before we have the pleasure of seeing you." He said further, "I am distressed to be obliged to remain here, my health does not permit me to undertake

the journey to Fort Pitt. Doctor Boyd will tell you the same that I am not capable of bearing the fatigue. I have a great cold in my head and fever every night, sick stomach and headache, accompanied by an abscess in the place where I was wounded at Quebec which causes me inexpressible suffering? However, I hope this complication of ills will have no evil result and as you cannot give me a furlough, I will join the battalion as soon as possible; in the meanwhile I will remain here ready to receive your orders of the two regiments ordered to join Gladwyn at Presqu'isle."

The orderly book kept at Fort Pitt from the 28th of May to the 17th of October has been inserted by Mrs. Darlington in her book, "Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier." It gives to those familiar with military service large insight into the character of the service of Ecuyer's little army while besieged. The heavy details for the guard are especially interesting; for instance, on the night of June 20th, a captain-lieutenant, three lieutenants, five sergeants, one drummer and sixty-nine privates, completed the detail, nearly one-fourth of the entire garrison. There was an additional detail on picket duty after the fort was relieved. When the siege was at its height towards the end of July, as many as 120 men were on the guard detail.

The more one reads of Ecuyer and the siege of Fort Pitt the more admiration grows for Captain Ecuyer. He was a soldier that any army should be proud to have.

The detailed story of Bouquet's march and battle, and a sketch of his life follow. He, too, was an excellent correspondent.



CHAPTER XXIV.

Henry Bouquet, Soldier of Fortune.

It was a miserable war that Pontiac's hordes had thrown upon the British commander. The armies that had conquered Canada had been disbanded or sent home and nothing remained but a few fragments and skeletons of regiments lately arrived from the West Indies, enfeebled by disease and hard service. Amherst had reason to congratulate himself on the character of the officers who commanded in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, however.

General Sir Jeffrey Amherst was the British commander-in-chief in North America. He was another Braddock, except that he played safe. His chief vengeance against the crafty enemy was to inoculate them with smallpox by means of infected blankets. He urged Bouquet to this method and it will have been noted that Ecuyer experimented in a manner with infected blankets.

He thought the Indian uprising was but temporary. He was soon disabused of the idea. Ecuyer's letters from Fort Pitt opened the commander's eyes.

Amherst assigned to Bouquet what was serviceable of the Forty-second and the Seventy-seventh Highlanders, or "Black Watch" regiment, both having just returned to Staten Island, New York, from the siege of Havana, Cuba. Bouquet had to be content with these ill-conditioned troops for arduous service that required men of vigor—men of iron. Provisions were to be met by Bouquet for his army in Carlisle, but so great was the alarm that nothing had been done. Cabins had been burned, mills likewise, crops in the field stood dead ripe waiting for harvesters who had been slain or who had fled to the towns, especially Carlisle, where all soon were threatened with famine. There were few supplies for the refugees and none for Bouquet's troops. Most of the settled part of the county of Cumberland, which then comprised most of Western Pennsylvania, had been deserted. The roads were covered with distressed families, fleeing and destitute of all the necessities of life. Meanwhile Captain Ourry, who commanded at Bedford; Lieutenant Blaine, at Ligonier, and Captain Ecuyer, at Fort Pitt, continued to hold out.

Bouquet lay encamped at Carlisle, beset by obstacles of all kinds. Neither wagons, horses nor provisions were forthcoming. The commonwealth authorities did nothing; the frontier people were apathetic, confused, helpless. There was an antipathy to British regulars from the days of Braddock, eight years previously. July 3 came and a rider got in with news of the disaster at Presque Isle and added "the Indians will be here soon." They were. By July 13th nineteen people had been killed in the vicinity of Carlisle. There was then an awakening and consternation. Investigation found the country widely ravaged, slaughter and destruction on all sides. Refugees flocked to Lancaster and even to Philadelphia. Everything depended on Bouquet. He had about 500 men. He had

wasted eighteen days during which time little by little there had been collected his necessary equipment and stores, but the delay had enabled the feeble Highlanders to regain strength. Well might the curious throngs in the towns gaze upon the bare-legged soldiery in their kilts and plaids guarding the lumbering wagons of the convoy that dragged slowly to the West. It was a desperate expedition.

July 25 found Bouquet at Bedford. Nothing had been heard from Fort Pitt for weeks. Bouquet engaged thirty backwoodsmen and hastened on, following the road made by General Forbes in 1758. The frontiersmen scouted and protected the flanks. The weather was hot, the beasts of burden mainly oxen. Slight wonder the progress was slow.

The Highlanders saw only a boundless panorama of forest covered mountains, far wilder than their native hills. They toiled on. August 2 they reached Fort Ligonier. They had marched 150 miles from Carlisle.

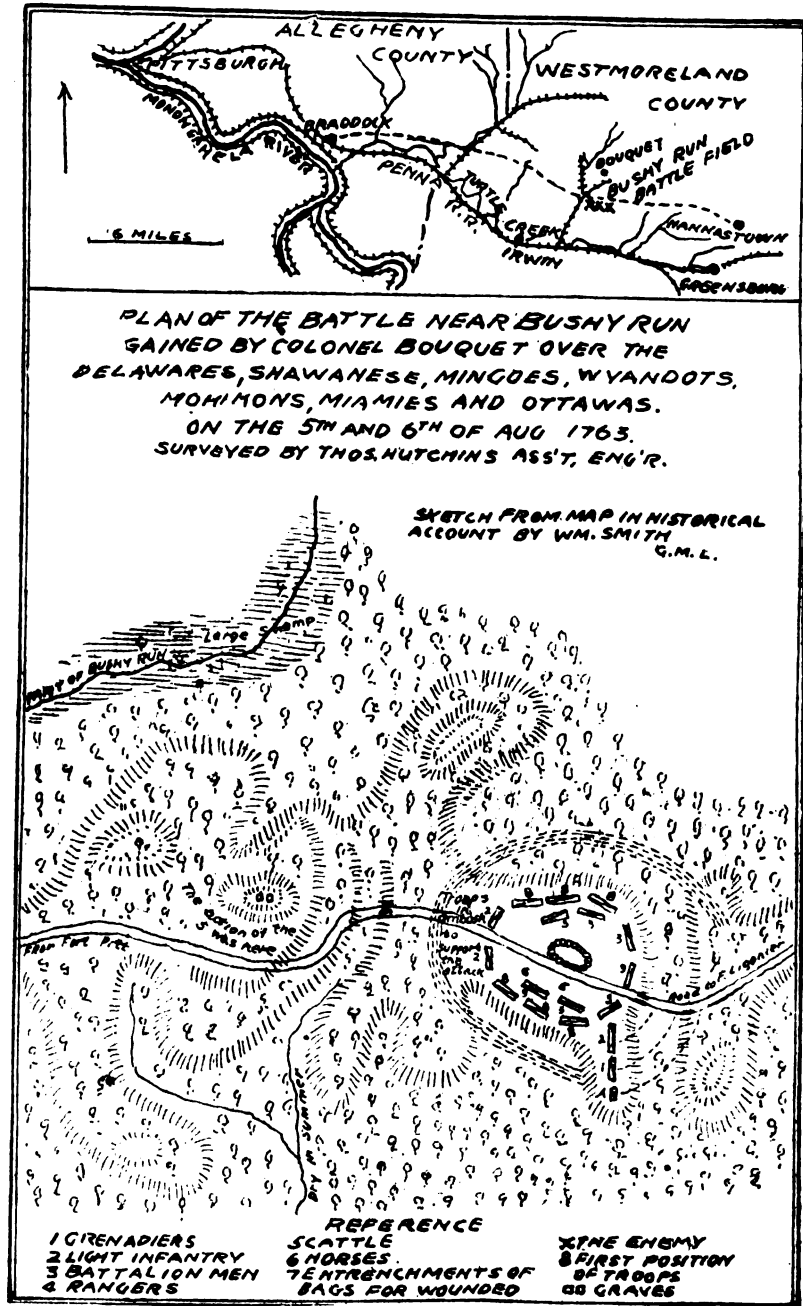
At Ligonier, fifty miles from Bedford, Bouquet left his draught oxen and wagons and hastened on with 150 pack horses, highly necessary but clumsy *impedimenta*. He was following the Forbes Road that he had helped to make five years previously. He knew the way; he never hesitated; he was everywhere and everything; he knew the success of the expedition depended on him; he was the proverbial host in himself, cool, alert, resolute, sanguine; he knew the enemy, their tactics; he knew they were watching him, falling back before him; he knew they were aware of his weakness, his lack of provisions, his fewness of scouts.

The silent, subtle foes that spied upon him knew that Braddock's slain in the forest a few miles to the West outnumbered Bouquet's whole force, and the Indians exulted that they had slain these men of England and they would slay again and in the same way. The blow would come soon and swiftly. Bouquet knew it, too. But there was to be no Braddock affair, no folly as on Grant's Hill in Pittsburgh, September 14, 1758. On marched the toiling column. The inevitable battle-ground came hourly nearer. Behind them lay the Alleghenies; before them the fort beleagured by a foe who knew and gave no quarter. It was fight—victory or death for all, some death with victory—annihilation without. Around the battalion the dense forest hid the ambushed foe. Solitude was on all sides.

Bouquet expected that a day's march from Ligonier, amid the defiles of the tributaries of Turtle creek, or at the creek, the cunning warriors, following their usual custom, would attack from ambush. He decided therefore to bivouac when he reached Bushy Run, rest until night and then resume the march and pass the dangerous ground under cover of darkness.

August 5 seventeen miles had been made. It was 1 o'clock and the advance was halted a mile from Bushy Run, where the camp was to be pitched. Suddenly a rifle shot rang out in front; in a moment a rattling volley that told unmistakably that the advance was engaged. The decisive battle was on. The fate of Fort Pitt and Pittsburgh was at stake. Never moments of graver peril.

MAP OF BUSHY RUN BATTLE IN 1763



Two companies were rushed forward in support. The woods were quickly cleared by a charge, but driven from one position the Indians appeared in another, until it became apparent from the firing on both flanks and in the rear that the little command was surrounded. It was necessary for the front to march rapidly to the rear and form a new front to protect the convoy. The horses had been laden principally with flour in sacks which were unloaded to form an effective breastwork. The Indians made quick work of the animals.

Bouquet's inspired men fought with desperation; the combatants were about even in numbers, but they were ill-matched by a cunning foe, a reckless, vaunting foe. Night came and with it terror; the command was entirely surrounded; cries of the wounded rent the air, answered by the yells and war whoops of the savages. Not a drop of water in sight—so the wounded suffered and died, and day came and with it a deadly fire. If ever a commander was to win with odds against him this was the occasion. It was plain it must be a decisive and bold stroke that would give victory.

It is an old story how Bouquet won; how he feigned retreat in part and lured the foe from their coverts into the open; how he charged with the bayonet; how the retreating Indians were caught in the rear; how they fled, leaving the field covered with dead braves. One captive was taken—only to be riddled with English bullets. Revenge came, but with the loss of fifty killed and sixty-five wounded, but Pitt was saved. Bouquet is the best historian of his battle. He was a ready and succinct writer. His letters to Amherst are really his official report of the battle. His technical account of the action is a thrilling story. The battle is acknowledged to have been one of the best contested actions ever fought between Indians and white men. If there was any disparity of numbers the advantage was on the side of the troops. The Indians displayed a fierceness and intrepidity that was matched by the steady valor of Bouquet's men. The Indian tactics, so deadly to Braddock, utterly failed in the attack on Bouquet.

The dispatches that Bouquet sent Amherst are dated August 5 and 6, 1763. On both days his forces were in action. These dispatches contain a clear and complete account of the battle at Bushy Run. They are accepted as containing all the facts concerning the battle and are the data extended and embellished by all historians. Bouquet was aware of the suspense with which all classes awaited news from his army and was prompt to report. He wrote the first letter under the apprehension that he would not survive the renewed engagement on the morrow. Both letters were forwarded to the British commander-in-chief by the same express—within a few days after the victory. The originals are preserved in the British War Offices in London. Bouquet calls his first camp Edge Hill and located it twenty-six miles from Pittsburgh. It is about twenty-three.

Bouquet's first letter reads:

Sir—The Second Instant the Troops and Convoy Arrived at Ligonier, whence I could obtain no Intelligence of the Enemy. The Expresses sent since the beginning of

July, having been Either killed or Obligated to Return, all the Passes having been occupied by the Enemy. In this uncertainty I Determined to leave all the Waggons with the Powder, and a Quantity of Stores and Provisions, at Ligonier. And on the 4th proceeded with the Troops, and about 350 Horses Loaded with Flour.

I intended to have Halted today at Bushy Run (a mile beyond this Camp), and after having Refreshed the Men and Horses, to have Marched in the Night over Turtle Creek, a very Dangerous Defile of Several Miles, Commanded by High and Craggy Hills; But at one o'clock this Afternoon, after a march of 17 miles, the Savages suddenly Attacked our Advanced Guard, which was immediately Supported by the two Light Infantry Companys of the 42d Regiment, Who Drove the Enemy from their Ambuscade and pursued them a good Way. The Savages Returned to the Attack, and the Fire being Obstinate on Our Front, and Extending along our Flanks, We made a General Charge with the whole Line to Dislodge the Savages from the Heights, in which attempt We succeeded without Obtaining by it any Decisive advantage; for as soon as they were driven from One Post they Appeared on Another, 'till by Continual Reinforcement, they were at last able to Surround us, and attacked the Convoy left in our Rear. This Obligated us to March Back to protect it. The Action then became General, and though we were attacked on Every Side, and the Savages Exerted Themselves with Uncommon Resolution. They were constantly Repulsed with Loss—We Suffered Considerably: Capt. Lieut. Graham and Lieut. James McIntosh of the 42d are Killed and Capt. Graham Wounded.

In three brief paragraphs Bouquet mentioned several other casualties among the officers and states his loss for the day to have exceeded sixty men killed or wounded, including Rangers and drivers. His report continues:

The Action has lasted from One O'clock 'till Night, and We expect to Begin again at Day Break. Whatever Our Fate may be, I thought it necessary to Give Your Excellency this Early Information, that You may at all Events take such Measures as You will think proper with the Provinces for their own Safety and, the Effectual Relief of Fort Pitt, as in Case of Another Engagement. I Fear Insurmountable Difficulties in Transporting our Provisions, being already so much Weakened by the Losses of this Day in Men and Horses; Besides the Additional Necessity of Carrying the Wounded, whose Situation is truly Deplorable.

Bouquet in the final paragraph of this letter expresses his admiration for the cool and steady behavior of his troops and praises the conduct of the officers and especially the constant assistance of Major Campbell. Bouquet's second letter to Amherst is dated:

Camp at Bushy Run, 6th August, 1763.

Sir: I had the Honor to Inform Your Excellency in my letter of Yesterday of our first Engagement with the Savages.

We took Post last Night on the Hill where our Convoy Halted, when the Front was Attacked (a commodious piece of Ground and Just Spacious Enough for our Purpose.) There we encircled the Whole, and Covered our Wounded with the Flour Bags.

In the Morning the Savages Surrounded our Camp, at the Distance of about 500 yards, and by Shouting and Yelping, quite Round that Extensive Circumference, thought to have Terrified Us, with their Numbers. They Attacked Us Early and under Favour of an Incessant Fire made Several Bold Efforts to Penetrate our Camp; And tho' they Failed in the Attempt, our Situation was not the Less Perplexing, having Experienced that Brisk Attacks had Little Effect upon an Enemy, who always gave Way when Pressed and Appeared again Immediately: Our Troops were besides Extremely Fatigued with the Long March, and a long Action of the Preceding Day, and Distressed to the Last Degree by a Total Want of Water much more Intolerable than the Enemy's Fire.

Tied to our Convoy, we could not Lose Sight of it, without Exposing it, and our Wounded, to Fall a prey to the Savages, who pressed upon Us on Every Side; and

to move it was Impracticable, having lost many horses, and most of the Drivers, Stupified by Fear, hid themselves in the Bushes, or were Incapable of Hearing or Obeying Orders.

The Savages growing Every Moment more Audacious, it was thought proper still to increase their Confidence; by that means, if possible to entice them to Come Close upon Us, or to stand their Ground when Attacked. With this View two Companies of Light Infantry were Ordered within the Circle, and the Troops on their Right and Left opened their Files, and Filled up the Space that it might seem that they were intended to Cover the Retreat; The Third Light Infantry Company, and the Grenadiers of the 42d, were Ordered to Support the two First Companys. This Manoeuvr Succeeded to Our Wish, for the Few Troops who Took possession of the Ground lately Occupied by the two Light Infantry Companys being Brought in Nearer the Centre of the Circle, the Barbarians, mistaking these Motions for a Retreat, Hurried Headlong on, and Advancing upon us with the most Daring Intrepidity, Galled us Excessively with their Heavy Fire; But as the very Moment that, Certain of Success, they thought themselves masters of the Camp, Major Campbell, at the Head of the first two companys, Sallied out from a part of the Hill they Could not Observe, and Fell upon their Right Flank; They Resolutely Returned the Fire, but could not stand the Irresistible Shock of our men, who, Rushing among them, killed many of them and put the Rest of Them to Flight. The Orders sent to the other two Companys were Delivered so Timely by Captain Bassett, and Executed with such Celerity and Spirit, that the Routed Savages who happened to Run that Moment before Front received their Full Fire, when Uncovered by the Trees; The Four Companys Did not give them time to Load a Second time nor Even to look behind them, but pursued them 'till they were Totally Dispersed. The Left of the Savages which had not been attacked were kept in awe by the remains of Our Troops, posted on the Brow of the Hill, for that Purpose; Nor Durst they attempt to Support, Or Assist their Right, but being Witness to their Defeat, followed their Example and Fled. Our Brave Men Disdained so much as to touch the Dead Body of a Vanquished Enemy, that scarce a Scalp was taken, Except by the Rangers and Pack Horse Drivers.

The woods being now cleared and the pursuit over, the Four Companies took possession of a Hill in our Front, and as soon as Litters could be made for the Wounded, and the Flour and everything Destroyed which for Want of Horses Could not be Carried, We marched without Molestation to this Camp. After the Severe Correction We had given the Savages a few hours before it was Natural to Suppose We Should Enjoy Some Rest, but We had hardly fixed our Camp When they Fired upon Us again. This was very Provoking! However, the Light Infantry Dispersed Them before they Could receive Orders for that purpose—I hope we shall be no more Disturbed, for if We have another Action We shall hardly be able to Carry our Wounded.

Bouquet again, in conclusion, speaks of the behavior of the troops, and attempts no eulogium which would but detract from their merit, he said, and furnishes a list of his casualties.

The Indians left sixty dead on the field, some of them noted chieftains. Bouquet's men took but one prisoner whom they immediately shot. Numbers of wounded Indians fled as the bushes afterward showed blood-stained leaves. Bouquet's loss exceeded his savage enemy's—eight officers and 115 men. Although Bouquet does not definitely say so, the inference is plain that all or most of his pack animals were killed. It was the Indians' custom to kill them—thus crippling their enemy.

Bouquet was three days in reaching Fort Pitt, arriving here August 10. He was not attacked but annoyed by fire on his flanks while on the way. His arrival gave great joy to the members of the garrison who had been closely beleaguered from July 28 to August 1, when, hearing of Bouquet's advance, the besiegers drew off to attack him.

In letters from Fort Pitt it is mentioned that the garrison under Captain Ecuyer had resolved to defend the fort to a man if the troops under Bouquet had not arrived, and as long as any ammunition and provisions were left, and that then they would have fought their way through or died in the attempt rather than have been made prisoners and put to the torture, as would have been done had they surrendered.

When the besiegers left the fort and marched to attack Bouquet, August 1, the garrison saw nothing of them until August 10, when they passed the fort in a body, raising the scalp halloo and displaying their trophies.

A letter written from Fort Pitt August 12 states:

The sight of the troops was very agreeable to our poor garrison, being penned up in the fort from May 27 to the 9th instant and the barrack room crowded with men, women and children, tho' providentially no other disorder ensued than the smallpox. From June 16 to July 28 we were pestered with the enemy; sometimes with their flags demanding conferences, at other times threatening, then soothing and offering their cordial advice, for us to evacuate the place, for that they, the Delawares, tho' our dear friends and brothers, could no longer protect us from the fury of the legions of the other nations that were coming from the Lakes to destroy us. But finding that neither had any effect on us, they mustered their whole force, in number about 400, and began a most furious fire from all quarters on the fort which continued for four days and a great part of the nights, viz., from July 28 to the last. Our commander was wounded by an arrow in the leg, and no other person of any note hurt, though the balls were whistling very thick about our ears. Nine rank and file wounded, and one, Hulings, having his leg broke, was the whole of our loss during this hot firing, though we had reason to think we killed several of our loving brethren, notwithstanding their alertness in skulking behind the banks of the river, etc. These gentry, seeing they could not take the fort, sheered off, and we heard no more of them till the account of the above engagements came to hand, when we were convinced that our good brothers did us this second act of friendship. What they intend next God knows, but am afraid they will disperse in small parties among the inhabitants, if not well defended.¹

Fort Ligonier, standing alone also, and beyond the Alleghenies was, until Bouquet came, in the greatest danger of falling into the hands of the savages. The stockade was poorly constructed, the garrison weak; the Indians had attacked vigorously but by the bravery and good conduct of Lieutenant Blane and his garrison the fort was enabled to hold out. Some reinforcements had come from Bedford and all the settlers' families that the Indians had not slain or made prisoners, were huddled in the small fort at Ligonier.

It was of the utmost importance that the fort should be held not only on account of its situation, but on account of the military stores it contained. Had the enemy obtained possession of these they would have been enabled to keep up their attack upon Pitt, and they would have reduced Bouquet's succoring army to great straits. In fact succor would have been almost impossible. It was difficult enough as things turned out.

One of Bouquet's strategic movements was the sending in advance of his columns from Bedford a party of thirty men from that point who with

¹"Pontiac's Conspiracy," Parkman, Champlain Edn., Vol. II, p. 205; original in "Penna. Gazette," No. 1810.

proper guides succeeded by forced marches in their hazardous undertaking. The savages did not discover these reinforcements until Bouquet's men came in sight of the fort into which they rushed under a running fire.

Bouquet's relieving party was made up of regular soldiers. Previously Captain Wendel Ourry, commanding at Bedford, had sent twenty frontiersmen who had successfully gotten through the cordon of savage foes. Thus relieved, Ligonier was held until Bouquet came.

Andrew Byerly, who established his relay station for express riders at Bushy Run about 1760, was one of the heroes of the battle. This was in less than two years after the building of the first Fort Pitt immediately after the coming of Forbes and the retreat of the French. When the storm of Pontiac's war burst suddenly upon the settlements, Byerly was absent from his home, leaving his brave wife and four children, one of these a babe three days old. Warned by an Indian whom Byerly had befriended, Mrs. Byerly immediately took her children and, having the two boys walk, rode with her littlest ones on horseback. One boy was severely crippled with a stone bruise and could but limp. The elder boy, about twelve, made a great effort to save the cows, but the unruly beasts plunged into the thickets and were lost. This delay came near being fatal to the fugitives. However, they made Fort Ligonier just ahead of savage pursuers and, overjoyed, met the husband and father there. He had been absent helping bury some slain friends near Ligonier.

Byerly joined Bouquet's frontier scouts and was present in the battle at Bushy Run. He was with the advance guard of eighteen who received the first fire from the hidden foes. This was on what is now known as Gongaware's Hill. Twelve of the eighteen fell. Then two companies of Highlanders rushed to their rescue and the conflict thus begun raged as Bouquet described in his first letter.

Byerly was a host in himself. During the night he was active in succoring the wounded, making frequent trips to a little spring he knew and bringing water in his cap to the wounded, each trip at the peril of his life. He was a pioneer and a patriot, one of the best type of hardy frontiersmen who made the border habitable. His descendants are numerous; many yet in Westmoreland county who are prominent and influential in their several spheres of life.

Doubtless if any Pittsburgher, student or publicist were asked "when was Pittsburgh besieged?" he would likely reply, "never." He could justly answer from May 28 to August 1, 1763, relieved by Colonel Henry Bouquet and his little army.

Bushy run is a mere rivulet, a branch of Brush creek, the latter a branch of Turtle creek. Rupp, who wrote in 1846, says the battle ground is in Hempfield township, Westmoreland county, and twenty-one miles from Pittsburgh. The battle ground is close to the village of Harrison City. It is in Penn township, part of Hempfield having been cut off to form Penn. Harrison City, a hamlet, is on the Manor branch of the Pennsylvania railroad, about two miles north of Manor on the main line.

The battle of Bushy Run, both for its military conduct and its politi-

cal results, deserves a place among the memorable battles in America. It ranks well with Point Pleasant. The Indians fought with a courage and desperation rarely seen in Indian warfare, and the English troops with a steadiness and valor which was due to their training as regulars and the direction of their able commander. The tidings of this victory broke the spirit of the Indian conspiracy. Bushy Run alone entitles Bouquet to lasting fame. It was decisive and timely. Things had been going bad at Fort Pitt, and with defeat for Bouquet the horrors of Indian warfare, begun on the borders, would have extended to the Delaware. They were the aftermath of Braddock's defeat, the harvest thereof sufficient of evil and more than enough in loss of human life, omitting any mention of munitions of war and the necessary *impedimenta* of an army, the baggage, and their supplies, precious stores in a wilderness, and the artillery.

Yet Bouquet at Bushy Run had no easy victory. It was a victory that not only saved Fort Pitt and maintained Pittsburgh, but it humiliated and disheartened the red foemen so that in 1764 Bouquet brought them to his terms.

It was fortunate for the country that there was an officer stationed as near as Philadelphia who fully understood the meaning of the alarming reports which were coming in from the Western posts. Colonel Bouquet had been trained in war from his youth. His personal accomplishments gave an additional charm to his bravery and heroic energy. He had served seven years in fighting American Indians, and was equally cunning in the practice of their artifices. General Amherst was slow to appreciate the importance and extent of the Western conspiracy; yet he did good service in directing Bouquet to organize the expedition for the relief of Fort Pitt. The promptness and energy with which this duty was performed, under the most embarrassing conditions, make the expedition one of the most satisfactory episodes in American warfare.

All historians praise Bouquet and his methods. They recite that an attempt to relief Detroit similar to that of Fort Pitt had been made with greater means and fewer obstacles and the result had been a deplorable failure, but Bouquet, a man of science and a man of sense, proved himself in every way equal to the emergency. The Indians defeated at Bushy Run, and by Gladwyn before Detroit, lost heart and hope. It was clear it was time to strike. Therefore Bradstreet's and Bouquet's expeditions were ordered. Bouquet was to chastise the Delawares and other tribes, extort from them treaties of peace, and recover the English captives in their possession. On account of his losses of men, horses, and supplies at Bushy Run, he was unable to carry out this design until he was reinforced, and it was now too late in the season to expect that his wants could be supplied from the East. His Ohio expedition was therefore postponed until the next year. In the spring of 1764 scattered war parties of Indians were again ravaging the borders. Colonel Bouquet was recruiting in Pennsylvania, and preparing an outfit for his march into the valley of the Ohio.

Bouquet met with every obstacle in raising troops and collecting sup-

plies for his Ohio expedition, from the stubborn Quakers in the Assembly of Pennsylvania. It was not until September 17th that his convoy arrived at Fort Pitt. Early in October he marched with fifteen hundred men and a long train of pack horses into the valley of the Muskingum.

Howe, in his account of the several military expeditions into the Ohio region, states that the first in importance and in order of time was that made by Colonel Bouquet in October, 1764. Howe gives some extracts from a lecture by Colonel Charles Whittlesey, delivered in Cleveland in December, 1846, from which some excerpts are presented, in which Colonel Whittlesey reviews the Pontiac conspiracy and praises Bouquet, and of his march to and relief of Fort Pitt says:²

General Thomas Gage, who had in the meantime succeeded Amherst as commander-in-chief, organized a corps, and too entered the country of the Shawanese in Ohio at the same time that Bradstreet was engaged in chastising the Wyandots and Ottawas at Lake Erie, who were still investing Detroit. As a part of Colonel Bouquet's force was composed of militia from Pennsylvania and Virginia, it was slow to assemble. On the 5th of August the Pennsylvania quota rendezvoused at Carlisle, where 300 of them deserted. The Virginia troops arrived at Fort Pitt on the 17th of September, and uniting with the provincial militia, a part of the 42nd and 60th regiments, the army moved from Fort Pitt on the 3rd of October. General Bradstreet having dispersed the Indian forces besieging Detroit, passed into the Wyandot country by way of Sandusky. He ascended the bay and river, as far as it was navigable for boats, and there made a camp. A treaty of peace and friendship was signed by the chiefs and head men, who delivered but very few of their prisoners. Bradstreet's share of the combined expedition was ill-managed and but partially successful; yet, while failing to do his own part thoroughly, he took it upon himself to accomplish that assigned to his brother commander. Bouquet rejected his interference, disregarded the unauthorized treaties he had made, and pursued his march with results which the narrative itself will show.

Howe continues:

When Col. Bouquet was at Fort Loudon in Pennsylvania between Carlisle and Fort Pitt, urging forward the militia levies, he received a dispatch from Col. Bradstreet notifying him of the peace effected at Sandusky. But the Ohio Indians, particularly the Shawnees of the Scioto River and the Delawares of the Muskingum, still continued their robberies and murders along the frontier of Pennsylvania. Col. Bouquet determined to proceed with his division notwithstanding the peace of Bradstreet, which did not include the Shawnees and Delawares.

Col. Bouquet had shown himself to be a man of decision, courage and military genius. In the engagement at Bushy Run he displayed that caution in preparing for emergencies, that high personal influence over his troops and a facility in changing his plans as circumstances changed during the battle, which mark the good commander and the coolheaded officer.

He had been with Forbes and Washington when Fort Duquesne was taken from the French. The Indians who were assembled at Fort Pitt left the siege of that place and advanced to meet the force of Bouquet, intending to execute a surprise and destroy the whole command. These savages remembered how easily they had entrapped Gen. Braddock a few years before by the same movement and had no doubt of success against Bouquet. But he moved always in a hollow square with his provisions and cattle in the center, impressing his men with the idea that a fire might open upon them at any moment. When the important hour arrived, and they were saluted with the discharge of a thousand rifles accompanied by the terrific yells of so many savage warriors, arrayed in the livery of demons, the English and provincial troops behaved like veterans whom nothing could shake. They achieved a great victory and drove the allied Indian force beyond the Ohio.

²"Historical Collections of Ohio;" Henry Howe, Edition 1848, p. 112.

Advancing westward from Fort Pitt, crossing the Allegheny at the Point and following the north bank of the Ohio, Bouquet proceeded slowly and with great caution. The Indians were unable to draw him into an ambuscade. He crossed the Big Beaver river at its mouth by fording; October 6 reached the Little Beaver, passed its east branch, crossed the highlands of Yellow creek, marching through an open and bushy country. Reaching Sandy creek, the expedition followed its banks, crossing by fording, then reached a beautiful plain about where the town of Bolivar, Ohio, now stands, and here they encamped. October 16 Colonel Bouquet erected a stockade, about two miles below the ford at a ravine, and completed his arrangements against a surprise. The Indians, convinced that they could not succeed in any attempt against him, made a treaty of peace and engaged to restore all the prisoners taken from the whites. Bouquet broke camp on October 22 and marched down the west bank of the Muskingum towards the Indian town, Wakatomika, a deputation of Indians accompanying as guides. Their next camp was one mile from the mouth of the Walhonding river, or White Woman's creek, distant from the Big Beaver by the route Bouquet took about 102 miles. A stockade with four redoubts was built at this camp, with some cabins and storehouses, and here Bouquet awaited the arrival of the prisoners. By November 9 two hundred and six prisoners, including women and children, had been delivered, of whom thirty-two men and fifty-eight women and children were from Virginia and forty-nine males and sixty-seven females from Pennsylvania.

Bouquet was firm with the Indians. He insisted on them bringing in all the captives and spoke plainly to them; would not allow them to palliate their guilt by throwing the blame on the Western tribes; backed by his army he would remain until he got the captives or had punished the Indians for their perfidy and outrages.

The French, in America, he told them, were now subjects of the King of Great Britain and the Indians could no longer form offensive alliances with the French against the English colonies.

Bouquet, though stern, was magnanimous and tactful. The recovery of these captives was a notable performance. At the first conference the Delawares were represented by Custaloga and The Beaver; the Shawanese, by Kissinachta and six warriors; the Senecas, by Guyasutha and fifteen warriors. All these were noted chiefs—all fierce warriors and all well known at Fort Pitt, where they had taken part in various conferences. Bouquet would not shake hands with the chiefs at the first meeting. They were much dissatisfied at this, but he told them the English never shook their enemies by the hand until peace was finally concluded. At the final conferences, beginning November 9, Guyasutha, Custaloga, The Beaver and Red Hawk were the principal speakers, the latter for the Shawnees. Bouquet got all his demands, even to hostages given for the remaining prisoners, to be brought in by the Shawanese in the spring.

The Shawanese kept their pledges and brought in one hundred more at that time. Bouquet broke camp again on November 18 and marched

back to Fort Pitt, which he reached November 28. This expedition was conducted with so much skill and prudence that none of those frightful disasters that often result from Indian wars occurred. The savages, although in great strength, found no opportunity to make an attack. No prisoners were taken, none died of sickness and every man of the 1,500 Bouquet had in the expedition returned, except one, who was killed and scalped by an Indian, and who had straggled from camp. The Pennsylvania troops were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Francis and Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton. Colonel Reid was next in command to Colonel Bouquet. The provincial troops were discharged and the regulars sent to garrisons at Fort Bedford, Fort Loudon and Carlisle. Colonel Bouquet arrived in Philadelphia in January, 1765, and received a complimentary address from the Legislature of Pennsylvania and also one from the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Before these resolutions reached England the King promoted Bouquet to be a brigadier general and he was sent South, as commander of all the troops in the Southern colonies.

The Shawanese prisoners that were brought to Fort Pitt in March, 1765, were delivered to Colonel Croghan, deputy agent of Indian affairs there. Some of those reclaimed remembered their names. Others had been given Indian names; some retained only a given name; a few were described. Thus we find in the list of those returned to Fort Pitt in November, 1764, such names as Soremouth, Crooked Legs, Clen, David Bighead, Ebenezer, Betty (black eyes or hair), Sour Plums, Magdalen, or Pagathou, Molly Wetch, Whitehead and "Girl With a Sore Knee."

Another list in the Bouquet papers is of eighty-two prisoners from the lower Shawanese towns, or those on the Scioto river. This is a list of adults; a man's name is given followed by the statement, "wife and three children," etc. One is nameless—the record simply "A Dutch girl."³

Language indeed can but weakly describe the scene, one to which the poet or painter might have repaired to enrich the highest coloring of the variety of the human passion; the philosopher to find ample subject for serious reflection and the man to exercise all the tender and sympathetic feelings of the soul. There were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once lost babes; husbands hanging around the necks of their newly-recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after a long separation, scarcely able to speak the same language or for some time to be sure that they were the children of the same parents. In all these interviews joy and rapture inexpressible were seen, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others flying from place to place in eager inquiries after relatives not found; trembling to receive an answer to questions; distracted with doubts, hopes and fears on attaining no account of those they sought, or stiffened into living monuments of horror and woe on learning their unhappy fate.

³A complete list of these prisoners seems not to have been kept. C. A. Hanna found several incomplete lists in the "Bouquet Papers," containing 142 names, which he has inserted in his work, "The Wilderness Trail;" Vol. II, pp. 387-388. See "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 250, where the total is given 206.

The Indians, too, as if wholly forgetting their unusual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most effective scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance, shed torrents of tears over them—recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard for them continued all the while they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day, brought them corn, skins, horses and other matter that had been bestowed upon them while in their families, accompanied with other presents and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here, but when the army marched some of the Indians solicited and obtained permission to accompany their former captives to Fort Pitt and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the way.

A young Mingo carried this still farther, and gave an instance of love which would make a figure even in romance. A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed so strong an attachment as to call her his wife. Against all the remonstrances of the eminent danger to which he exposed himself by approaching the frontier, he persisted in following her, at the risk of being killed by surviving relatives of many unfortunate persons, who had been taken captive or scalped by those of his nation.

Among the captives, a woman was brought into camp with a babe about three months old at the breast. One of the Virginia volunteers soon knew her to be his wife. She had been taken by the Indians about six months before. He flew with her to his tent and clothed her and his child with proper apparel. But their joy after their first transports was soon dampened by the reflection that another dear child, about two years old, taken with the mother, had been separated from her and was still missing, although many children had been brought in.

But it must not be deemed there were not some, even grown persons, who showed an unwillingness to return. The Shawanese were obliged to bind some of their prisoners and force them along to the camp and some women who had been delivered up, afterwards found means of escape and went back to the Indians. Some who could not make their escape clung to their savage acquaintances at parting and continued many days in bitter lamentations—even refusing sustenance.

[The matter in the five paragraphs immediately above is largely adapted from the work, "An Historical Account of an Expedition Against the Ohio Indians."]

A number of these restored prisoners were brought to Carlisle, and Colonel Bouquet advertised for those who had lost children to come there and look for them. Among those that came was a German woman named Hartman, a native of Rentlingen, in Wuertemberg, Germany, who with her husband had emigrated to America prior to the French war and settled in Lancaster county at Tulpehocken, since in Berks county, where two of her daughters, Barbara and Regina, were abducted by the Indians. The mother was now unable to designate her children if they should be among the number of the recaptured. With her brother, the distressed,

aged woman lamented to Colonel Bouquet her hopeless case, telling him how she used to, years ago, sing to her little daughters hymns of which they were fond. The colonel requested her to sing one of these hymns, which she did in German, beginning:

Allein und doch nicht ganz allein,
Bin Ich in meiner einsamkeit.

In English:

Alone, yet not alone am I,
Though in this solitude so drear,
I feel my Savior always nigh.

Regina, the only daughter present, rushed into the arms of the mother. Barbara was never restored.

This affecting incident has been widely published in Pennsylvania history and variously told. Some versions state that Colonel Bouquet, deeply affected with the mother's tears and her despair, observing her walking from one captive to another, suggested that she sing the songs of childhood, as they made always a deep impression on tender minds. Whereupon the mother sang the old hymn of the Reformed Church, of which Bouquet himself was a communicant, for there is evidence of his baptism in the records of the church at Rolle, Switzerland, his native place. At the first words of the old hymn one of the young maidens brightened, listened intently and before the verse was concluded sprang into her mother's arms.⁴

General Bouquet left for his command in the South in the summer of 1765. Reaching Pensacola, Florida, August 28th, he died there of yellow fever nine days afterward. Gallant, sturdy Bouquet! It is disheartening to learn that after his victory at Bushy Run he died so soon, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

Among the Bouquet-Haldiman papers in the Library of the British Museum there is an inventory of the personal effects of the deceased general, by his former secretary and administrator, Francis Hutchinson. Among the items was this curious one: "Paid six soldiers for carrying corpse to the grave. For furnishing railing around the grave, £41 5 shillings." There is nothing to indicate the burial place, but in an outline or ground plan of the fort, Bouquet's monument is marked in the center of a space between two ranges of soldiers' barracks. This monument, from the scale of the map, stood near the margin of the bay. This fort, named George, was captured by the Spaniards, May 8, 1781, after a long siege. Much of it was destroyed. The Spanish retained Florida until ceded to the United States in 1821. Bouquet, a Protestant, could not be buried in the Catholic cemetery, hence it is not strange that his lone grave was soon lost.⁵

⁴See "Pennsylvania, the Keystone State," S. W. Pennypacker, p. 74; "Henry Bouquet, His Indian Campaigns," J. C. Reeve, M. D., LL. D., in "Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly," Oct., 1917, pp. 503, 504; "Bouquet and His Campaigns," Cyrus Cort, p. 72, quoting the Rev. Reuben Weiser; "History of Western Pennsylvania, etc.," p. 174; Parkman, and Cyrus Townsend Brady, in his "Indian Fights and Fighters," tell of Regina Hartman.

⁵"History of Colonel Henry Bouquet and the Western Frontiers of Pennsylvania, 1747-1764," collected and edited by Mary Carson Darlington. Privately printed, Pittsburgh, 1920, by Mary O'Hara Darlington, pp. 111-112.

The Rev. Dr. Cyrus Cort, long an eminent divine in the German Reformed Church, recently deceased at an advanced age, is acknowledged to have been one of the best historians of Bouquet. Born near Bushy Run, a lineal descendant of Andrew Byerly, he dedicated his book, "Bouquet and His Campaigns," to Beatrice Byerly, the heroic wife of Andrew, whose timely escape has had mention in this chapter. In 1883 he was mainly instrumental in bringing about the great celebration on Bushy Run battle ground on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of the conflict. This was an historical event of more than extraordinary interest, of which Dr. Cort has handed down a concise account in his books.⁶ At least ten thousand people attended these ceremonies.

The sesqui-centennial of the battle was celebrated August 5 and 6, 1913, when the principal speakers were the Rev. Dr. Samuel Black McCormick, then chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh; the Rev. Dr. Henry W. Temple, Professor John Kennedy Lacock, and Colonel John S. Mallory, U. S. A. These addresses, with an historical account of the battle and a brief biography of Bouquet, were published by the Westmoreland Historical Society the same year. The celebration was held on Gongaware's Hill, on the same ground as that of 1883. Craig records that he and his friends frequently visited the battle ground; also a request to publish in the August number of the "Olden Time" notice of a militia encampment there September 9, 10, and 11, 1846, in commemoration of the battle⁷

In the book by the Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the University of Philadelphia, long since the University of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., Colonel of Infantry, now Brigadier General in America, etc.," printed in 1769, there is to be found some personal description of Bouquet, the principal character of the work. Dr. Smith says:

I intended to write his life, and to do so with success, I relied upon the aid of the letters written by Col. Bouquet himself, to his parents and various friends. He managed the pen as well as the sword, and that is saying much; so that I did not despair, in availing myself of his own colors, of painting him in a manner worthy of him. But that which has preserved to posterity the papers of so many other great men, their intrinsic value, has brought disaster to those of Colonel Bouquet. Everybody wished to read his letters; so that as they arrived they were seized; they passed into various hands, those to whom they were addressed, have not been able to recover them, finally they disappeared, and although I have used much exertion, I have not recovered a single one. All I have succeeded in getting, are the dates of some of the principal events of his life, which I here introduce, with the little that I recollect to have heard related in company by some of his friends.

Henry Bouquet was of a majestic stature, of great genius, and under a cold and imposing appearance, possessed a sensitive heart. He sought not the good opinions of others, much less did he solicit it. They were forced to esteem him, and on that account many tradespeople greatly relied upon his integrity and fidelity to his engagements.

⁶"The Bouquet Celebration on Bushy Run Battlefield in Westmoreland County, Pa., August 6, 1883; Speeches, Poem, etc.," by Rev. Cyrus Cort, of Greencastle, Pa., in behalf of the Bouquet Memorial Committee, Lancaster, Pa., 1886. "Col. Henry Bouquet and His Campaigns, 1763-1764," Cyrus Cort.

⁷"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 384.

Firmness, intrepidity, calmness, presence of mind in the greatest dangers, virtues so essential to a commander, were natural to him. His presence inspired confidence, and commanded respect, it encouraged his soldiers, it confounded his enemies.⁸

The brief biography that follows here has been extracted from Dr. Smith's introduction:

Henry Bouquet was born at Rolle, a small town in the canton of Vaud in Switzerland. Together with the greater part of the Vaudois territory, it was formerly under the government of Berne, and regarded as a part of that canton. It is on the northern border of the Lake Geneva. In 1736, being then seventeen years old, he was received as a cadet in the regiment of Constant, in the service of Leurs Hautes Puissances, the States General of Holland. In 1738 he obtained the commission of ensign in the same regiment. Thence he passed into the Roquin, in the service of the King of Sardinia, and distinguished himself, first as first lieutenant, and afterward as an adjutant, in the memorable and ably-conducted campaigns of the wars which that great prince sustained against the combined forces of France and Spain. At the battle of Coni, being ordered to occupy a piece of ground at the brink of a precipice, he led his men thither in such a way that not one of them saw that they were within two steps of destruction should the enemy force the position. Meanwhile, calmly watching the movement of both armies, he made his soldiers observe, in order to distract their attention, that these movements could be seen much better by the light of the moon than in broad daylight.

Accounts, no less exact than interesting, which he sent to Holland of the operations of these campaigns, came to the knowledge of his Serene Highness the late Prince of Orange, and induced him to engage this officer in the service of the Republic. In consequence, Mr. Bouquet entered as captain commandant with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in the regiment of Swiss Guards, newly formed at the Hague, in 1748, and was immediately chosen to go, jointly with Generals Burmannia and Cornabe, to receive from the French the places in the Low Countries which they were about to evacuate, and to arrange the return of the prisoners of war which France gave up to the Republic in conformity with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. A few months later, Lord Middleton invited him to accompany him in his travels in France and Italy.

On his return to the Hague, he devoted every moment which his regimental duties allowed, to the careful study of the military art, and above all of mathematics, which are the foundation of it. The intimate relations which he formed with Professors Hemsterhuis, Koenig, and Allamand, and with several other learned men in every branch of science, greatly facilitated acquisition of the thorough knowledge which afterward gave him a yet higher distinction, and caused him to appear with such advantage in the vast theater of the war kindled between France and England in 1754.⁹

As this war obliged England to send troops to America, it was proposed to raise a corps under the name of the Royal Americans, formed of three battalions under one commander, the officers of which were to be indifferently either Americans or foreigners, but in all cases men of capacity and experience.¹⁰ This plan, favored by Duke of Cumberland, was carried into execution, though altered and mutilated by an opposing faction. Mr. Bouquet and his intimate friend, Mr. Haldiman, were the first to whom those charged with it, turned their eyes, and they were urged to serve in this brigade as lieutenant colonels.

⁸See also "The Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 205-207.

⁹Bouquet always retained his fondness for the society of men of science. When in command at Philadelphia, he formed an intimacy with the botanist, Bertram. [Dr. Smith's footnote].

¹⁰"The Royal American Regiment" was to consist of four battalions of one thousand men each, the ranks to be filled in great measure from the German and other continental settlers of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Fifty of the officers might be foreign Protestants, but the colonel must be a natural-born subject. See "Act to enable His Majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of Foreign Protestants," 29 George II, c. v. The first colonel was John, Earl of Loudoun, but Colonels John Stanwix, Joseph Dussaux, C. Jeffreys, and James Provost, commanded the four battalions respectively. The Royal American Regiment is now the Sixtieth Rifles. [Dr. Smith's footnote].

Both had already reached that ranked at the Hague, and by a singular freak of fortune the officer who was to command them in America was their inferior in Europe. This made them hesitate for some time. Nevertheless, at the urgent persuasion of Sir Joseph Yorke, and upon a promise being made them that they should be placed immediately, as colonels commandant on a footing of equality with the colonel-in-chief of the brigade, they were induced to accept the commission offered them. As soon as their resolution was taken, they were charged to attract into the corps a sufficient number of good officers, both for the engineer and the artillery service.

To return to Mr. Bouquet: On his arrival in America, his integrity, as well as his great capacity, soon acquired for him a great credit in the Colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Respected by the soldiers in credit with all who had a share in the internal government of these provinces, universally esteemed and loved, he had but to ask, and he obtained all that was possible to grant, because it was believed that he asked nothing but what was necessary and proper, and that all would be faithfully employed for the services of the King and the provinces. This good understanding between the civil and military authorities contributed to his success quite as much as his ability.¹¹

Bouquet's fame is altogether that of a heroic soldier and is a fame resonant of victory. In Pittsburgh he has no fame as a discarded lover who could not justify his sense of duty by quitting the profession of arms in the exigencies of those exciting years, even to win the fair Anne Willing, who returned his affection—and so they parted. The records of the British army show that Bouquet entered that army as lieutenant-colonel in the 62d Regiment (later numbered the 60th), January 3, 1756, and was promoted to colonel of the same regiment, February 19, 1762. He was essentially a soldier of fortune. When his love affair began he was thirty-nine years old. That he was a fervid lover appears from his letters. They are sensible throughout and could have been read before any jury without causing their writer to hold his face in his handkerchief.

A magazine article by George Harrison Fisher tells of the fair Anne, whom Bouquet calls Nancy, these names interchangeable in those years. The Willing, Shippen and Francis families were prominent in Pennsylvania for many years. Fisher says:

Anne Willing was the daughter of Charles Willing, a well-known merchant of Philadelphia, by his wife, Anne Shippen. She was 25 years old when the correspondence began, and her portrait represents a graceful, handsome and intelligent looking young woman. In the society in which she lived she was considered highly accomplished, and she had had the advantage of a visit to her father's relations in England. According to the tradition in her family, she was very much in love with Bouquet, was engaged to him, and would have married him had he been willing to leave the army, but she declined to follow the drum. Bouquet's letters are consistent with this hypothesis, but they do not exclude every other. It would appear that at least what is called an understanding existed between the parties to the correspondence. If they seriously thought of marriage, they were not so young and foolish as to be unable to consider all the circumstances which would or would not make their happiness probable, and they were not crushed by their ultimate determination. A year after Bouquet's last letter here printed, Miss Willing married Tench Francis, and made him an admirable and most loving wife.

¹¹"An Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in 1764;" reprinted and annotated in the "Olden Time," Vol. I, p. 203 *et seq.* *Ibid.*, Dumas' translation, Amsterdam Edition, 1769. The original edition was printed in London in 1766. An American reprint was published by Clarke, Cincinnati, 1868, from the introduction, to which extracts have been made above; pp. xviii-xxiii.

Bouquet remained in the army, where his greatest services to Pennsylvania were still to be performed. His friend seems to have continued to write to him, after her marriage. Her sister writes to her, "remember me to Bouquet when you next write; he is a good creature." Four years later Bouquet, by his will, left his farm in Huntingdon county, to which one of his letters alludes, to Thomas Willing, the brother of Anne, and thus showed that he had no ill feeling against the family.

The question arises, had Bouquet left the army, and married Anne Willing, who would have been the hero of Bushy Run and brought to terms the arrogant Delawares and Shawanese on the Muskingum and compelled them to deliver up the hundreds of white captives they had taken and adopted? It is not to be conceived that Pontiac would not have formed his union of tribes and struck the hated English everywhere west of the Allegheny mountains. The question above opens a wide field of conjecture. Pontiac would have struck without Bouquet to oppose him, and Fort Pitt would have been besieged, and to some other British officer would have come the fame of a deliverer. The first letter to Anne is dated at Fort Pitt, November 25, 1758, that is the natal date of Pittsburgh, for on that day the British flag was raised over the ruins of the abandoned French fort, by General John Forbes with Bouquet and his command present, Washington, Mercer, Armstrong, and other noted Americans, also.

Bouquet is devout. He is philosophical also and apparently happy. He is a good correspondent. It is to be remembered that these letters were sent by expresses, that is by special post riders, who took great chances on the way. It was the custom in sending military dispatches to send several expresses, to be sure that some one would get through in safety. What Bouquet says of the frontier inhabitants is not only harrowing but probably true of many of them.

Bouquet's references to "Dolly" were to Anne's sister, who had married and gone to England. It is to be noted also that Bouquet dates one letter at Pittsburgh and the next at Fort Pitt, however, the names were interchangeable in those days. The first letter reads:

Fort Duquesne, Nov. 25, 1758.

DEAR NANCY: I have the satisfaction to give you the agreeable news of the conquest of this terrible Fort. The French seized with a panic at our approach have destroyed themselves—the nest of Pirates which has so long harboured the murderers and destructors of our poor people.

They have burned and destroyed to the ground their fortifications, houses, and magazines, and left us no other cover than the heavens,—a very cold one for an army without Tents or Equipages. We bear all this hardship with alacrity by the consideration of the immense advantage of this important acquisition.

The glory of our success must after God be allowed to our General, who from the beginning took those wise measures which deprived the French of their chief strength, and by the treaty of Easton kept such a number of Indians idle during the whole campaign, and produced a peace with those inveterate enemies, more necessary and beneficial to the safety and welfare of the Provinces than the driving the French from the Ohio. His Prudence in all his measures, in the numberless difficulties he had to surmount deserves the highest praises. I hope that glorious advantage will be improved and this conquest properly supported by speedy and vigorous measures of the Provinces concerned. I wish sincerely that for their interest and happiness they may agree on that point, but I will not speak politics to a young lady.

I hope to have soon the pleasure to see you, and give you a more particular account of what may deserve your curiosity: chiefly about the beauty of this situation, which appears beyond my description.

Farewell, my deary Nancy. My compliments to the family, and believe me most sincerely,

Your most devoted h'b'le. ser't.,

H. BOUGUET.

The second reads:

Bedford, Sept. 17, 1759.

Our post has been so irregular that I received only a few days ago, your kind favor of the 24th August. I was in no hurry answering it, supposing that at this time you are at the Capes. I shall say nothing of the occasion of that journey. I know how sensible a sorrow your parting with so dear a sister must have been to you. Poor Dolly! she is gone—My most sincere wishes for her safety and happiness will constantly attend her. You made me very easy in obtaining the positive assurance that she should come back, for I confess that any separation in your family would be a flaw in my happiness.

You give a description of your retreat that awakes the strong inclination that I had for a country life. But few people are so well qualified as my dear Nancy to enjoy all the sweets of it; an easy and cheerful mind, open to the agreeable impressions of natural beauties, a lively and pliable imagination, which you can manage at pleasure, and a heart full of the most tender affection for your friends. No wonder that with so many amiable qualifications you can make a Paradise of a Solitude.

How different is my situation, continually among a crowd, but without a friend. I can say that I also live in a solitude, and of the worst kind. You are very right to hate the war—it is an odious thing, tho' if considered in a proper light we could discover many advantages arising from that very calamity. Is it not a fact that a long and interrupted peace corrupts the manners and breeds all sorts of vices? Like a stagnated air we require then the agitation of winds, and even storms to prevent a general infection, and to destroy a multitude of insects equally troublesome and dangerous to society. The necessity of action gives a new spring to our souls, real merits and virtues are no longer trampled upon by the arrogant pride of wealth and place. The prejudices in favour of Birth, Fortune, Rank, vanish. We cease to value people who have nothing more considerable than such frivolous and exterious advantages, we discover their emptiness and esteem them in proportion.

I would go further if I were not afraid to shock the tenderness of your concern for mankind in general. You would perhaps judge it cruel and inhuman to reckon among the advantages to be derived from war, the destruction of beings who, by their vices or circumstances, would be a nuisance to society. I suppose it was upon that principle that the most shocking sense of barbarity, including the scalping of your inhabitants, were not much lamented by some of your people who are charged to have said, that it was no great matter if a parcel of such wretches were swept away. It is true enough that numbers of the inhabitants of the frontiers are a worthless breed, and that the public did not suffer a great loss in getting rid of that vermin, which in time would have perverted the few good ones among them. To judge by what remains they were no better than the savages, and their children brought up in the Woods like Brutes, without any notion of Religion, Government, Justice, or Honesty would not have improved the Breed.

Forgive this nonsense occasioned by your pity for the poor inhabitants of Quebec. I would reconcile you a little to my profession which has really no more cruelty in it than what we see daily without concern in the World—Lawsuits, Quarrels, Contentions, etc., what are they but wars between individuals? It is true they don't kill one another for fear of being hanged, but they go as far as they can safely venture in hurting their enemies, to the utmost of their power in their Fortune and reputation.

Another love affair is lightly touched upon:

The adventure of poor Jack F. will hinder a war of that kind. I have heard something of it, and was glad to know some more particulars from you. Not that I have

any concern for either of the parties, I was only pleased to notice on that occasion your generous sentiments of humanity. I have felt too much the power of Love to be insensible to the Pains of a disappointed swain. I pity him, though I cannot help being surprised that having a whole year free and undisturbed access to the young thief, he could not make an agreeable impression upon her novice heart. Both sexes have an equal tendency to Love, and opportunity fixes that natural disposition to one object. A sincere passion supported by some little arts will always succeed when your pride is not in the way, and since he has miscarried with most of those advantages, it must certainly be his fault. What must he do now? Sure no girl will listen to him, and he must either shift his stage or hang himself, for there is no living in my opinion without Love and Love without return is all the miseries of life the most intolerable. Let him go then over the seas, I have done with him.

I am obliged by your offer of tea, etc., I shall make free to apply to you when I want anything. Our affairs here are at last in a tolerable way, and I expect to go to Pittsburgh at the end of this month. I recommend my little hut to your protection. It will be infinitely more agreeable to me if I know that you have been in it. There is no appearance that I shall enjoy the pleasure of your neighborhood this year.

Farewell, my dear Nancy. My respect to Mama and the family. We have no news, and shall have none on this side. Therefore, if you favor me so much as to continue this correspondence, it will be pure generosity without the least grain of curiosity.

The letters are infrequent, for the next is dated five months later:—

Lancaster, 28th Feb., 1760.

Your extremely kind favor without date came last night to my hands, I should say to my heart, for I assure you it gave me the greatest pleasure.

I had imagined that you had either forgotten me or that I had disoblged you, though I could not guess how that could be either in deeds or thoughts. That fancy made me uneasy until I was so agreeably deceived by your letter I have sincerely felt with you that natural joy of a well-meaning heart in the prosperity of our cause. But as to any private news of consequence to me only I had no reason to be pleased. It is now probable I shall quit the service as soon as I can decently. I will not trouble you with my reasons for it, tho' if you have any curiosity to know them you will be satisfied when we meet, as I have no secrets from you. But no more of this.

You have written to me with more openness than usual, and I thank you for that favor.

You found at last a certain way of pleasing me—in speaking of yourself, a subject of all the most interesting to me—but you wrong me in supposing that I only pay you a compliment when I say I do prefer your conversation to any other pleasure. That is literally true, and I beg you will for once believe me, and if that persuasion can make you scribble, pray do scribble away, sure to oblige me infinitely. It is very true that I told you that the letters you used to write to me were stiff and precise; it was so indeed. Now you have mended your style, and I indeed acknowledge it with gratitude. Should I grant indeed that you had no design in it, I must take it to be so still, which I am unwilling to allow, choosing rather to be agreeably deceived than to suppose that you do not intend to oblige me.

Poor Dolly. How kind it was to think of me in the hurry of her first letter. I can hardly believe it, and I must read again that paragraph to be persuaded. I hope she will find London as disagreeable as I do, for the same reason—parting us from our best friends—the news of her safe arrival was not the least agreeable this packet brought.

Why did you go to the Assembly? upon such a brilliant night? I am afraid you were not well, tell me I am mistaken. To see two such brides at once in Philadelphia, is a novelty worth looking for, and you say you did not envy them. Pray, is it their new state in general, or any particular circumstance you do not like? For my part I cannot help wishing to be as happy as people are generally in that station when matrimony, as in the present case is the effect of your choice, and attended with the Public's approbation.

Can you not imagine there is a real happiness, in being united for life, to the person we esteem and love best, and as a true, honest girl, answer fairly the other question? Don't you know any such thing in the world as the man who could make you think so? But this is diving too deeply into the recesses of your heart. Therefore I stop and beg you will only believe that nobody deserves more your confidence by his sentiments, than your most devoted and faithful friend.
H. B.

In July, 1760, Bouquet was in Pittsburgh, for on the 21st he ordered the first census of the town taken. He wrote Anne on the 4th as follows:

Pittsburgh, 4 July, 1760.

MY DEAREST NANCY:

I acknowledge with the greatest pleasure and truth that you are in every respect the honour of your sex, and tho' you tax me with having a cold heart, I can assure you it is full of gratitude and love for you. I deserve reproaches less gentler than yours, but hope you will forgive me, when I tell you reasons for not writing to you. I was vexed at several things that made me very cross and peevish that I found myself completely unqualified to address you in any shape. I have not the useful art to dissemble; I must appear what in reality I am, and in that disposition of mind I was certain my letters would only be disagreeable, or at best insipid to you. This is true, and I think you ought rather to thank me than to blame me. But if I did not write I am conscious not to have spent one day without thinking of you, and to those thoughts I owe the only happy moments I have enjoyed. If the tide of my affection is near spent, it must be the tide of my inconstancy, for I am entirely devoted to you.

As to the new farm, I think I owe the possession of it to the obliging care of your brother. I was fond of that acquaintance as long as I considered it in point of interest. But in reflecting that every day I might spend there would keep me absent from you, I felt my fancy much cooled.

It is mere wildness, capable indeed of improvement, and if a distance of 140 miles from Philadelphia were inconvenience to be removed I would be entirely satisfied with the place.

I am anxious to hear of Mrs. Sterling and beg to be remembered to her every time you write.

I was told that she was to come back with her husband. I wish it may be so, she will certainly be happier at home than in England.

Tho' I may receive news from Philadelphia, you know very well that from you they would be more interesting—but, provided you tell me what passes in your heart I acquit you of all the rest. In four days I am to march to Presqu'isle with some troops. You may safely write to me. Your letters shall be carefully forwarded; if I could not so regularly write to you, I hope you will not judge of my affection for you by the number of my letters, nor defer writing until you can do it in answer. I request this favor most earnestly.

Farewell, my dearest, I love you most sincerely. The same sentiments from you would secure my happiness.
H. B.

By the orders of General Monckton, Bouquet marched from Fort Pitt, July 7th, with four companies of the Royal Americans and a Virginia company.

Six months elapse before Bouquet writes again. Meanwhile he had heard from her. This letter reads:

Fort Pitt, 15 Jan'y, 1761.

DEAREST NANCY:

The judicious reflections contained on your letter of the 14th Dec'r. do an equal honor to your understanding and the goodness of your heart. You are of the opinion that (the first place excepted) there is nothing in our profession worth the thoughts of a man of sense. You may suppose that being so nearly concerned in that subject, I must often have weighed every argument Pro and Con. But yet I cannot determine which way the scale may turn at last. Born and educated in Europe, where I was used

to a variety of agreeable and improving conversations I must confess that I don't find it easy to satisfy my taste in that way. In this country, the Gentlemen are so much taken up with the narrow sphere of their Politicks, or their private affairs, that a Loiterer has no chance with them. The ladies who are settled in the world are commonly involved and buried in the details of their families, and when they have given you the anecdotes of their day's work, and the pretty sayings of their children, with a dish of tea, you may go about your business, unless you choose to have the tale over again. The young ones having little or nothing in their heads, have only their pretty faces to shew, and leave you to wish for the more agreeable endowments of a well-bred woman, who can charm your mind as well as your eyes, and soften by the irrepressible enchantment of her conversation the Toils and Anxieties attending our Stations in Life. This being the case in general (no matter whether real or imaginary) I say that if I should get rid of the continual occupation of military life, I should of course feel a weariness of which I see nothing that would relieve me. We must have some object in view—what could be mine? I have no turn or capacity for Agriculture, or any kind of business. How could I spend my time in a manner satisfactory to myself or useful to others? From being something I should fall to nothing, and become a sort of incumbrance in the Society.

How could I brook the supercilious look and the surly pride of the humble Quaker? or the insulting rudeness of an Assembly-man, who, picked up from the Dunghill, thinks himself raised to a Being of a Superior nature? How submit to the insolent Rusticity of the free Pennsylvania Boor, who knows no distinctions among mankind, and from a vile slavery in his native country takes his newly acquired Liberty for a right to run into all the Excesses of Licentiousness and Arrogance?

In civilized countries reciprocal regards are paid by one individual to another, which are the chief ingredients of happiness. They arise generally from Power, Richnesses, or personal Merit. Here the two first are only known and respected; the third despised as a thing of no use. Making the application to myself, who am far from being rich, if I resign the power I possess by virtue of my rank in the Army I must be alert to get out of anybody's way for fear of being trampled upon and crushed as a crawling insect. Now what do you think preferable, to be under the command of one or two gentlemen, or exposed to be insulted with impunity by the majority of a People of such a strange mixture?

I know this is exaggerated, and that plausible answers can be given to each Argument. It is the very thing I want. I would choose to be convinced that a full liberty with some inconveniences is preferable to an honored slavery attended with real advantages.

Now, my dear Nancy, try your persuasive eloquence. If I am to be persuaded it must be by you for whom I have that powerful prepossession which enforces the weight of reason, solves difficulties, and finds a ready access to the heart.

This is too long a dissertation, which must tire you, but am half joking, half in earnest, and I really do not know what will be the best for me to do, to quit the service or continue in it.

I expect in a few days some of the Royal Welsh, and hope when it is all set to rights—that I shall have a chance to go down.

Farewell, my dearest,

I am sincerely yours,

H. B.

"The Royal Welsh" was a regiment of volunteers, numbered the Ninety-fourth in the line. It was recruited in 1762, served in the campaign of 1763, and was disbanded in 1764.

Tench Francis, husband of Anne Willing, was a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia and attorney for the heirs of William Penn. Francis, as their agent and attorney, ordered the laying out of the town of Pittsburgh in the summer of 1784, the surveys made by Woods and Vickroy, the sale of lots beginning with Francis' approval September 30, 1784.

Bouquet had asked to be relieved, but was refused. Whether his love affair had anything to do with the request cannot be told.¹² Captain Ecuyer and Colonel Frederick Haldiman appear to have joined the British army at the same time. Ecuyer was commissioned a lieutenant in the 62d Regiment, January 25, 1756; promoted captain-lieutenant, February 14, 1760, and captain, April 27, 1762. Haldiman was first lieutenant-colonel in the 62d Regiment, January 4, 1756, promoted colonel, February 19, 1762. A countryman of Bouquet and Ecuyer, he too, had a conspicuous career in the British army and had been the brother officer of Bouquet in Holland, Sardinia and Italy. Haldiman served as governor of Canada from 1778 to 1784. He was knighted by George the Third, but returned to Switzerland, where he died in 1791. No further records of Ecuyer are at hand.

Of those who in military service or as voyagers came to the region about Pittsburgh, Captain Thomas Hutchins was one who attained more than ordinary distinction. Hutchins was a British officer, a captain in the 60th Regiment of Foot, or the 60th Royal American Regiment; later he became a paymaster. He was with Bouquet and Forbes in 1758 and was one of Colonel Mercer's little garrison in the first Fort Pitt. Hutchins was a native of New Jersey, but at the commencement of the Revolution was residing in London. His zeal for the cause of the colonies induced him to refuse some excellent offers made him in England. He was suspected of holding a correspondence with Benjamin Franklin, then in France, and thrown into a dungeon, where, after a confinement of six weeks, he was examined and then set free. However, he lost in a single day 12,000 pounds sterling as the result of this affair. Upon his release he went to France and thence sailed to America, landing at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1779. He joined the American army under General Nathanael Greene and at the close of the Revolution became geographer-general of the United States. He died in Pittsburgh in 1789, aged fifty-nine, and was interred in Trinity Churchyard.

Previous to leaving London Hutchins published his "Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina." The title page states that this book was printed for the author in Piccadilly. It contains a fine map of the rapids at the Falls of the Ohio. Hutchins says in one place. "Beaver Creek has water sufficient for flat-boats. At Kushkuskes (about sixteen miles up) are two branches of this creek which spread opposite ways."

He refers to the Shenango and Mahoning rivers; the site of Kushkuskes (variously spelled) was at the junction of these streams about where Mahoningtown now stands. Hutchins' relation to the history of our section begins with Bouquet's, under whom he served. The maps he made of the Western country are most valuable. These are included in the work known as "An Account of Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in 1764," often, but erroneously attributed to him. In this

¹²See "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" Parkman, Vol. III, p. 32, and other Bouquet matter in the Appendices thereto. (Champlain Edition).

book are also two plates, or engravings, depicting the conference of the Indians and the return of the captives. This work is wrongly ascribed to Hutchins, although his maps and plans were used. The book originally was printed in Philadelphia in 1765 and reprinted in London in 1766. The author was the celebrated Dr. William Smith. Hutchins was with Bouquet at Bushy Run in August, 1763, and the well known plan of the battle there is his work. Dr. Smith received much information from Bouquet himself and in a letter to Sir William Johnson so acknowledges.¹⁸

Hutchins knew more or less intimately all those of his time about Fort Pitt, the men who figured largely in the great events in our region. He knew Colonel George Croghan. Writing Johnson, Dr. Smith said: "Mr. Croghan set out before I expected he would, else I proposed sending you a copy of 'Bouquet's Expedition to Muskingum,' which I drew up from some papers he favored me with and which is reprinted in England and has had a very favorable reception."

Hutchins' maps and topographical studies were of great benefit to our early American geographers. Morse especially acknowledging obligations to him. His maps to-day are invaluable. They have been used by Parkman, Hanna and all writers of the history of our region.

John Scull, founder, editor and proprietor of "The Pittsburgh Gazette," evidently knew Hutchins well, for he has left us conclusive evidence of regard for him as well as an insight into the personality of Hutchins and the respect that was accorded him in the little community about Fort Pitt, known as Pittsburgh, not yet an organized borough. The "Gazette" of May 2, 1789, contains this obituary of Hutchins:

Died on the 28th ult., Thomas Hutchins, Esquire, formerly a captain in the British service, and late Geographer General to the United States. His illness had been of some months' continuance. It was not such as to give him great pain, being a gradual failing of the nerves, and an almost insensible waste of the constitution. He was in a country where he had been early known, and to which he had always a particular attachment; in the house of his particular friend, John Ormsby, who had been with him since the last British and French war in this quarter. He was daily visited during his indisposition by those of this place, many of whom had also known him early and by gentlemen occasionally resident, or passing through from different parts of the continent. His funeral was attended by a considerable concourse of people, and the service read at his obsequies by Mr. Heckewelder, a Moravian clergyman accidentally present and who had long been acquainted with the deceased.

His merit is well known; a man greatly amiable; and integrity his predominant quality. He gave a proof of this which few have it in their power to give, viz: relinquishing £12,000 for the sake of America, his native county, and lying some time in irons before he was able to make his escape from his dungeon in England.

His map early laid the foundation of American geography, and his services since his appointment under the United States have been universally acknowledged.

He has measured much earth but small space now contains him.

In 1883 Dr. Cort endeavored to trace Bouquet's grave, but without success. He wrote General W. S. Hancock, U. S. A., who referred the matter to General Richard C. Drum, then quartermaster-general, U. S. A., and a native of Greensburg, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.

¹⁸Kushkuskus. Post in his Journals (see Chapter XXI) calls this town Kushkush-king

The officer in command at Fort Barrancas, Pensacola, could find no records and no marks of any kind. There can be no doubt that Bouquet's grave and monument in Pensacola were destroyed by the Spanish under Galvez, when they captured the town in 1781.

It will not be denied that Bouquet's name is a household word in Pittsburgh, the city he helped to found, and which he preserved by his valor and military skill. In our little relic of British sovereignty here, Bouquet's Block House, built by him in 1764 within the walls of Fort Pitt, we behold the only monument of that sovereignty, and also of the gallant Swiss officer whose memory it perpetuates. That we have opportunity to behold is due to the persistent and successful efforts of Mrs. Edith Darlington Ammon, daughter of Mary Carson Darlington, who died in 1920, and the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. These patriotic women secured from Mrs. Schenley, who owned the Block House, a deed of it, and then under Mrs. Ammon's direction and efforts an act of Assembly was passed forbidding the operation of the law of eminent domain against historical landmarks in Pennsylvania. Ecuyer has no commemoration here; nor has Haldiman.

Thanks are indeed due to the Daughters of the American Revolution for preserving Bouquet's blockhouse, the oldest work of man in or about Pittsburgh, and the last remaining vestige of British dominion in Western Pennsylvania.

In 1917 the teachers of Westmoreland county at their county institute, inaugurated a movement among their pupils with the intention of placing a marker on the field of Bushy Run to be paid from the voluntary contributions of the children. A large sum was collected, but nothing was done. Later the Historical Commission took up the matter and voted to place a monument there to be paid for by the State of Pennsylvania, but at this writing (September, 1921) the project is still in abeyance.



THE BLOCK HOUSE IN 1872

From a Wood Cut made by Jacob Beeson in John W. Pittock's Leader Almanac

CHAPTER XXV.

Fort Pitt, 1764-1774.

Events during this period have been well epitomized by Craig, in his "History of Pittsburgh" (Chapter V). Two must receive mention here at the very beginning of this chapter. In the summer of 1764 Colonel Bouquet erected the little block house, in history known as Bouquet's Redoubt, which Craig, writing in 1851, said was still standing between Penn street and Duquesne way. Originally it stood within the outer walls of Fort Pitt, with the inscription on a stone tablet in the wall, with the words: "Coll. Bouquet A. D. 1764." Craig observes that "There is one fact in relation to General Bouquet which would seem to connect his memory more closely with the history of our city than that of either Forbes or Stanwix. Fort Pitt has entirely disappeared; scarcely a vestige even of the wall of its ramparts is now visible; but a redoubt built by General (then Colonel) Bouquet, with the inscription on a stone tablet, is an existing monument of his presence and command here."¹ The redoubt originally faced a short alley called Brewery Alley, vacated in 1903 with the other streets and alleys in the triangle between Penn avenue and Duquesne way as far as Third street, formerly Marbury. The preservation of the redoubt has been told of in the chapter preceding. The vacation of this historic section of Pittsburgh for railroad yards and the immense storage buildings now on the ground was in accordance with an agreement made by the city with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, whereby the latter in compensation removed their tracks on Liberty street, which had been laid down the middle of that great thoroughfare when the railroad entered the city in 1854, and which had grown to be an intolerable nuisance and a great menace with the long freight trains that were slowly backed down to the Duquesne freight station at the foot of Liberty street. An additional grant was made to the railroad corporation of the right of way along Duquesne way upon which the elevated tracks were erected that now line that historic thoroughfare along the Allegheny river from Eleventh street to Barbeau, formerly Marbury and later, from 1868-1910, Third street. The raising of the streets and the railroad yards above the flood level in this section has left the little redoubt on its original site, many feet below the level of the tracks above it and several feet below the grade of Penn avenue, so that the historic pile is in a hole, so to speak.

The widening of Ferry street and Second avenue during the summer of 1921 broke the lines of the first survey of Pittsburgh made in 1764. The entrance of the Wabash & Pittsburgh Terminal railroad in 1902 caused the demolition of all the houses on the west side of Ferry street, including many that had escaped the great fire of April 10, 1845, among

¹"History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 79. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 200. "Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt;" Daughters of the American Revolution, Pittsburgh Chapter.

them two built of brick taken from the revetments of Fort Pitt. Standing solitary, quaint and curious, Bouquet's little redoubt is the sole reminder of that fort and the Colonial town of Pittsburgh that arose again when Bouquet relieved the beleagured fort in 1763, and this was the town as the Rev. Charles Beatty saw it in 1766; Washington in 1770; and Arthur Lee in 1784, when he recorded in his journal that "Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses and are as dirty as in the North of Ireland, or even Scotland."²

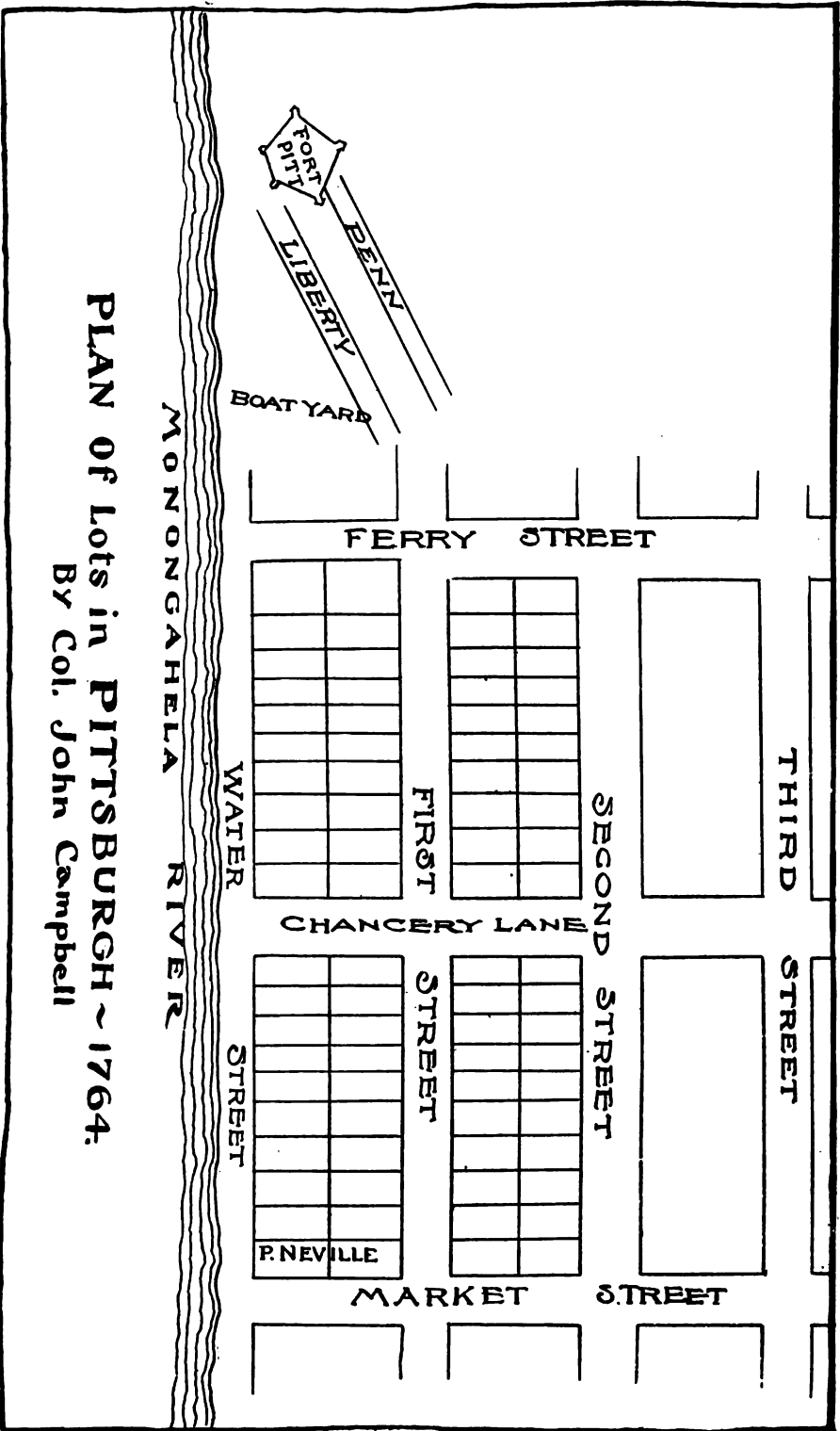
It is of this reborn Colonial hamlet and the events that took place between 1764 and 1774 that this chapter pertains. The plan of Colonel John Campbell in accordance with his surveys comes next in importance in the events of the memorable year 1764. This plan laid out the town between what was subsequently that part of Pittsburgh between Second avenue and Water street and between Ferry and Market streets, the plot bisected by Chancery lane. Craig says: "We have never been able to learn what authority Campbell had to act in this case. But when the Penns afterwards authorized the laying out of the town of Pittsburgh in 1784, their agent recognized Campbell's act, at least so far as not to change his plan of lots. We know not precisely at what time of the year Colonel Bouquet's redoubt was built, nor when Campbell's lots were laid out, but certainly the last step in perfecting this place as a military post and the first step in building up a town here were taken in the same year."

As Craig states, there are no records of the exact dates, but one may rightly presume that the block house was erected in good weather and that it was before Bouquet left for the Muskingum, which we know was October 3, 1764; it is as strong a presumption that Campbell surveyed under favorable weather conditions. Campbell's plan is well known to title searchers and is referred to as the "Old Military Plan" in the deeds of all lots within its area. In laying out his plan, Campbell builded better than he knew. Campbell figures largely in the history of Pittsburgh. Some reference to him will be found in the account of Braddock's defeat (Chapter XVI) as the bearer of a dispatch to the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania on July 23d, fourteen days after the battle.³ Croghan, in his will, refers to him as "my friend, (formerly my clerk) John Campbell of Pittsburgh."

Campbell was not only an Indian trader, but a landowner at Fort Pitt. He was allied with Croghan, Crawford and other ardent supporters of John Connolly, Lord Dunmore's lieutenant and the head of the Virginia party in opposition to St. Clair, Devereux Smith, Æneas Mackay and the Pennsylvania adherents in the contention of Virginia jurisdiction over Western Pennsylvania. Campbell proved a patriot and was a colonel in the Virginia service. He is described as an "Irish gentleman of fine personal appearance, a large man of strong mind and rough manners." He was for a long while a prisoner at Fort Chambly, at the outlet

²"Journal of Arthur Lee," Dec. 17, 1784; quoted by Craig, "History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 173. "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 339.

³"Colonial Records;" Vol. VI, p. 481.



PLAN OF Lots in PITTSBURGH ~ 1764.
By Col. John Campbell

of Lake Champlain, during the Revolution. The town he laid out after his removal to Kentucky he called Campbelltown, which was subsequently changed to Shippingsport, which name became obsolete when absorbed by the city of Louisville. Campbell became prominent in Kentucky affairs. He was a member of the first constitutional convention of the State, and was a member and president of the State senate. He was never married and died in 1799, leaving numerous collateral heirs. His name has been preserved in Campbell county, Kentucky, the principal town Newport, opposite Cincinnati.⁴ In 1767-1768 Campbell was in the employ of the extensive trading firm, Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, of Philadelphia, as evidenced in a letter written them by Campbell dated Fort Pitt, December 31, 1767, the original on four pages of foolscap now in the possession of Mr. Gilbert A. Hays, of Sewickley, Pennsylvania. Campbell's name is in the census of April 4, 1761, as a house owner in Pittsburgh.

Craig inserts some items of the history of "Our State which though not immediately connected with our subject are introduced as interesting evidences of an improved state of public opinion and of increasing civilization, and when regarded in connection with the abolition of slavery here, are quite interesting." The first of these is mention of an act by the General Assembly in 1763 (he has it) granting lotteries to aid certain churches. A like act passed later to aid the pioneer Presbyterian congregation in Pittsburgh. Another and very interesting item is the proclamation in 1764 by Governor John Penn, in which was proposed the following rewards for the scalps or capture of Indians: "For every male above ten years, captured, \$150, or for his scalp, being killed, \$134. For every female or male under ten years old, captured, \$130, or for the scalp of such female killed \$50." The lotteries were authorized by February 15, 1765 (*vide* Smith's "Laws"). John Penn has been justly censured for the inhumanity alleged to be shown in this proposition. It was only meeting barbarity with barbarity. It has been remarked that in making it he traveled a long way from the peace policy of Grandpa Penn. However, it is not to be doubted that the borderers approved of Penn's act because they were unanimously for the extermination of the redskins, who were plentiful enough about Fort Pitt. A similar proclamation with the same scale of prices had been promulgated in 1756, when William Denny was lieutenant-governor.⁵

John Penn, the younger, was governor of Pennsylvania twice—lieutenant-governor by title. He served from November, 1763 to May, 1771, when he went to England, returning in August, 1773. During his absence his brother Richard acted in his place. John returned in 1773 and served until 1776. When the Revolution came, the Penns were Loyalists, hence John was deposed and the estates of the Penns confiscated by the province of Pennsylvania. John, it will be noted, became governor just after Pontiac's war, and succeeded James Hamilton. John was the last pro-

⁴"Collins' History of Kentucky;" p. 229.

⁵"Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal;" Vol. I, p. 452. "Pennsylvania Archives;" Fourth Series, Vol. III, pp. 291-293. "Colonial Records;" Vol. IX, pp. 191-192.

prietary governor of Pennsylvania. Certain manors of the Penn family had been exempted from confiscation, among these the manor of Pittsburgh, to which reference will shortly be had. John had many things to trouble him during his long first term. Some matters antedate his troubles in the Pittsburgh region and will be recorded first.

Craig begins the fifth chapter of his "History of Pittsburgh" with a few paragraphs relating how the Rev. Beatty was kindly received by the commandant of the fort and all the officers and then quotes from Beatty's journal. Beatty had been here before with Forbes' army. We know that the French evacuated and burned their fort on the arrival of General Forbes, November 25, 1758. John Hazlett, a soldier of Forbes' army, in a letter dated November 26, 1758, stated that the Rev. Mr. Beatty was appointed to preach a thanksgiving sermon for the remarkable superiority of his majesty's arms. This was the Rev. Charles Beatty, who was a chaplain to a division in Forbes' army. He was long a distinguished clergyman of the Presbyterian church of Pennsylvania and was undoubtedly the pioneer Protestant preacher in the West. He kept a journal of his tour to the West, which was published in London in 1768. It is most interesting and valuable for its historical matter. He was the father of Lieutenant Erskine Beatty, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution in the Pennsylvania line, and the grandfather of the Rev. Dr. Charles C. Beatty, of Steubenville, Ohio. Charles Beatty was commissioned by the Synod of New York to visit the frontier settlements in order that a better judgment might be formed of its religious necessities and what assistance might be necessary to afford them in their low circumstances to promote the gospel among them, and also to visit the Indians if it could be done in safety. Beatty was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. George Duffield, of the Synod of Philadelphia, who was sent out by that synod for the same purposes. They arrived at Fort Pitt late in the evening of September 5, 1766. They waited on the commander of the fort, Captain William Murray, who received them politely and introduced them to the Rev. Mr. McLagan, the chaplain of the 42d Highlanders, then the garrison of the fort.

All the officers of the garrison were cordial in their reception. They invited the visiting clergymen to their table, gave them a room in the barracks, supplied them with bedding and made them comfortable. The Rev. Mr. McLagan, of what denomination we are not informed, held services regularly for the garrison. One, Matthew Clarkson, a merchant of Philadelphia, was at Fort Pitt for some weeks before Mr. Beatty and Mr. Duffield arrived. Clarkson was on his way to the Illinois country to trade with the Indians. After the manner of the times, he kept a journal of his trip and recorded that "Sunday, August 24, went and heard Mr. McCleggan preach to the soldiers in Erse—but little edified."

Small wonder, for Erse is the ancient Gaelic language of the Scottish Highlands. We are to note the variation in the spelling of the chaplain's name. Craig spells it McLagan. Phonetic spellings were the rule in those days and we find well-known names spelled in several ways. Craig records that the chaplain received the visiting clergymen with courtesy

and invited Mr. Beatty to preach in the garrison, which he did on the succeeding Sunday, September 7, while Mr. Duffield preached to the people "who," as Beatty records, "live in some kind of a town without the fort." Beatty preached to the people in the afternoon. Clarkson observed in his journal that it was Chaplain McLagan's custom to preach in English on alternate Sundays.⁶

September 8th, Beatty wrote in his journal:

In the afternoon we crossed *Moccongehela* river, accompanied by two gentlemen, and went up the hill opposite the fort, by a very difficult ascent, in order to take a view of that part of it more particularly from which the garrison is supplied with coals, which is not far from the top. A fire being made by the workmen not far from the place where they dug the coal and left burning when they were away, by the small dust communicated itself to the body of the coals and set it on fire and has now been burning almost a twelve month entirely underground for the space of twenty yards or more along the face of the hill, or rock, the way the view of coal extends. The smoke ascending up through the clinks of the rocks. The earth in some places is so warm that we could hardly bear to stand upon it. At one place where the smoke came up we opened a hole in the earth till it was so hot as to burn paper thrown into it; the steam that came out was so strong of sulphur we could scarce bear it. We found pieces of matter there, some of which appeared to be sulphur, others nitre, and some a mixture of both. If these strata be large in this mountain it may become a volcano. The smoke arising out of this mountain appears to be much greater in rainy weather than at other times. The fire has already undermined some part of the mountain so that great fragments of it and trees with their roots are fallen down its face. On the top of the mountain is a very rich soil covered with a fine verdure, and has a very easy slope on the other side so that it may be easily cultivated.

"This is the first and only evidence," says Craig, "we have ever seen confirmatory of a tradition that Coal Hill was once on fire. We presume, however, that the combustion could never have extended very far."

Most likely this fire burned to the outcrop and died for want of fuel. Coal Hill is a by-gone name that was in common use until about the end of the Civil War period, when the village that had gradually grown up on the hill was incorporated a borough under the name Mount Washington, when that name was applied to the whole hill from a line slightly east of the Smithfield street bridge. Dwellers on the mount, which was annexed to the city in 1874, will smile at the allusions to the hill as a mountain and broaden the smile when the volcano theory is reached. This account is historical however, for it is the first mention of coal mining in Pittsburgh and reveals the fact that the coal was utilized early, and as there were some most severe winters while Fort Pitt was garrisoned, there can be no doubt that mining was one of the military duties of the garrison. The coal in this hill was not exhausted until more than a century later.

At the close of the French and Indian War there commenced a steady encroachment on the lands west of the Allegheny mountains to which the Indian title had not been extinguished. The settlements were mainly upon the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. The Indians naturally complained. The British ministry and the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania labored to check these invasions of what was acknowledged

⁶"History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 82.

Indian territory. The history of these encroachments, says Craig, is necessary, for the decade 1764-1774 presents but little of interest. The whole history of the decade is that which relates the spirit of the encroachment on the part of the whites, the complaints of the Indians and the exertions of the authorities to prevent the encroachments and to allay the complaints. Craig produces some extracts from George Croghan's journal, dated Fort Pitt, May 22, 1766, to wit:

Major Murry informed me that there were several chiefs of the Shawanese, Delawares, Six Nations and Hurons from Sandusky with a considerable number of warriors who had waited a long time to see me.

24th of May—I had a meeting with the Six Nations, Delawares and Huron chiefs when they made great complaints about several of their people being murdered on the frontiers of the several provinces. Say they have lost five men on the frontiers of Virginia; one near Bedford in Pennsylvania and one in the Jerseys. This conduct of their *Fathers* they say does not look as if they were disposed to live in peace with their children the Indians. Besides that, as soon as peace was made last year, contrary to our engagements, a number of people came over the great mountain and settled at Redstone Creek and on the Monongahela, before they had given the country to the King their father.⁷

These settlements had been made as the Indians stated, and also at Turkey-foot at the Forks of the Yough. Gist was the earliest settler on the Yough, in 1752, but he had been driven out in 1754. Richard and Thomas Gist were his neighbors, but they did not apply for their land until 1769, when the lands were open for settlement. There was a settler at Redstone—subsequently Brownsville—William Jacobs by name, who located there in 1761, but having been compelled to flee when Colonel Burd evacuated Redstone fort. Jacob did not return until 1769. In 1760, by permission of Colonel Bouquet, a house had been erected at a place described as "Somerset—five or six miles from Fort Pitt—the house was included in James Burd's application in 1769"—rather a vague description. In 1762 William Shearer and Henry Shriack made improvements by order of Bouquet, and the same year Carper Toup (likely a misprint for Casper Toup) improved land four miles from Fort Pitt. All these locations are not definitely described. Alexander McKee received his grant at the mouth of Chartiers creek the same year, and that is of record and readily available. McKee also made some improvements opposite Logstown. Judge Parke, in his story, "A Legend of the 'Sher-tee'," in a footnote speaking of improvements along Chartiers creek, says: "There was very little improvement at this point until after the close of the Indian war in 1764. The only authentic account we have of its settlement is the grant to Alexander McKee."

Parke inserts a copy of the grant which he took from the original document which was, when Parke wrote, in 1886, in possession of General Joseph Browne, who owned and resided upon a portion of the original McKee tract. McKee's grant in area was about 1,400 acres.⁸

Croghan had a grant of about 1,400 acres, for which he applied for a location in 1769. Some families commenced improvements on this tract

⁷"Colonial Records," Vol. IX, p. 322.

⁸"Historical Gleanings and Recollections of Seventy Years;" John E. Parke, p. 42

some years before, and he had erected his "Hutt," known at the fort as "Croghan's Castle." This was burned by the Indians during the siege of Fort Pitt, as was every house within miles of Pittsburgh. Croghan's petition recites that he applied for a location "on the Ohio river at the mouth of Two Mile run, up the river to the narrows, including all his improvements, and whereon six families are now living and have been improving since the year 1760."

Some time prior to 1769, Æneas Mackay, by permission of Lieutenant-Colonel John Reed, made improvements at Dirty Camp, on Turtle creek, on the road from Ligonier to Fort Pitt. John Frazier, John Ormsby, Sr., and some of his kin, made improvements on Turtle creek before 1762 by permission of the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, and William and Robert Thompson at Braddock's field about the same time by Colonel Bouquet's permission.⁹

In 1764 instructions were sent directly from the king of Great Britain to Lieutenant-Governor John Penn, which, reciting that several persons from Pennsylvania and the back parts of Virginia had migrated west of the Allegheny mountains, and seated themselves on lands near the Ohio in express disobedience of the proclamation of October 7, 1763, enjoined upon Penn to use all means in his power to prevent such encroachments, and to cause those to remove who had seated themselves on those lands. This proclamation was evidently a royal one, for it is not to be found in the "Pennsylvania Archives," or "Colonial Records."

Croghan wrote General Thomas Gage, who had succeeded Amherst as commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, expressing himself strongly against the settlers. His letter is dated Fort Pitt, 26th May, 1766. He said that he and Major Murray, commander at Fort Pitt, had appointed a time to meet all the Indian nations at Pittsburgh and would then endeavor to remove their dissatisfaction on account of the murders that had been committed by the whites and all other causes of complaint. Croghan flattered himself he would be able to remove their present disgust, and said he was convinced that the Indians had an ardent desire to live in peace with the English from the open and free manner in which they had made known their complaints. He was strongly of the opinion that if effectual measures were not immediately taken to remove the settlers at Redstone till a boundary could be properly settled as proposed, and the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania "pursue vigorous measures to deter the frontier inhabitants from murdering Indians which pass to and from war against their natural enemies," the consequences would be dreadful and the country be involved in all the calamities of another general war.¹⁰

Croghan knew what such a war meant. He had been with Braddock; with Forbes at Fort Duquesne, and besieged in Fort Pitt with Ecuyer. General Gage wrote Penn, July 2, 1766, assuring Penn that he would take the proper steps—"as I presume Redstone is within your government, the garrison at Fort Pitt shall assist to drive away the settlers and

⁹"History Western Pennsylvania, etc.;" p. 42.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 43.

it seems proper that a number of the chiefs should be present to see our desire to do them justice."¹¹

Gage knew something of Indian warfare, for he too had been with Braddock. He was not certain of Penn's jurisdiction over the Redstone region, nor was Penn. September 23, 1766, Penn wrote Governor Fauquier, of Virginia, and asked his aid for the removal of the settlers, stating that as the boundary line between the two States had not been settled, such settlers might take shelter under an unsettled jurisdiction.¹² Correspondence was slow in those years, for Fauquier did not reply until December 11, 1766, when he wrote from Williamsburg and assured Penn that the commander-in-chief had taken "more effectual measures by giving orders to an officer and a party to summon the settlers to remove, and in case of refusal to threaten military execution." Penn was in a quandary. January 21, 1767, he wrote Earl Shelbourne, Secretary of State, and recited what he and Fauquier had done, and also Gage, and said: "I am at a loss to know what more can be done by the civil power." Gage had written him December 7, 1767, saying: "You are a witness how little attention has been paid to the proclamations that have been published, and that even the removing these people from the lands last summer by the garrison of Fort Pitt had only been a temporary expedient, as they had met with no punishment. We learn they are returned again to Redstone creek and Cheat river." Gage recommended that more effective laws should be passed.

Penn's letter to Shelbourne, which is long, can be found in the "Colonial Records." In extenuation of the failure to arrest and punish the murderers of the Indians in time of peace, Penn said, the murders had been committed by vagrant persons beyond the settled parts of the country. "It is very difficult," explained Penn, "at such a distance to detect the authors of them as few of the Back Inhabitants who still harbour resentment against the Indians will make any discoveries of such villainies if they are even witnesses to them. I am at a loss to know what can be done by the civil power to compell these lawless people to obedience."

The murderers were of that class of borderers designated by Bouquet as a "worthless breed" and no better than the savages. Certain is the fact that these "vermin" (another term used by Bouquet) made much trouble both in Pennsylvania and Virginia by their lawless acts.

An act was passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly, February 3, 1768, inflicting death without benefit of clergy upon any person settled upon lands not purchased from the Indians, who should refuse after sufficient notice to quit the same or other unpurchased lands. It was provided that the act was not to apply to persons who were then or thereafter be settled upon the main communications leading to Fort Pitt under permission of the commander-in-chief, or "to a settlement made by George Crogan, Esq., deputy superintendent under Sir William Johnson, upon the Ohio above said Fort." The Ohio and the Allegheny were regarded as

¹¹"Colonial Records;" Vol. IX, p. 323.

¹²"History of Washington County, Pennsylvania;" Creigh, Appendix 4. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 342-344. "History of Pittsburgh;" Craig, Edition 1917, Chapter V.

one stream in those years, and the Allegheny is referred to most frequently as the Ohio.

A proclamation was issued by Governor Penn, February 24, 1768, in pursuance with the above act, and 250 copies printed and distributed. James Burd, the Rev. John Steel, John Allison, Christopher Lemer and Captain James Potter, of Cumberland county, were requested to go to the settlement at Redstone creek and other places on the Monongahela, Youghiogheny and west of the Allegheny where such forbidden settlements were made, to set up proclamations to explain them to the people and endeavor to induce them to remove. Letters of instruction and £60 in cash for expenses were given the envoys. Their duties were performed and their report signed by Steel, Allison, Lemer and Potter is recorded in the "Colonial Records" (Vol. IX).¹⁸

Steel reported that the people having heard of their arrival at Redstone, March 23d, appointed a meeting among themselves the next day to consult what measures they should take:

We took advantage of this meeting to read the Act of Assembly of February 3, 1768, and the Proclamation, explaining the law and giving the reason of it as well as we could, and used our endeavors to persuade them to comply, alleging to them that it was the most probable method to entitle them to favor with the honorable proprietaries when the land was purchased. After lamenting their distressed condition, they told us that the people were not fully collected but they expected all would attend on the Sabbath following and they then would give us an answer. They however affirmed that the Indians were very peaceable and seemed sorry that they were to be removed and said that they apprehended the English intended to make war upon the Indians as they were moving off their people from their neighborhood. We labored to persuade them that they were imposed on by a few straggling Indians, that Sir William Johnson, who had informed our government, must be better acquainted with the mind of the Six Nations, and that they were displeased with the white people's settling on their unpurchased lands.

On Sunday, March 27th, the meeting was held. A considerable number attended. Steel attests and in corroboration subjoined to his report the names of thirty-two inhabitants near Redstone; and the names of eight Indians who attended who, he said, came from Mingo town, about eighty miles from Redstone. This was the Mingo village below the site of Steubenville, Ohio, and from this statement we can believe the Indians were Senecas, commonly called Mingoes in the West. Most of the Redstone settlers informed Steel and his companions that they were resolved to move off and "would petition your Honour for a preference in obtaining their improvements when a purchase was made." By "improvements", the word of frequent use, we are to understand a clearing of land for cultivation, fenced or unfenced; most frequently with a log cabin, but not necessarily. These settlers seemed to have been of the mind that their locations were in Pennsylvania and were looking to the Penns for justice, whereas Virginia still claimed the region and shortly after not only asserted her jurisdiction but exercised it, and made thousands of grants to settlers, so much so that almost all the land in Allegheny county west of the Monongahela and south of the Ohio river was held by Vir-

¹⁸See also "History Western Pennsylvania, etc.," Appendix XXIII, pp. 179-180.

ginia entries recognized as valid by the settlement of the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia.

While Steel and his fellow commissioners were conversing with the people, March 27th, they were informed that a number of Indians were near at "Indian Peter's." These were the Mingoes from Mingotown. In his report Steel says:

We, judging it might be subservient to our main design that the Indians should be present while we were advising the people to obey the law, sent for them. They came and after sermon delivered a speech with a string of wampum to be transmitted to your Honour. Their speech was:

"Ye are come sent by your Great Men to tell these people to go away from the land which ye say is ours. And we are sent by our Great Men and we are glad we have met here this day. We tell you the white people must stop and we stop them till the treaty and when George Croghan and our Great Men will talk together, we will tell what to do."

It can be inferred from this brief address that the Indians recognized the inevitable and were meditating a treaty whereby the lands would be released for settlement.

Steel records that the commissioners sent a messenger to Cheat river and to Stewart's crossings on the Yough (now Connellsville, Pennsylvania) with several proclamations requesting them to meet the commissioners at "Giesse's place" as most central to both settlements. Giesse was Steel's misspelling of Gist. March 30th the commissioners were at Gist's, where between thirty and forty men had assembled. The commissioners proceeded as at Redstone and endeavored to convince the people of the necessity and reasonableness of quitting the unpurchased land, but to no purpose. The people had heard what the Indians said at Redstone and reasoned in the same manner. They had no apprehension of war; they would attend the treaty and take their measures accordingly. "Many severe things," Steel said, "were said of Croghan, and one Lawrence Harrison treated the law and our government with too much disrespect."

March 31st the commissioners arrived at the Great Crossings of the Youghiogheny, now Somerfield, Pennsylvania, and were informed by a man named Speer that eight or ten families lived at a place called Turkey Foot. "We sent some proclamations thither by said Speer," wrote Steel, "as we did to a few families nigh the crossings of the Little Yough, judging it unnecessary to go amongst them. It is our opinion that that some will move off in obedience to the law; the greater part will wait the treaty, and if they find that the Indians are indeed dissatisfied, we think the whole will be persuaded to remove. The Indians coming to Redstone and delivering their speeches greatly obstructed our design."

"Turkey Foot" was the fanciful name given the union of three streams at what is now Confluence, Pennsylvania. The pioneers in the region saw a resemblance to the three toes of a bird's foot. The three streams are the Great Youghiogheny, Castleman's river or the Little Yough, and Laurel Hill creek. Turkey Foot was a noted place in pioneer history. Steel recorded the names of only nine settlers there and thirteen at

"Giesse's." Among them Thomas Gist, son of Christopher, who had died of smallpox in 1759. Thomas was a bachelor, as was his brother Richard, who was killed in battle during the Revolution. Christopher and his two sons were soldiers at Braddock's battle. As Gist had taken up his location prior to 1753, when Washington was there, the place, known as Gist's Plantation, was in 1768 an old settlement on the disputed land.

Both Craig and Rupp tell of the great conference at Fort Pitt in April and May, 1768, beginning Tuesday, April 26th. Rupp says: "Several causes conspired, threatening another Indian war. The whites' encroachments upon Indian lands * * * ; several Indians massacred—these grievous injuries were seriously felt by the Indians, and they at once resolved to avenge themselves; but no sooner had Sir William Johnson learned the designs of the Indians than he hastened to communicate them to the governor of Pennsylvania who immediately sent commissioners to Fort Pitt to treat with the Indians in reference to these matters, as appears more at large from the following." Rupp follows with twenty-two pages from the "Colonial Records," including the minutes, the rosters of officials and chiefs of the different Indian nations in attendance, the speeches, the reports and documents appertaining to the conference. George Croghan was in charge as Johnson's chief deputy, and John Allen and Joseph Shippen were present as commissioners from the province of Pennsylvania. The minutes state that the conferences were with the "chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Munsies and Mohickons residing on the waters of the Ohio." Alexander McKee was present in his capacity as "Commissary of Indian Affairs," and evidently a busy man in providing rations for the multitude that attended, 1,103, as Craig tells us, all with most excellent appetites and a corresponding thirst for fire water prevalent among the braves. The total included women and children attending, as was the custom. Craig believed that this great gathering "no doubt created quite a bustle in the little village which our city must have been at that time."

Most naturally the officers of the garrison were present in full uniform; these were Colonel John Reed, commandant; Captains Charles Edmundstone and Pownall, Lieutenants Thomas Ford, Alexander McLellan (or McClelland), Jesse Wright, Samuel Steel, William Ward and Thomas Ball; Ensigns Thomas Hutchins, Robert Hamilton, James Savage and Godfrey Tracy. Henry Montour was interpreter.

Among the chiefs of the Six Nations only two figure by name in Pittsburgh history. These were Guyasutha, recorded as "Keyashuta," and the White Mingo. Six chief warriors and 293 warriors of the Confederacy besides women and children were present.

Of the Delawares, Nettawatees, commonly called Newcomer, Custalogo and The Beaver were the principal chiefs, and Wingenum, Captain Pipe, Captain Johnny and White Eyes the principal warriors. The Delawares reported with 319 warriors. The Shawanese chiefs in attendance, notable in Pittsburgh history, were Kissenauchta and Nymwha. The

Shawanese contingent was made up of ten chiefs, eight chief warriors and 141 warriors. The Munsies had five chiefs and 196 warriors. The "Mohickons" had two chiefs and 96 warriors, and all these tribes had their women and children. In addition to all this host the Wyandots sent seven warriors to the conference.¹⁴

Croghan opened the meeting with a few remarks in thoroughly Indian style. He was glad to see so many different nations assembled at the council fire and immediately gave a string of wampum to clear their eyes and wipe away their tears that they might look upon their brethren, the English, with pleasure. With another string he cleaned the sweat off their bodies and removed all evil thoughts from their minds and cleaned also a passage to their hearts that everything that would be said to them from their brethren, the English, might rest easy in their hearts. It took another string to clear their ears that they might hear and consider well what was going to be said at the general meeting of the several tribes—that is to say nations. Croghan was an adept at this sort of preparation. His next step was to introduce the commissioners sent the Indians by their brother Onas, that is Penn. Alexander McKee read and explained Penn's message, telling how he had tried to punish the murderers of a number of Indians east of the mountains and how he had arrested the murderers who would receive due punishment and how good his own heart was; how Sir William Johnson had been informed of the accident (the murders) and the Indians would soon hear from him further and also from Sir William, and there could be no doubt of the justice and upright intentions of all his majesty's subjects towards the several Indian nations—of course a belt of wampum came with the letter.

The next day the conference business was chiefly explanations and after due deliberation the chiefs expressed their satisfaction at seeing the commissioners from Pennsylvania and thanked Croghan for introducing them to the several nations and assured him that the Indians would pay due attention to what those gentlemen would say to them from their brother Onas and their brethren from that province. The Indians at a council observe the strictest decorum and are always polite following time-honored customs.

It was at the meeting, May 4, that Gwaysutha rebuked the Shawanese speaker Nymwha, who said on the preceding day to the commissioners:

We afterwards desired you to destroy your forts as that would be the way to make all nations of Indians believe you were sincere in your friendship, and we now repeat the same request to you again. We also desire you not to go down this river in the way of the warriors belonging to the foolish nations to the westward, and told you that the waters of this river a great way below this place were colored with blood. You did not pay any regard to this, but asked us to accompany you in going down, which we did and we felt the smart of our rashness, and with difficulty returned to our friends. We see you now about making batteaux and we make no doubt you intend going down the river again, which we now tell you is disagreeable to all nations of Indians and now again desire you to sit still at this place.

¹⁴See "History Western Pennsylvania, etc.;" Appendix XIX, and "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 344, *et seq.*

They are also uneasy to see that you think yourselves masters of this country because you have taken it from the French who you know had no right to it, as it is the property of the Indians. We often hear that you intend to fight with the French again; if you do, we desire you will remove your quarrel out of this country, and carry it over the great waters where you used to fight, and where we shall neither see nor know anything of it. All we desire is to enjoy a quiet peace with you both, and that we should be strong in talking of peace.

Plain words these, and undoubtedly from the heart and expressive of the Indian feeling, but they were not agreeable to Guyasutha, who resented the idea of a vassal nation like the Shawanese giving orders to the English, and who, the next day, arose with a copy of the treaty made with Colonel Bradstreet in 1764, and said:

By this treaty we agreed that you had a right to build forts and trading houses where you pleased and to travel the road of peace from the sunrising to the sunsetting. At that treaty the Shawanese and the Delawares were with me and know all this well and I am much surprised that the Shawanese should speak to you in the manner they did yesterday.

Two days later Kissenaughta¹⁵ apologized; addressing Croghan said:

Brother, we are sorry that we should have said anything the other day to our brother Onas that should give you or his commissioners any offence, or our brethren, the Six Nations. But as the Governor of Pennsylvania in his speeches desired us to open our minds and tell everything that gives us any uneasiness we are determined to do so.

They certainly did. The celerity with which the Shawanese chiefs took Guyasutha's hint is most noticeable. The Iroquois yoke was still a bit heavy.

This conference lasted many days, but was futile, for no effective measures resulted. An arrangement was agreed on by which the White Mingo and three deputies sent from the Six Nations country were to accompany John Frazier and Captain William Thompson to the settlements on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers and signify to the settlers the great displeasure of the Six Nations at their taking possession of the Indian lands and making settlements, and that the Indians to remove with their families without further notice. Frazier and Thompson were to carry written instructions from the governor to the same effect. These were signed by the commissioners and dated May 9, 1768. Frazier and Thompson were in readiness with their horses and provisions for the journey, but the White Mingo and his messengers did not appear, though sent for several times by the commissioners. They finally appeared and refused to go, stating that the business they were to go on was so disagreeable that they could by no means consent to undertake it. Upon being pressed for a reason, they said they had been sent by the Six Nations Council as deputies to the conference at Pittsburgh "to attend the treaty here" (their language), and having received no directions to proceed further they chose to return home in order to make a report of what they had seen and heard at Fort Pitt. They were firm and wanted to impress on the commissioners that the driving the

¹⁵Kissenaughta—Craig's spelling is Kissinaughta. The name is variously distorted.

white people away from their settlements was a matter which no Indians could with any satisfaction be concerned in, and they thought it most proper, for the English themselves ought to compel their own people to remove from the Indian lands.

This was an unexpected outcome of the long session and the commissioners were greatly perplexed. We see here the far-reaching arm of the Great Council at Onondago. The commissioners attempted in vain to procure other messengers, but finally concluded, and wisely, that it was both useless and imprudent to press a matter on the Indians to which they were so greatly averse. The commissioners resolved to return at once to Philadelphia. Guyasutha, with an attendant warrior, sought the commissioners at their lodgings and explained matters. He admitted their disappointment, but did not want them to leave with a discontented mind on account of the refusal to send the messengers. Guyasutha's mind was filled with deepest grief and he could not suffer the commissioners to go without speaking to them on the subject and endeavoring to make their minds easy. He explained that the Indian young men were unwilling to carry the message because they did not wish to incur the ill will of the settlers, for if they were removed they would return to their settlements when the English purchased the country from the Six Nations. The Indians would be very unhappy if by their conduct at the time they would give the settlers any reason to dislike them and treat them in an unkind manner when the settlers again became their neighbors. The Indians hoped the commissioners would not be displeased with them for not performing their agreement, for they could assure their English brethren that they had good hearts towards them. The commissioners thanked Guyasutha for his friendly behavior on the occasion and explained their position—they could not press a disagreeable task upon the Indians any further, though it appeared to be a step very necessary to be taken at that very time. "Thereupon," the account closes, "they took their leave of the Indians in the most friendly manner and set out on their return to Philadelphia."

There came a day fourteen years later when Guyasutha did not have the same good heart for his brethren, the English, and this was when he led the attack on Hannastown in 1782 and utterly destroyed that village, then the county seat of Westmoreland county.

To complicate matters still more at this critical juncture, the old Ohio Company sought a perfection of their grant; the Virginia volunteers of 1754, who had been enlisted under the offer of liberal bounties of lands, were becoming clamorous for their grants and individual grants were being strongly urged. Sir William Johnson himself was ambitious and had in mind an armed colony south of the Ohio upon a model proposed by Franklin in 1754, of which Johnson was to be governor. The plan of another company led by Thomas Walpole was submitted to the English ministry. The attempts to remove the settlers and the conferences at Fort Pitt had made it clear that there was but one thing to do and that was to obtain title from the Indians by purchase, as Guyasutha had intimated, and the party of the first part in the conveyance would be,

and could be, only the Six Nations. Accordingly a council was arranged by Sir William Johnson, who lived in his magnificent castle on the Mohawk river in the heart of the Mohawk country. This congress, as Craig calls it, met at Fort Stanwix, October 24, 1768. It must be remembered that Sir William Johnson was his majesty's superintendent of Indian affairs, Croghan, his deputy at Fort Pitt, and Alexander McKee, assistant agent or deputy under Croghan. McKee is found designated as commissary of Indian affairs in the minutes of the conference at Fort Pitt, April 26, 1768, to which reference has been made. McKee had accompanied Bouquet on his expedition to the Muskingum in 1764, and in the minutes of the various conferences is usually recorded as assistant agent. In some conferences Captain William Trent's name appears with McKee's as assistant agent.

At the momentous conference, Sir William, as his majesty's superintendent, presided. Richard Peters and James Tilghman were present as delegates from Pennsylvania. Some Shawanese and Delawares were present, but none signed, for it was a conference with the Six Nations exclusively. Commissioners were also present from Virginia and New Jersey. The treaty then made was one of the most important ever made with the Indians as far as Pennsylvania was concerned, for it opened up the country about Fort Pitt for settlement, and as Father Lambing put it, "made the way clear for the march of civilization to the Ohio from its headwaters to the mouth of the Tennessee."

It was a notable conference, and John Penn was so greatly interested that he went himself, but the Indians being slow to assemble, Penn was obliged to return after considerable wait and leave Messrs. Peters and Tilghman, of the Pennsylvania Council, to represent him. New Jersey was represented by Governor William Franklin, son of Benjamin, and by Chief Justice Frederick Smith. Virginia had but one representative, Thomas Walker. Croghan was present as deputy. Indian agent, and Andrew Montour was one of the three interpreters. Craig names some of the Iroquois "chiefs" present. He meant sachems. The Shawanese had one representative, Benevissica, and the Delawares two, Killbuck and Turtleheart, or "Turtle's Heart," who had made himself thoroughly obnoxious at the siege of Fort Pitt. Killbuck became famous on the side of the colonies during the Revolution and his name has remained a well known name commemorated in Killbuck township, Allegheny county.

The usual addresses were made at the congress, but nothing definite was passed until November 5th, when the following official record was made:

The deed to his Majesty—one to the proprietors of Pennsylvania, and one to the traders being then laid on the table, were executed in the presence of the Governor of New Jersey, the Commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania and the rest of the gentlemen present, after which the chiefs of each nation received the cash which was piled on the table for that purpose, and then proceeded to divide the goods amongst the people which occupied the remainder of the day.

Jared L. Sparks thought the withholding of the names of Killbuck and his colleague and the Shawanese chief a suspicious circumstance.

They must have admitted the right of the Six Nations to cede the lands, for they made no protest. Craig agreed with Sparks because the names of these chiefs are mentioned in the caption of the conference, and because they did not sign, some suspicions must arise as to the fairness of the transaction. At the great conference at Fort Pitt in the spring the Delaware sachem, Beaver, said, "The country lying between this river (the Ohio) and the Allegheny mountains has always been our hunting ground." A Six Nation chief said to Commissioners Allen and Shippen: "It is not without grief that we see *Our Country* settled by you." The commissioners in their instructions to the messengers spoke of the Six Nations as the owners of the land. The truth is that the Six Nations had sent the two Algonquin nations over the mountains and had never relinquished their claim to all the Ohio country, nor their sovereignty over the conquered and vassal tribes in the region. Cannassatego had told the Delawares in 1742 to remove instantly and the Delawares had removed except a few who had remained east of the Susquehanna under the close surveillance of their Iroquian masters. Craig maintains this view, for he states that it is the only one we can take to reconcile the various allusions to the lands between the Ohio and the mountains, and is to suppose that the Six Nations held the absolute dominion over it, but had assigned it to the other nations as a hunting ground—a country to dwell in, he could have said. "Be this as it may," he continued, "the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768 put an end to all controversy about the title to the territory about to be ceded." Craig confines his history to the cession then made to the Penns.¹⁶ In 1784 another treaty was made at Fort Stanwix, but this time the contracting parties were different, for there were no representatives of the crown. October 23, 1784, all the remaining lands claimed by the Six Nations in Pennsylvania were purchased and their title extinguished. The article reciting the cession to the Penns in 1768, with Craig's comments, is as follows:

"We, Tyanhasare, or Abraham, sachem or chief of the Indian nation called the Mohocks; Senaghsis—of the Oneidas; Chenughia—of the Onondagoes; Gastrax—of the Senecas; Sequarisera—of the Tuscaroras; Tagaia—of the Cayugas; in general council of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, assembled for the purpose of setting a general boundary line between the said Six Nations, and their confederates and independent tribes, and his majesty's middle colonies, send greeting, etc. In consideration of ten thousand dollars, they grant to Thomas and Richard Penn, all that part of the province of Pennsylvania, not heretofore purchased of the Indians, within the said general boundary line, on the east side of the east branch of the river Susquehanna, at a place called Owegy, and running with the said boundary line, down the said branch on the east side thereof till it comes opposite the mouth of a creek called by Indians Awandac, (Tawandee) and across the river and up the said creek on the south side thereof, along the range of hills called Burnett's hills by the English, and by the Indians ———, on the north side of them, to the head of the creek which runs into the west branch of Susquehanna, which creek is by the Indians called Tiadaghton, and down the said creek on the south side thereof, to the said west branch of the Susquehanna, then crossing the said river, and running up the same on the south side thereof, the several courses thereof to the fork of the same river which lies nearest to a place on the river Ohio, called Kittanning, and from the said fork by a straight line to Kittanning

¹⁶"Olden Time," Vol. I, pp. 399-403. "History of Pittsburgh," Edition 1917, pp. 87-88.

aforesaid, and then down the said river Ohio by several courses thereof to where the western bounds of the said province of Pennsylvania crosses the same river, and then with the said western bounds to the south boundary thereof, and with the south boundary aforesaid to the east side of the Allegheny hills, and with the said hills on the east side of them to the west line of a tract of land purchased by the said proprietors from the Six Nation Indians, and confirmed October 23rd, 1758, and then with the northern bounds of that tract to the river Susquehannah to the northern boundary line of another tract of land purchased by the Indians by deed, and then with that northern boundary line to the river Delaware at the north side of the mouth of a creek called Lechawachsein, then up the said river Delaware on the west side thereof to the intersection of it, by an east line to be drawn from Owegy aforesaid to the said river Delaware, and then with that line to the beginning at Owegy aforesaid."

Some doubts arose as to what stream it was that was called Tiadaghton, and what hills were meant by "Burnett's Hills." At a subsequent treaty held in 1784, questions of these points were put to the Indians, and they replied that the creek was Pine Creek, which enters the west branch of the Susquehannah above Jersey Shore, and that Burnett's Hills were by them called the Long Mountains.

It is a singular circumstance of history of this treaty that although Virginia claimed a very considerable portion of the territory ceded to the Penns; yet her commissioner Thomas Walker, Esq., was present, saw the money paid to the Indians, and their chiefs executed a deed for the territory which embraced Pittsburgh, the very bone of contention, between those colonies, and yet made no objection, so far as we can learn.

The blank in the text where the Indian name of the creek is omitted is found in all printed copies of the treaty. It is so in the text of the "Pennsylvania Archives," Series Four, Vol. III, p. 403. A fac-simile reproduction of the original document by photostatic process shows some of the signatures of the sachems clearly and their totemic marks, notably those of Tyanhasare, the Mohawk, and Tagaia, the Seneca.

The title being thus acquired, measures were immediately taken to prepare the new purchased land for sale. February 23, 1769, an advertisement was published for general information that the land office would be opened on the third day of the ensuing April at 10 o'clock A. M. to receive applications from all persons inclined to take up land in the new purchase upon the terms of five pounds sterling per hundred acres, and one penny per acre per annum quit rent. This quit rent was afterwards abolished by the act vesting in the Commonwealth the title of the Penns, commonly called the Divesting Act, passed November 27, 1779. In Washington county and in that portion of Allegheny west of the Monongahela river many settlements were also made under Virginia titles, so that there was a rapid increase from 1770 to 1775. Much of the very best lands in that quarter is held by titles based on Virginia entries which by the compromise of 1779 are recognized as equally good as a Pennsylvania warrant. A large portion of the lands along Chartiers Creek is thus held under entries made between the years 1769 and 1779, both inclusive. The place spoken of in the deed as the ford nearest to the Kittanning is the point which now marks the northwest corner of Cambria County.¹⁷

The point is at the town of Cherry Tree, in Indiana county, at the juncture of Indiana, Clearfield and Cambria counties, where a monument has been erected to commemorate its historic associations.

Craig continues: "This cession of 1768 gave to the Penns all the territory in Pennsylvania south of the west branch of the Susquehanna and of a straight line from the northwest corner of Cambria county to Kittanning and all the territory east of that part of the Allegheny river below Kittanning and all the country south of the Ohio. So that Pitts-

¹⁷"History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 90. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 402.

burgh and the country eastward of it was ceded, while the country west of the Allegheny and north of the Ohio was still Indian country, and preserved that name until within the memory of the writer."¹⁸

Craig could justly say this, for he was seven years of age at the time of Wayne's victory over the Western tribes in 1794, and the section referred to was not opened for settlement until about that time, surveyed after the supplementary treaty with the Delawares and Wyandots at Fort McIntosh (since Beaver, Pennsylvania) in January, 1785, and lots sold between 1785 and 1787. "The whole Western territory," says Judge Agnew, "north of the Ohio was then an uninhabited wilderness and this state of affairs continued much later."¹⁹

After Wayne's victory this Indian country rapidly became the white man's country. Previously under the designation the "Indian country," it was distinguished from the country south of the Ohio, which was known as the Virginia lands. Craig has some further history to be repeated here. He says:

While the proprietaries prepared to sell the other lands within their recent purchases, they also made provisions to reserve certain portions as their own private property. The country around Fort Pitt was regarded as being very favorably located; it was, therefore, determined to withdraw it from market and reserve it to the private use of the proprietaries.

On the 5th day of January, 1769, a warrant was issued for the survey of the "Manor of Pittsburgh." On the 27th of March the survey was completed and returned the 19th of May, 1769. It embraced within its bounds five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres, and allowance of six per cent. for roads, etc. The survey began at a Spanish oak on the south bank of the Monongahela, thence south 800 perches to a hickory, thence west 150 perches to a white oak, thence north 35 degrees west 144 perches to a white oak, thence west 518 perches to a white oak, thence north 758 perches to a post, thence east 60 perches to a post, thence north 14 degrees east 208 perches to a white walnut, on the bank of the Ohio, thence up the river 200 perches to a white walnut, thence crossing the river obliquely and up the south side of the Allegheny 762 perches to a Spanish oak, the corner of Croghan's claim, thence south 60 degrees east 249 perches to a sugar tree, south 85 degrees east 192 perches to a sugar tree, thence by vacant land south 18 degrees east 236 perches to a white oak, thence south 40 degrees west 150 perches to a white oak, thence west by claim of Samuel Semple 192 perches to a hickory, thence south 65 degrees west 74 perches to a red oak, on the bank of the Monongahela, thence obliquely across the river, south 78 degrees west 308 perches to the beginning, at the Spanish oak.

As these hickories, white oaks, sugar trees, and Spanish oaks have nearly all disappeared, and even if still standing, would not be readily recognized, we have procured a more modern and intelligent account of this survey.

The Spanish oak, the place of beginning, stood near the south bank of the Monongahela river, just in the middle of McKee Street. The manor line is there the eastern line of the Gregg property. The hickory corner, south of the Spanish oak, stood not far from the Buck Tavern on the Brownsville Road. The white walnut on the Ohio, stood a short distance above the Saw-mill Run where the Washington and Steubenville roads unite. The white walnut from which the line starts across the river, stood near the old glass house, erected by James O'Hara and Isaac Craig, and now owned by Frederick Lorenz. The Spanish oak on the Allegheny River, stood near the line between Croghansville and Springfield Farm. From that point the manor line passes along the

¹⁸"History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 91.

¹⁹"Settlement and Land Titles, etc.," Daniel Agnew, p. 29, citing Gen. Richard Butler's letter, August 10, 1790. See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, Vol. XI, p. 715.

western side of the Springfield Farm, crosses the Fourth street road five or six hundred yards east of the Colony, makes a corner near Mrs. Murray's tavern and strikes the Monongahela three or four hundred feet above the mouth of the Two Mile Run.

Curious questions for speculation are presented by this matter of the "Manor of Pittsburgh." By surveying it off and separating it from the country around, the proprietary manifested his determination to reserve it from sale and hold it as private property, while the land in the vicinity was offered for sale. The occurrence of our revolution and the conduct of the proprietary rendered it necessary for the Commonwealth to pass the act divesting the proprietary of all interest in the territory without the various manors, but leaving his title in the manors undisturbed. This action of the Legislature, no doubt, induced the proprietaries, John Penn Jr., and John Penn, to divide and sell the manor at an earlier day than they would have done, had they retained all the land in the State which was unsold. Now the questions: what would have been the population of the country around and its condition had the proprietaries continued to hold it as private property. Could such a monopoly be tolerated here, and how long?²⁰

Craig published this matter first in 1847, in the June number of "The Olden Time" (Vol. II, No. 6). His interpretation was sufficient for the people of that time and it must be conceded that he knew the ground thoroughly well. As a lawyer and the city solicitor of Pittsburgh prior to becoming the editor and proprietor of the "Pittsburgh Gazette," he would most likely be interested in the survey of the manor, and all the surveys pertaining to Pittsburgh. Now, seventy-four years after he made plain the metes and bounds of the manor, another interpretation is necessary. McKee street was in the old borough of Birmingham and is, since 1874, when that borough was annexed to the city, South Tenth street. The Sydney Gregg estate composed most of the flat as far down as South Seventh street. The Buck Tavern is still a house of public entertainment on its original site and just as it was when Craig wrote. It is in the present borough of Carrick—on the Brownsville road, a short distance west of the South Side Cemetery. Craig and O'Hara's pioneer glass house, subsequently owned by Frederick Lorenz, and later by Lorenz & Wightman, stood on the site of the power house of the Pittsburgh Railways Company, on the lower side of the Point bridge, at the west end of the bridge. Croghansville and the Springfield Farm were "out the pike," later made Penn avenue. These were originally O'Hara holdings and passed to General O'Hara's daughters at his death, Mrs. William Croghan and Mrs. Harmar Denny. The former was the mother of Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Schenley. The Springfield public school on Smallman street, near Thirty-first, is on the Denny tract known as the Springfield Farm and commemorates the name. The Fourth street road, later Pennsylvania avenue, has been for many years the extension of Fifth avenue from Ross street east. The original road turned from Fourth street beyond Ross and was changed by the building of the railroad, tunnel and tracks. The "road" from Diamond street to Chatham, for fifty years called Old avenue, has been made part of Diamond street. The Murray Tavern was in the big bend of the road at the head of the hill above Brady street.

²⁰"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig, Edition 1917, pp. 91-93. "Olden Time;" Vol. II, pp. 330-331.

Just what Craig means by the word "Colony" that occurs in the text in both the "History" and the "Olden Time" is certainly puzzling to the generations of these years. William G. Johnston explains it. Coming west on the Fourth street road he tells of driving through the Shadyside district of those years: "Ten, or a dozen, country seats, known as the 'Third Church Colony' (for the reason that most of their owners were members of the Third Presbyterian Church), occupied the site of what had been, when I first knew the locality, the Chadwick farm, and later, and even yet, Oakland. This farm, to the east, adjoined the extensive lands of Colonel William Croghan's (now Schenley's), where the traction power house has been erected."²¹

This power house is on Fifth avenue, between Atwood street and Oakland avenue. The Chadwick farm lay on both sides of the road, with the mansion on the hill where the Academy of the Sisters of Mercy stands. Two Mile run, before being sewered, came down the hollow between Ruch's and Gazzam's Hills and emptied into the Monongahela under the Brady (or Twenty-second street) bridge.²²

It will be noted that much of the manor of Pittsburgh, in fact the greater part of it, lay outside of the area included in the first incorporation of the town. The plat of the manor shows that it took in most of the South Hills district and its most westerly point was in the present borough of Greentree. The Penn manors were not confiscated, hence the Penn heirs were still seized of the land and competent to make the grants to the churches and sell lots in the manor when Woods and Vickroy laid off the town of Pittsburgh in 1784.

George Croghan's settlement mentioned on a preceding page was on the grant to him subsequently (from 1868) within the limits of the City of Pittsburgh and which grant was held valid. The westerly line of this grant was at the Two Mile run on the Allegheny, or about the foot of Thirty-second street, and this had been the site of Shannopin's Town. Croghan rebuilt his pretentious castle that had been burned by the Indians during the siege of Fort Pitt. This stood on the banks of the Allegheny about the foot of McCandless avenue. Darlington asserts that Croghan's settlement was undoubtedly the first except Gist's within the county of Allegheny. Croghan's house Darlington located a few rods from the late residence of Judge Wilson McCandless. Darlington wrote this prior to 1893, noting that Judge McCandless was dead. The McCandless family resided there from 1844. Judge McCandless died in 1882. The reference to the late residence might be taken to mean otherwise, for the original McCandless home was burned in 1877. Darlington, who knew the locality well, says that two ancient apple trees marked the exact spot of Croghan's house, on the draft of the survey. The White Mingo's castle was directly across the river at the mouth of Pine creek. Croghan held numerous conferences with the Indians at his castle and

²¹See "Life and Reminiscences of William G. Johnston;" p. 204.

²²This two-mile run, to distinguish it from the stream of the same name on the Allegheny, was called Soho Run, and also the Yellow Run.

it was a rendezvous for them when he was at home. Washington and his friends dined with Croghan there, October 18, 1770.²³

Darlington has given us authentic information regarding the Croghan land. He states:

In the Ms. copy of the Land Office Survey in June 1769 for George Croghan's tract of 1352 acres, the White Mingoe's Castle is laid down on the north side of the river opposite the land surveyed near the mouth of Pine Creek on the east side. It was a much older place of resort by the Indians. The present Kittanning road from a half mile above Pine Creek direct to Kittanning was the old Kittanning Path of the Indians and so called by the older white settlers within the memory of the writer.²⁴

It may be remarked here that much of Croghan's land passed into the possession of Thomas Collins, an attorney in the early years of the City of Pittsburgh, who was the father of Sarah Collins, wife of Wilson McCandless, and that the district from the Allegheny to Negley's run on the east and the Greensburg pike (Penn avenue now) on the south was until 1868 Collins township, and upon annexation that year became the eighteenth and nineteenth wards of the city. Croghan's claim is referred to in the warrant for the survey of the manor of Pittsburgh, as has been noted.²⁵

When Pontiac struck in 1763, the English traders in the Indian country were heavy losers. Many were most fortunate in escaping with their lives, among them Thomas Smallman. William Trent, who was attorney in fact for the traders, petitioned Sir William Johnson for relief, requesting that Johnson demand retribution from the Six United Nations. This came with the adoption of the treaty of 1768. Trent himself was a loser to the extent of £4,500. Other heavy losers were Captain Robert Callender, £8,110; John Gibson, £3,384, 8s., 4d.; Baynton, Wharton & Company, £4,369, 1s., 11½d.; John Ormsby, £3,561, 17s., 7d.; Thomas Smallman, £3,085, 10 s.; Franks, Trent, Simons & Company, the heaviest of all, £24,780, 1s., 8d.; a total of over £80,000. It will be noted there were some close figurers in those years. John Welch, enrolled as a resident of Pittsburgh in Bouquet's census of April 14, 1761, was killed. Samuel Wharton, his administrator, put in a claim for his estate of £6,000. It was a just retribution these traders demanded. The Western tribes, under subserviency to the Six Nations, broke away and made trouble for their masters, who were unwilling to admit loss of control and made due compensation. Darlington has furnished the following account ("Gist's Journals," pp. 245-248):

LAND COMPANY OF WM. TRENT & Co.—November 3, 1768, at Fort Stanwix the Sachems and Chiefs of the Six Nations in full council convened by his Majesty's order, and held under the Presidency of his Superintendent of Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson, in consideration of the great losses and Damages, amounting to Eighty five Thousand nine hundred and sixteen pounds ten shillings and eight pence lawful money of New York sustained by sundry Traders in the spring of the year 1763, when the

²³"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig, Edition 1917, pp. 93-94, footnote.

²⁴Darlington cites Clarkson's Diary of 1766, referring to the "Indian Settlement of the Mingoes," and the mention of the place by Schoolcraft in "American Abridged Archives;" Vol. IV, pp. 269. See "Darlington's Gist," pp. 188-189.

²⁵"History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 91. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 330.

Shawnese, Delawares and Huron Tribes of Indians, Tributaries of the Six Nations did seize upon and unjustly appropriate to themselves the Goods, Merchandise and effects of the Traders.

The said Sachems and Chiefs did give grant Bargain and sell unto us our heirs and assigns forever, all the Tract and parcel of Land.

"Beginning at the southerly side of the South of little Kenhawa River, where it empties itself into the Ohio River, and running from thence northeast to Laurel Hill—thence along the Laurel Hill until it strikes the river Monongahela—thence down the stream on the said river Monongahela, according to the several courses thereof to the southern boundary line of the Province of Pennsylvania.—Thence westerly along the course of the said province boundary line as far as the same shall extend and from thence by the same course to the Ohio River according to the several courses thereof to the place of beginning;"

And whereas we understand there are numbers of families settled on the said lands, we do hereby give notice that they may be assured of peaceable possession on complying with the terms of our general Land Office which will be shortly opened for the sale of the said lands in behalf of all grantees and that the purchase will be made easy.

Proceedings of the Grantees of Lands from the Six Nations to the suffering Traders Anno 1763.

Present

Robert Callender
William Trent
John Gibson
Joseph Simon

Pittsburgh, September 2, 1775.

Thomas Smallman
Joseph Spear
George Croghan
John Ormsby

George Morgan.

At a meeting of several of the Grantees of Lands from the Six Nations Indians by Deed Poll dated November 3, 1768, to the suffering Traders Anno 1763.

Present

Robert Callender
William Trent
John Gibson
Joseph Simon

Pittsburgh, September 21, 1775.

George Croghan
John Ormsby
Thomas Smallman
Joseph Spear

George Morgan

Mr. William Trent informs the Company present that on his arrival in England Anno 1769 being advised by Doctor Franklin, Lord Cambdin and others, that it was unnecessary to make application to the Crown of King in Council for a Confirmation of the above mentioned Grant but that all he had to do was to return and take possession thereof, and understanding that Lord Hillsborough was determined to oppose a Confirmation of the said Grant as will appear by his Letters to Sir William Johnson, he declined making the said application for the same to be confirmed. The Mr. Trent recommends not to be made Public, as it may perhaps give an unfavorable Idea of our Right to the common People; but he thought it his duty to communicate it to this company. He further explained to them that soon after his arrival in England a Company of Gentlemen made a purchase from the Crown of a Tract of Land on the Ohio, which includes the Grant of all the Tract given or Granted by the Six Nation Indians to the suffering Traders as aforesaid. That the said Company of Purchasers Stiling themselves the Grand Ohio Company agreed in the Minutes of their proceedings to confirm and convey to the said suffering Traders all their Right and Title to that part of their purchase which includes the Grant from the Indians to the suffering Traders as aforesaid. And he will furnish this Company with a copy of the said Minutes. The Meeting then adjourned till to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock.

At the following meeting rules and regulations for the organized Company were adopted and the following letter addressed to Mr. Walpole:

"Pittsburgh, Sept. 22, 1775.

"Sir: A number of the sufferers by the Indian War in 1763, having met at this place to consult on the most proper method to dispose of their Lands granted to them by the Indians at Fort Stanwix in November 1768, and understanding from Mr. William Trent that you have the Original Deed from the Indians for the said Lands; we request

the favor of you to transmit the same to us or to your brother Thomas, in order that it may be recorded at Williamsburg in Virginia as the jurisdiction of that colony is now extended and exercised as far west at the Ohio and Courts established, etc. We think it our duty to inform you as one of the Grantees, that many Difficulties are like to arise from any delay in taking Possession of the Lands, and that those Difficulties will double on us if we do not very speedily fall on some measures to obtain Peaceable Possession of them and Permission to proceed in their sales. Lands have been and are now surveying to Officers, soldiers and others in Consequence of the King's Proclamation of October 1763, in every part of this Country from hence downward as low as Scioto and indeed as far as Kentucky and the Falls. And you may be assured they have not hesitated to lay their Warrants in many parts of our Grant of which most of the good Lands are already surveyed.

"We are sir

"Your most Obedient Servants."

[Names of Trent, Croghan, Traders etc.]

Virginia declared by express legislation enacted in 1779, that all sales and deeds by Indians for lands within their limits to be void and of no effect. Congress, by acts of the 16th and 18th of September, 1776, and others subsequent thereto, conferred grants of land to the officers and soldiers of the Continental army. Virginia holding the immense tracts of unappropriated land, very soon adopted the idea suggested by Congress of granting land bounties to her officers and soldiers both in the State and Continental establishments. To a Major-General 15,000 acres of land, and to a Brigadier-General 10,000. For this purpose the lands surveyed by Christopher Gist were again surveyed, and the land not in possession of settlers was so disposed of.

Colonel George Morgan, whose name appears above, was a member of the firm of Baynton, Wharton & Company. In 1776 he was made the Indian agent for the Middle Department, with headquarters at Pittsburgh. He remained here after the war and settled in Washington county, his extensive estate called Morganza, a name that has endured and has been well known for many years as the seat of the Pennsylvania Reform School.

Things seemed to run smoothly about Fort Pitt after the treaty at Fort Stanwix. The only important event was the arrival of Washington and his party in October, 1770, the details of which Washington recorded in his journal of his journey to the Kanawha. Craig says: "We will permit him to speak for himself as to what he saw here by an extract from his journal." We may read it here as Washington recorded:

October 17—Dr. Craik and myself with Capt. Crawford and others arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. In riding this distance we passed over a great deal of exceedingly fine land, especially from Sewickley creek to Turtle creek, but the whole broken, resembling, as I think the whole lands in this country do the London lands. We lodged in what is called the town distant about three hundred yards from the fort at one Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses which are built of logs, and ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose, may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne. It is five sided and regular, two of which near the land are of brick; the other stockade. A moat encompasses it. The Garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish commanded by Captain Edmonson.

This was Washington's first return to a well known locality, for he had been here with Gist in 1753 and with Forbes in 1758. He knew the situation of Fort Duquesne, but had not seen the second Fort Pitt;

though he did see the first begun and parted there with his friend Captain Hugh Mercer. The London lands referred to were those of the London Company. Craig observes most justly:

It happens singularly enough that the very first description of the point on which Pittsburgh stands was from the pen of Washington, and the very first statement, which exists, of the number of houses here, is from the same pen. He estimates the number of houses at this place, out of the fort of course, as about twenty. We have no doubt that the number was more likely to be under than over his estimate. But suppose there were twenty, and that there were six persons to a house; Pittsburgh then contained, exclusive of the garrison, one hundred twenty persons, men, women and children.

There is much conjecture here. In 1760 Bouquet enumerated 149 people, which fact Craig seems to have overlooked. Colonel Burd recorded that there were 201 houses finished and unfinished, including huts, and made an "N. B." to this effect: "The above houses exclusive of those in the fort; in the fort five long barracks and a long casimitt." The last word is his spelling of casement. What became of this aggregation during the decade that had elapsed? Washington surely could count the houses, and that he had ample opportunity to view the little town is clear, for he rode out to Croghan's, as he relates:

October 18—Dined in the fort with Colonel Croghan and the officers of the garrison: supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Colonel Croghan the next day at his seat about four miles up the Allegheny.

19th Received a message from Colonel Croghan that the White Mingo and other Chiefs of the Six Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I would be at his house about eleven where they were to meet me. I went up and received a speech with a string of wampum, from the White Mingo, to the following effect:

"That as I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an Embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country and desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers linked together in one chain; that I would inform the Governor that it was their wish to live in peace and harmony with the white people, and that though there had been some unhappy differences between them and the people on our frontiers, they were all made up, and they hoped forgotten; and concluded with saying that their brothers of Virginia did not come among them and trade as the inhabitants of the other provinces did, from whence they were afraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish."

To this I answered after thanking them for their friendly welcome "that all the injuries and affronts that had passed on either side were now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wished and desired by the people of Virginia than to live in the strictest friendship with them; that the Virginians were a people not so much engaged in trade as the Pennsylvanians, which was the reason for their not being so much among them, but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connexions with them and that I would acquaint the government with their desires."

After we dined at Colonel Croghan's we returned to Pittsburgh, Colonel Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the river, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson, an interpreter, to attend us the whole voyage; also a young Indian warrior.

20th—We embarked in a large canoe with sufficient store of provisions and necessities and the following persons besides Dr. Craik and myself, to wit: Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford's, and the Indians who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford's with orders to meet us there again on the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan, Lieutenant Hamilton and Magee set out with us. At two we dined at Mr. Magee's and

encamped ten miles below, and four miles above Logstown. We passed several large islands which appeared to be very good, as the bottoms did on each side of the river alternately: the hills on one side being opposite the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide and so *vice versa*.

"Magee" referred to Alexander McKee. William Crawford, subsequently colonel during the Revolution, was one of Washington's firm friends, whose melancholy end must ever awaken emotions. Harrison was a son-in-law of Crawford, and he, too, perished at the stake when captured by the Indians in the ill-fated Crawford expedition in 1782. Crawford's home was on the Youghiogheny, at what is now New Haven, Pennsylvania, opposite Connellsville, the locality in border times known as Stewart's Crossing. Before coming to Pittsburgh in 1770, Washington stopped at Crawford's. At Logstown, Washington was on familiar ground, as he had been there with Gist in 1753. Proceeding down the river everything went well with the Washington party. On October 28th, when encamped below the Big Hocking river, Washington met an old acquaintance in the person of Guyasutha, whom he records as "Kiya-shuta,"—"he being one of the Indians who went with me to the French in 1753." There was a pow-wow immediately, similar to that with the White Mingo at Croghan's which Guyasutha rehearsed to Washington—how informed Washington does not state. He did record and lament the tedious ceremony which the Indians observe in their counsellings and speeches which detained Washington until 9 o'clock—preventing an early start. However, the party was treated with great kindness and Guyasutha presented a quarter of a very fine buffalo. In Washington's journal of 1753, Guyasutha is mentioned as "the Hunter."

An account of the services of the Moravian brethren in Western Pennsylvania, Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Post, Roth, Ettwein and others, may be omitted, as not being strictly local in character and as being confined to missionary efforts among the Indians. In April, 1770, four years after the arrival of the Revs. Beatty and Duffield, the garrison of Fort Pitt and the townspeople were astonished to see fifteen canoes of Christianized Delawares descend the Allegheny, proceeding down the Ohio and up the Big Beaver, encamping and establishing a town five miles below the site of New Castle. These were the converts of the Moravian missionaries and their town has been commemorated in the Lawrence county town of Moravia. These Christian Indians removed to the Tuscarawas in Ohio in 1773, where their settlements lasted for nine years and their massacre in 1782 by Washington county settlers brought untold calamities on the Western frontier, the ill-fated expedition and tragic death of Colonel Crawford.

Following the visit of the Revs. Beatty and Duffield there came, in the summer of 1772, the Rev. Daniel McClure, a missionary visiting the Indians on the Muskingum. He, too, kept a diary in which he recorded that "he tarried three weeks at Pittsburgh and preached several times to the people of the village who live in about thirty log houses, and also to the British garrison in the fort, a few rods distant, at the request of the commanding officer, Major Edmundstone."

The account of the hospitality shown Washington will serve to recall the fact that he was already famous. The White Mingo attested that. His coming was a bright ray in the dreary round of frontier garrison life. Undoubtedly the various officers of the garrison at the fort from its erection were gentlemen by birth, education and inclination. They could exercise little influence of an uplifting nature upon the rabble that lived in the village "a few rods away." These officers had a social circle peculiarly their own, narrow of necessity and not open to any of the villagers. We must not include Croghan, who was an official of the crown. Croghan was a unique character. E. W. Hassler says Croghan was an Episcopalian when he allowed religion to bother him at all.

Croghan was a faithful official, a man of some education, a land grabber and an Indian trader to the extent that historians have called him the "King of the Traders." As the greatest man in authority here he was looked up to in matters of safety. As an individual he did little for the moral side of the community. In Colonial days preceding the Revolution, with no schools, no churches and but little preaching, it takes slight imagination to picture the collection of hovels about Fort Pitt, which then constituted Pittsburgh as a town without uprightness and we are in a manner prepared for Hugh Henry Brackenridge's comments made in 1786, and Arthur Lee's unfavorable mention in 1784.

In October, 1772, orders were received by Major Edmondstone, in command at Fort Pitt, from General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, directing him to abandon the fort. Edmondstone sold the pickets, stone, timbers, brick and iron of the fort and redoubts for £50, New York currency. A corporal and three men were left to take care of the boats and batteaux intended to keep up communication. "Thus," says Craig, "it appears that Fort Pitt, which had cost the government about £60,000 sterling, and which was designed to secure forever British empire on the Ohio, was within thirteen years ordered to be abandoned. Such is the short-sightedness of our wisest statesmen that even William Pitt could not foresee the early abandonment of the formidable work which bore his name."²⁶

But the fort was not destroyed, though abandoned as a military post by the British government. John Connolly came, as detailed in our next chapter, and during the Revolutionary War the work was constantly occupied by Continental troops, first the Virginia battalion under Captain John Neville, and then by the Continental forces under General Edward Hand, Colonel Daniel Brodhead and General William Irvine, and there thus came into Pittsburgh history these notable names.

²⁶"History of Pittsburgh;" Edition 1917, p. 97.



CHAPTER XXVI.

Virginia Assumes Jurisdiction.

Virginia assumed jurisdiction of the region of the Forks of the Ohio in no gentle manner. Smithfield street is one of the original streets of Pittsburgh, and since the laying out of the town one of the principal thoroughfares north and south. In its name is commemorated the name of Devereux Smith, a thorough patriot and a devoted adherent of the Penns, whose strong opposition to the designs of Lord Dunmore and his scoundrelly factotum, John Connolly, made much of the history of Pittsburgh of 1774-1775 and brought suffering and imprisonment upon Smith. Incidentally the name of Devereux Smith opens up the whole controversy between Lord Dunmore and the Penns regarding the boundary line of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and serves to recall how nearly Pittsburgh came to being included in slave territory. The story ramifies widely. It can be made to include the conflict of jurisdiction between the Pennsylvania magistrates, chief of whom were Arthur St. Clair and Devereux Smith, and those of Virginia appointed by Dunmore, chief of these being George Croghan and his cousin, Thomas Smallman. Connolly was a Pennsylvanian by birth, "smart," as we say now, and thoroughly unscrupulous. Craig says he was a daring, enterprising and sanguine man, and had been a good deal in this country. Connolly reigned with a high hand. He was thoroughly hated by the Pennsylvania contingent in Pittsburgh and his downfall was sudden and complete. When Connolly took possession of the ruined Fort Pitt he changed its name to Fort Dunmore, but the name did not stick. The troubles inspired by Connolly involving Smith and his compatriots lasted until the summer of 1775.

The boundary dispute arose from the transactions of the Ohio Company, which originated in London in 1748. Its projector was John Hanbury, a merchant of London, seconded by Thomas Lee, president of the Council of Virginia, and the stockholders were largely Virginians, among them the executors of the estate of Lawrence Washington, and Augustine Washington, Robert Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, Colonel Thomas Cresap, and George Mason. George II., in 1749, granted the company 500,000 acres, 200,000 to be taken from the south side of the Allegheny (otherwise the Ohio) between the Kiskiminetas and Buffalo creek, and between Yellow creek (Ohio) and Cross creek on the North side, or in such other part of the country west of the Allegheny Mountains as they should think proper, on condition that they should settle 100 families thereon within seven years, and erect and maintain a fort. On compliance with these terms the 300,000 acres additional were to become the company's to adjoin the first grant. The company began operations immediately. It brought a large cargo of goods from England, built a storehouse opposite the mouth of Will's creek, on the site of Cumberland, Maryland,

and by 1751 had built a road to Turkey-foot, or the three forks of the Youghiogheny. It employed Christopher Gist in 1750, who then began his surveys in its interest. The company first designed a fort at Shurtees creek on the Ohio, which we know as Chartiers, the name Shurtee a border pronunciation of the French cognomen of Peter Chartier, the half-breed renegade, who had a trading post there as early as 1743. Colonel Cresap, Captains Trent and Gist were appointed a committee and authorized to procure workmen to build the fort there, stock it and provide ammunition and ordnance. Twenty swivel guns were ordered from London through Hanbury, the plans and transactions of the committee approved by the company at a regular meeting November 2, 1753, and an assessment of £20 sterling made upon each member for building and finishing the proposed fort and clearing the road from Will's creek to the "Mohongaly," which was to be finished with the utmost dispatch. This projected fort was not built. The doubt as to jurisdiction over the territory about the Forks of the Ohio had already arisen.¹

James I., in his original grant of Virginia, made it broad enough in terms to cover nearly one-half of the continent. Dunmore and his clique relied upon this grant in the original charter of Virginia, although the company to which it had been made had been dissolved on a writ of quo warranto, and the lands had reverted to the crown. The Penns claimed under the charter granted William Penn by Charles II. in 1681, which assigned the Delaware river on the eastern boundary, and further said: "Said lands to extend westward five degrees in longitude to be computed from the said eastern bounds." The contention of the Penns was that their grant extended several miles west of Fort Pitt. Virginia claimed all the country west of the Laurel Hill, or ridge, as we now say.

As early as 1754 the Penns had tried to have their western boundary fixed. The claims of Virginia to the lands west and northwest of their coastline were indefinite. The fort proposed by Dinwiddie and begun by Ensign Ward at the forks of the Ohio was to have been built with the consent of the Penns as a safeguard against the mutual enemy of both colonies, the French. Dinwiddie had sent Washington to the French forts in 1753, a futile mission it turned out. It must have amused the redoubtable and gentlemanly Legardeur de St. Pierre, the French commander, when he considered the presumptions of Dinwiddie. At any rate St. Pierre evidently had a quiet little laugh in the interior of his sleeve, and was fully justified in giving old Robert Dinwiddie, the rapacious grouch at Williamsburg, Virginia, a raucus one, bordering on the horse variety. And all the time the Penns sighed, and Dinwiddie swore, and his fort was not built. Thomas Penn, wise man, stipulated that if this fort was built it must be without prejudice to his claim if the site be found within the Pennsylvania limits. The Penns claimed that the Forks were six miles within her grant. In the ultimate settlement of the boundary line they got much more; what the map of Pennsylvania shows. However, by consent of the Penns, Dinwiddie sent Captain Trent and his company to build the fort at the Forks, the Point, we call it.

¹See Chapter XIII herein, and "Gist's Journals;" Darlington, pp. 224, *et seq.*

Ensign Edward Ward, left in command by Trent, was in charge at the fort. Contrecoeur and his flotilla came down the Allegheny river and April 17, 1754, summoned Ward to surrender. Resistance was useless. Ward had but forty-one men, Contrecoeur hundreds. Contrecoeur built Fort Duquesne. The French jurisdiction began. Bloody deeds followed for over four years. Braddock came, Major Grant came, and both met defeat. Forbes came, and Bouquet; Duquesne vanished, Pitt arose. A larger and better fort in 1759 succeeded the first Fort Pitt and Pittsburgh began. It was still unsettled whether the town belonged to Virginia or to the Penns. In October, 1772, General Thomas Gage, of Boston Revolutionary fame, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, who had been under Braddock in 1755 and in the battle where his chief lost his life, ordered the demolition of Fort Pitt. To that end Major Charles Edmondstone (not Edmonson, or Edmund Stone, as some histories name him) was in command, and sold the fort, all the pickets, brick, timber and iron in the buildings, the walls and redoubts, to Alexander Ross and William Thompson for £50, New York currency. The work is estimated to have cost the British government £60,000. It was a formidable and well constructed fortress. Judge H. H. Brackenridge, in the first number of the "Pittsburgh Gazette," July 29, 1786, in writing of the fort, places this estimate upon the cost of the fort. Other historians think the amount excessive and that a typographical error increased the amount from £6,000. Building forts in the wilderness necessarily was expensive work. The bricks were made on the ground; the timber cut nearby and it is difficult to see how upwards of \$250,000 could have been expended in construction. The fort, which was designed to secure British empire forever on the Ohio, was within thirteen years ordered to be abandoned, Craig remarks. However, the fort was not destroyed, though abandoned. Some of the material of the fort was used to erect houses in the town before the sale was set aside. In 1772 a corporal and three men only had been left in charge. In 1773 Richard Penn advised that a small garrison be left in the fort as a protection from the Indians. As early as 1770 the Virginia authorities began to interest themselves in the colony on the Ohio, and settlers came into the region. In 1773, the Penns petitioned the king to settle the boundary dispute, but Dunmore denied their rights and declared a large tract of land some fifty miles within Pennsylvania territory to be under his control. Dunmore's pliant tool, John Connolly, came, settlers were granted land by Virginia and many petty feuds ensued between settlers claiming rights from both parties. There were stirring times in embryo Pittsburgh in the two years preceding the Revolution. The year 1774 especially was one of much movement here. In that year the citizens of the colonies engaged in war with the Indians for the last time as subjects of Great Britain and under the command of British officers and this was distinctly a Virginia war. In that year Lord Dunmore passed through Pittsburgh on his way down the Ohio to coöperate with General Andrew Lewis in an attack upon the Ohio Indians. In that year the massacre of Logan's family took place at what was then known as

Baker's Bottom on the Ohio at the mouth of Yellow creek. In that year, also, the celebrated speech of Logan was delivered to Dunmore by Colonel John Gibson at the camp near Chillicothe, Ohio. In 1774 the boundary controversy came to maturity and almost glided into civil war. The obnoxious Connolly, partisan and factotum of Dunmore, came to Pittsburgh early in 1774. He had ample authority from Dunmore. Sometimes we find Connolly mentioned as "major," more often as "Dr." Connolly. On his arrival he took possession of Fort Pitt, then partly dismantled. He changed its name to Fort Dunmore. He called the militia together by proclamation, naming January 25, 1774, as the date of assembling. In Pennsylvania the Pittsburgh section was included in Westmoreland county, the county seat at Hannastown, its site about four miles north of Greensburg, which had not yet arisen.

Arthur St. Clair, a Westmoreland county magistrate under appointment of the Governor of Pennsylvania, issued a warrant for Connolly's arrest and put him in jail at Hannastown. Hannastown was a mere frontier hamlet of rude log houses. It was utterly destroyed by the Indians July 13, 1782. Connolly was released on bail, and proceeded to Staunton, Virginia, the county seat of Augusta county, and still the seat of what has been left of the original county. Connolly had himself sworn in as a justice of the peace of the county which, it was alleged, embraced the country around Pittsburgh. In the latter part of March he returned here with both civil and military authority to put the laws of Virginia in force.

Court met at Hannastown on April 5. A few days later Connolly, with 150 armed partisans with colors flying, appeared there and placed guards about the court house. These guards refused to admit the Pennsylvania magistrates without orders from Connolly. Meeting the magistrates, Connolly denied the authority of the court, even the right of the magistrates to hold a court. On the contrary the magistrates insisted that their authority rested on the legislative authority of Pennsylvania; that it had been exercised in a regular manner, that they would continue to exercise it in the same way, and that they would do all in their power to preserve public tranquility. They gave assurances that Pennsylvania would use every exertion to accommodate the differences by fixing a temporary boundary until the true one could be ascertained. But Connolly was not satisfied and refused assent to the sensible offer of the Pennsylvania magistrates.

On April 8 Æneas Mackay, Devereux Smith and Andrew McFarlane returned from the court to Pittsburgh. All three were Pennsylvania justices, and all resided in Pittsburgh. On the following day they were arrested by Connolly's sheriff and, refusing to give bail, were sent under guard to Staunton. After a day's travel Mackay got permission to go to Williamsburg and proceeded there and consulted with Dunmore. Mackay came to Staunton after inducing his lordship to write a letter requesting the sheriff to set the three prisoners at liberty and permit them to return home. Dunmore stated he would be answerable for the appearance of Mackay, Smith and McFarlane in case it should be re-

quired. Mackay wrote Governor Penn from Staunton on May 5, detailing all the circumstances of their case and the fact that they were at liberty and about to return home. Penn had received the news on April 19. On April 21, at a meeting of the Provincial Council, it was determined to send two commissioners to Virginia to prevent the ill consequences sure to ensue if an immediate stop were not put to the disorders about Fort Pitt. The commissioners appointed were James Tilghman and Andrew Allen. They were to consult upon the best means for establishing peace and good order hereabouts. They were to ask Virginia to unite with the proprietaries of Pennsylvania to petition the king to appoint commissioners to run the boundary line, to agree to a temporary line, but in no event to assent to any line which would give Virginia jurisdiction of the country on the east side of the Monongahela river.

The Penns were honorable and just in this. Dunmore agreed to submit the controversy to the king and requested the commissioners to submit their proposition for a temporary line. This they did; in brief a line running five degrees westward from the courses of the Delaware, the southern line starting at the mouth of Christiana creek on that river, to follow Mason and Dixon's line and that line to be extended as far west as might be needful. As the courses of the Delaware are curved to a remarkable degree, the Penns' western temporary boundary line was a zigzag line, but it left Pittsburgh well within their province. The permanent line was to be settled by royal authority. Dunmore objected to such an inconvenient line on the west. He wanted a meridian line at a distance of five degrees from the Delaware from the forty-second degree of latitude. This is the present northern boundary of Pennsylvania except the Erie triangle. If we take the most eastern point on the Delaware, Dunmore's proposal left Pittsburgh within Virginia territory. Negotiations were soon broken off as useless. Dunmore became discourteous and rude. He absolutely refused to relinquish Fort Pitt and the surrounding territory in dispute until ordered to do so by the king. In his correspondence he referred always to Fort Pitt, never once calling it Dunmore. It was May 27 when the commissioners gave up their bad job and started homeward. Though calling the fort Pitt, Dunmore had nevertheless recognized the new name bestowed by Connolly.

In the meantime Connolly continued to domineer with a high hand at Fort Pitt. In June, Mackay wrote a doleful letter to Governor Penn, in strong language complaining: "The deplorable state of affairs in this part of your government is truly distressing. We are robbed, insulted and dragooned by Connolly and his militia in this place and its environs." Connolly certainly made things hot for the adherents of the proprietaries, Arthur St. Clair, Devereux Smith, Æneas Mackay, Andrew McFarlane, John Ormsby, Richard Butler, James O'Hara, Andrew Robinson, John Irwin and others. Pittsburgh was included in the District of West Augusta in the Virginia county of Augusta, later in the county of Yohogania, the district including two other counties, Monongahela and Ohio, which remained Virginia counties and are to-day counties in West Virginia, with Morgantown and Wheeling the county seats respectively.

The District of West Augusta, as mapped by Boyd Crumrine, included all that part of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghenies south of the Indian boundary line at Kittanning, and west of the Laurel Hill. Yohogania took in that part of West Augusta north of the mouth of Cross creek and the point where the Laurel Hill crosses the south line of Pennsylvania.²

The conduct of Connolly was certainly oppressive. The colonies were violently disturbed by the exactions of the crown, and the Revolution was rapidly approaching.

The war begun by Dunmore was actually raging between the Virginians and the Indians and all the Pennsylvania border was in peril. So great was the anxiety and distress of the Penn adherents that they at one time contemplated leaving this place and removing to Kittanning, which lay in another manor of the Penns. Another project was to raise a stockade around the town of Pittsburgh, which then included the ground which lies between Water street and Second avenue and Market and Ferry streets. These projects were evidences of the acute state of feeling here. The Earl of Dartmouth, one of the secretaries of state for George the Third, wrote Dunmore and took him sharply to task. He blamed Dunmore for the Indian troubles then existing and disavowed the acts of Connolly, saying that he was informed that:

One Connolly, using your lordship's name and pleading your authority, has presumed to reestablish Fort Pitt at Pittsburgh, which had been demolished by the King's express order. The facts asserted herein if not true, may be contradicted by your lordship's authority, but if true, which I cannot suppose, such steps may be taken, as the King's dignity and justice shall dictate.

September 17, 1774, Dunmore was in Pittsburgh, preparing for his expedition against the Indians. He issued a proclamation claiming the country hereabouts for Virginia and called on "All his majesty's subjects West of the Laurel Hill to pay due respect to the proclamation, prohibiting the execution of any act of authority on behalf of the province of Pennsylvania at their peril; but on the contrary, that due regard and entire obedience be paid to the laws of his majesty's colony of Virginia." On October 12, Governor Penn counter-proclaimed in a lengthy document maintaining that his northern and western bounds were fully recognized, and ended by calling on all persons west of Laurel Hill to retain the settlements made under the province of Pennsylvania and to pay due obedience to the laws of that province; and charged all the magistrates to proceed as usual in the administration of justice.

Connolly continued his high-handed proceedings. Twice with armed forces he broke open the jail at Hannastown and released prisoners, the first time two men under sentence of death.

By the summer of 1775 the conflict of authority culminated; the power of Dunmore and his agent was fast drawing to a close.

The shots heard around the world had hastened a new era, the era of revolution. Dunmore, on June 8, went on board a British man-o'-war and was soon joined by Connolly. This was in July. Connolly was sent

²"History of Washington County, Pa.," p. 183; "History of Augusta County, Va.," Peyton, p. 176.

to Boston, an emissary to General Gage from Dunmore, and returned in September. The continued conflict of authority and disorder at Pittsburgh attracted the attention of all patriotic citizens. In the first Continental Congress, which included Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin as members, a circular was agreed upon and sent to the disputed region, urging the people to mutual forbearance. It recommended that "all bodies of armed men kept by either parties be dismissed and that all on either side in confinement or on bail for taking part in the contest be discharged."

There were no armed men maintained by Pennsylvania, and Craig thinks that the expression "either party" was used to avoid the appearance of invidiousness. Connolly and his men had taken effectual measures for the release of any Virginians in confinement.

Devereux Smith was particularly a victim of Connolly's vindictiveness. Old archives contain a long letter from Smith addressed to Dr. William Smith under date June 10, 1774. He begins:

Sir—I returned to this place the 11th of May, and found my family in the greatest confusion owing to the appearance of an Indian war and the tyrannical treatment they received from Dr. Connolly in my absence.

This was Dunmore's war and Smith had arrived home from Staunton, where he had been taken a prisoner by Connolly's orders.

Smith recites various happenings in the Indian country, tells of Logan's vengeance, referring to him as "a Mingo man, whose family had been murdered;" tells of the outrageous conduct of Connolly's men in entering Smith's house by armed forces and of the interposition of William Butler to save Smith's goods, of the blasphemous language of Connolly and one of his captains, George Aston, who attempted to run the muzzle of a gun into the face of Æneas Mackay; and that Aston would have killed Smith had not bystanders prevented; tells of pulling down outbuildings of Smith's and Mackay's, and in fact relates all of the "dirty work" as we say now of Connolly.

Smith says in one paragraph: "The inhabitants of the town are busily employed in stocading it round about; yet we have no reason to expect anything better than ruin and destruction." Dunmore's war bore heavily upon the distressed inhabitants of Pittsburgh.

Under "Remarks on the Proceedings of Dr. Connolly," dated Pittsburgh, June 25, 1774, printed in Rupp's "History of Western Pennsylvania and the West," and in Craig's "Olden Time," all the facts of Connolly's wrongdoing are recorded, the preamble reading:³

The distressed inhabitants of this place have just cause to charge their present calamity and dread of an Indian war entirely to the tyrannical and unprecedented conduct of Doctor John Connolly whose designs (as we conceive) is to better his almost desperate circumstances, upon the distress of the public, and the ruin of our fortunes as will appear from the following facts:

These follow much as have been told above. These "remarks" were sent by Devereux Smith with his letter, the line appearing after his sig-

³Former, App., pp. 215-219. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 499-502.

nature, "The inhabitants of this country are petitioning Gov. Penn by this opportunity." The "remarks" conclude: "These are but few of the many distresses we labor under, and without protection and speedy redress, cannot long support ourselves under grievous persecution and tyranny."

No relief came for over a year, as we have seen. The memorial to Penn was sent and was unavailing.⁴

The following list of "persons well disposed to his majesty's government living on the frontiers of Virginia in 1775, was furnished by Dunmore and prepared by Connolly, George Croghan's name not appearing in it:

Alexander McKee and James his brother; Alexander Ross, a Scotchman (estate confiscated), John Campbell (proved to be a patriot), Capt. Geo. Aston (killed at Pitt by Devereaux Smith in the summer of 1775), Lieut. William Christy, Lieut. Jacob Bausman.

Indians—White Eyes, The White Mingo, Cornstalk, Guyasutta, John Montour and Logan.

At Allegheny Mountains, Major William Crawford, Valentine his brother, John Stephenson, half brother of the Crawfords, William Harrison, son-in-law of William Crawford, Thomas Gist and brother.

Some of these men turned out staunch patriots, the Crawfords and Gists notably. The parenthetic remarks are not Dunmore's. Valentine Crawford wrote George Washington, June 24, 1775:

Pennsylvanians came to Fort Pitt with their sheriff took Major Connolly about midnight and carried him to Fort Ligonier. On Major Connolly being taken, the people of Chartiers came in a company and seized three Pennsylvania magistrates who were concerned in the taking of Connolly, George Wilson, Joseph Spear and Devereaux Smith. They were sent in an old leaky boat down to Fort Fincastle (Wheeling) under guard. Our court however had no hand in this. It was done by a mob of Connolly's friends who live on Chartiers Creek.

Trouble was brewing, nevertheless Connolly was released. He left Pittsburgh, July 25, started to visit Dunmore as mentioned above.

In the following November he was seized by the Maryland authorities at Hagerstown and imprisoned at Frederick as an enemy to his country. He remained a prisoner for several years.

George Croghan was accused of being a tory. He was really a neutral. All his estates were confiscated and he died bankrupt at the close of the Revolution, as detailed in the next chapter. The last Virginia court for West Augusta in which Croghan took part as a magistrate was held in Pittsburgh, November 21, 1775, for the examination of Devereux Smith for the murder of Captain Aston. Smith was admitted to bail on condition that he "appear at the next general court if he were able at that time to attend from the situation of his wound and the state of his health." Aston was the brutal officer complained of by Smith.

The inference is that Aston was killed in an affray and Smith was wounded. The war coming on, it is probable that Smith was never tried. Smith lived unmolested in Pittsburgh for years after the Revolution.

⁴In addition to above references see "History of Pittsburgh;" Craig, Edition 1917, Chap. VI.

A. J. C. Cairns

The statement has been frequently made that the boundary dispute was bitter. It was characterized by much bitterness by the respective partisans, especially on the part of the Virginia authorities. Not so on the part of the Penns themselves. Their course was dignified and just throughout. They relied on the merits of their claim and attempted nothing by force of arms and coercion. Richard Penn, a younger brother of John Penn, was lieutenant-governor, 1771-73, and John Penn from August, 1773, until July, 1776, when independence was proclaimed. These were sons of Richard Penn, who died in 1771, and grandsons of William Penn. These two, with their uncle, Thomas Penn, were the proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania. Thomas Penn died in London, March 21, 1775. Arthur St. Clair was the agent of the Penns in Western Pennsylvania. He was also prothonotary, clerk and recorder of Westmoreland county. With this mention, St. Clair, subsequently of national fame, comes into the history of Pennsylvania, and with the possible exception of Franklin has filled more pages than any of his contemporaries.

St. Clair was born in Thurso, Caithness, Scotland, in 1734. It may be noted he was the fourth from the land of Bruce to have extended mention in Pittsburgh history—his predecessors, Braddock, Halket and Forbes. St. Clair was the grandson of the Earl of Roslyn and was well born, and well educated at the University of Edinburgh. He studied medicine, but having inherited a fortune from his mother he purchased a commission as ensign in the 60th Regiment of Foot in 1757 and came to America with Admiral Boscowan's fleet. He served under Amherst at Louisburg in 1758 and with Wolfe at Quebec the next year. He resigned his commission in 1762 and coming to Pennsylvania in 1764 settled in the Ligonier Valley, then in Cumberland county; next Bedford, until 1773, when Westmoreland county was formed, in which this famous valley has remained. St. Clair was an active pioneer in the region, owning much land on which he erected a mill and an imposing residence for the times. He was first made surveyor of the Cumberland county district, next was a justice of the court of quarter sessions and common pleas, a member of the Proprietary Council, and previous to the formation of Westmoreland county a justice of the peace and recorder and clerk of the orphans' court in Bedford county. In July, 1775, he was made colonel of militia, and in the fall of that year he accompanied as secretary the commissioners that were appointed to treat with the western tribes at Fort Pitt. He took the side of the colonies in the Revolution. He served through the whole war and rose to the rank of major-general. He represented Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress from 1785 to 1787, and was president of that body when it passed the famous ordinance of 1787, by which the Northwest Territory was organized. He was governor of this territory from 1789 to 1802. In 1791 he commanded the expedition against the Miami Indians, which ended so disastrously. He was sick at the time and gave his orders on a litter; but public opinion obliged him to resign his command. He returned to civil life and became a farmer on his Westmoreland county land. After a long and

distinguished public service, it was this good man's fate to live poor and neglected for many years, and to die from an accident, having been found insensible in the the road, evidently having been jolted from a small wagon, as his pony remained near with the vehicle. He did not regain consciousness, dying the next day, August 31, 1818, aged eighty-four.⁵ His name has been widely commemorated.

John Penn throughout showed his Quaker love of peace. As early as April 22, 1774, he wrote Colonel William Crawford, who subsequently adhered to Virginia. Penn addressed his letter to "Wm. Crawford and his Associate Justices of the Peace in Westmoreland County." Its text ran:

Gentlemen—The present alarming situation of our affairs in Westmoreland county occasioned by the very unaccountable Conduct of the Government of Virginia requires the utmost attention of this Government and therefore I intend with all possible Expedition to send Commissioners to expostulate with my Lord Dunmore upon the Behavior of those he has thought proper to invest with such authority as hath greatly disturbed the peace of that country. As the Governor of Virginia hath the Power of raising a Militia and there is not such in this Province it will be in vain to contend with them in the way of Force. The Magistrates therefore at the same time, that they shall continue with Steadiness to exercise the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania to the Distributions of Justice and Punishment of Vice, must be cautious with the officers of Lord Dunmore as may tend to widen the present unhappy Breach and therefore as Things are at present Circumstances I would not advise the Magistracy of Westmoreland County to proceed by way of Criminal Prosecution against them for exercising the Government of Virginia. I flatter myself that our Commissioners of Virginia will succeed according to our expectations and that our Affairs Westward will soon be put upon a peaceable and quiet Footing.

Governor Penn wrote the Pennsylvania justices the same day:

Gentlemen: I received your several letters informing me of your Arrest and Confinement on Warrants issued by Dr. Connolly and cannot but greatly approve your Spirit and the Attachment you have shown the Interests of this Province. But as the Confinement of your persons at so great a Distance from Your Homes must be injurious to your private Concerns, if you can procure your Enlargement by finding bail, I shall by no means disapprove of such a step. I shall with all possible Expedition send Commissioners to Lord Dunmore to apply for your discharge and as Col. Wilson is so obliging as to offer to call at Staunton on his way home, I have instructed him to procure for you any security or credit you may stand in need of, and shall do everything in my Power to free you from your disagreeable situation, or to make it as comfortable as may be.

I am gentlemen

Your Very Humble Servant,

JOHN PENN.

To Æneas Mackay, Devereaux Smith, and Andrew McFarlane, Justices of the Peace for Westmoreland County.⁶

Devereux Smith made affidavit at Hannastown, February 10, 1775, before Joseph Spear, J. P., one of his majesty's justices for Westmoreland county, deposing that:

On the 8th instant between 8 and 9 o'clock, 12 or more armed men belonging to the garrison kept up by Lord Dunmore's orders surrounded the house of Devereux Smith in Pittsburgh in said county of Westmoreland and attempted to break open his doors

⁵"History of Westmoreland County;" George Dallas Albert, p. 223.

⁶"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 470.

and windows to the great terror of his family, at the same time telling him what the Virginia boys could do. That with the violence of their throwing stones they split one of his window shutters and continued about the street until near 12 o'clock during which he was under necessity of sitting up in arms to protect his infant family.⁷

Colonel William Crawford was blamed for many such outbreaks, as he was a violent partisan of Virginia. In the archives of Pennsylvania there are records of Robert Hanna, of Hannastown; William Lochry, a justice of the peace; John Carnaghan, sheriff of Westmoreland county; James Smith and Samuel McKenzie, citizens, complaining to Governor Penn of acts of violence of the Virginia partisans.

Much data is found in these archives published by the State, including Governor Penn's letter to the Assembly of the province; letters to Arthur St. Clair at Ligonier, and messages of Penn to the Shawanese and Delawares, concerning troubles brought about by Virginia, in the summer of 1774. There are also instructions to James Tilghman and William Allen, commissioners of Lord Dunmore, regarding the boundary dispute; letter to Sir William Johnson, the king's superintendent of Indian affairs at Fort Stanwix, New York; letters to Dunmore concerning the danger of a general Indian war and remonstrating against conduct of Connolly; letter to St. Clair on the danger of Indian war and suggesting measures to prevent it—all these items are to be found in the "Fourth Series, Messages of the Governors of Pennsylvania," to which reference is invited.⁸

The Pennsylvania people came back at Connolly under the sheriff of Westmoreland county and George Wilson, a Pennsylvania justice. These, with a posse raised at Hannastown, came to Pittsburgh in June, 1775, released the Pennsylvania justices Connolly had imprisoned and carried off Connolly to St. Clair's house in Ligonier, but this adventure promising trouble the Pennsylvania committee released Connolly, who remained about Pittsburgh until July 25, when he left to join Dunmore.

Connolly was placed under arrest at Frederick, Maryland, by the Continental officers in November, 1775.⁹ With other Tories he was kept closely confined until the winter of 1780-1781, when he was exchanged and immediately proceeded to Canada and endeavored to put into effect his expedition against Fort Pitt, but was frustrated. Dunmore fled to the British and was more or less active against the colonies. As showing how utterly repugnant to Washington's estimate of Connolly was the man's real character, we have a competent witness in John Ormsby, the sterling Pittsburgh pioneer of previous mention in these pages. Washington, who met Connolly in Pittsburgh in 1770, said he was "a sensible, intelligent man;" probably with some reason.¹⁰ Elroy M. Avery, characterizes Connolly as "a man not easily to be admired; his violence and outrages had brought even white men to the verge of open war." Connolly tried to embroil John Gibson in his nefarious schemes, but failed.

⁷"Olden Time," Vol. I, p. 517.

⁸See the "Olden Time," Vol. I, pp. 457-524, where Craig has published about all the official matter enumerated above.

⁹"Wilderness Trail;" Hanna, Vol. II, p. 78.

¹⁰Journal, 1770, Nov. 22.

John Ormsby left a book of his ownership in which he inserted copious notes. This book was entitled "The History of the Civil War in America," and of London publication. Neville B. Craig had Ormsby's copy and extracted the following in regard to Connolly as Ormsby set it down:¹¹

Dr. Connolly was born and bred near Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna. His father was a grubber among the farmers, who found the secret of pleasing a Quaker orderly widow of the name of Ewing. This match as might be expected proved very disagreeable so that he left nothing to commemorate his memory but the above villainous Doctor. The fellow had traversed the Illinois country until he could subsist there no longer, so that he appeared a few years before the commencement of the Revolution. He was introduced to Lord Dunmore here who traveled through the Western Country to sound the inclinations of the inhabitants as well as the Indians. Connolly, like a hungry wolf, closed with Dunmore a bargain that he would secure a considerable interest among the white inhabitants and Indians on the frontier.

In consequence of this agreement my Lord made him a deed of gift of 2000 acres of land, and 2000 more to Mr. John Campbell, late of Kentucky, both of which grants are now owned by the heirs of Col. Campbell. Connolly immediately set himself to work in disseminating his hellish insinuations among the people. He employed an adjutant to drill the militia, and had the audacity to engage artificers to repair the old fort, and in every respect acted the part of a tyrant. He sent runners among the Indians far and near, with large promises of soon supplying them with goods and money. Having thus paved the way for his atrocious designs, he met Dunmore at Alexandria, where they concerted the infernal scheme of massacring all those on the frontiers who would not join in their work.

Matters being thus arranged, Dunmore sent Connolly to General Clinton in New York,¹² who approved the scheme and appointed Connolly a lieutenant-colonel and commander of two or three regiments of whites and Indians, with authority to draw on the pay-master general for cash. Upon this exultation the great and mighty Connolly set out for Baltimore, where he joined the persons who were taken along with him, and who, no doubt, were as sanguinary villains as himself. A report was whispered among the minute men at Hagerstown, etc., of Connolly's schemes so that they had a sharp lookout for him, and happily succeeded in arresting him and his comrades and all the commissions for the new regiments, with the general plan of their operations were found upon him, upon which he was committed to prison. This news you may be sure was joyfully received on the frontier and especially at Pittsburgh, where the writer of these lines resided with his family.

When Lord Dunmore arrived at Pittsburgh he lodged at my house and often closeted with me, as he said for information respecting the disposition of the inhabitants. He threw out some dark insinuations as to my usefulness in case I would be concerned, but as he found, I kept aloof. When he divulged his plans to Connolly, (and I suppose to Campbell,) else why give him the aforesaid grant of land which he enjoys and which is very valuable? Had Connolly and his associates reached Pittsburgh, there were a great many drunken, idle vagabonds waiting to join him. The savages were also in high expectation that they would soon glut their vengeance on the distressed frontier inhabitants, but the Almighty Lord showed himself to be our protector against all the machinations of our European and American foes. Connolly and Arnold, both of whom merited a halter, are now in half pay in the British establishment.

Craig gives no date to these extracts, evidently Ormsby penned them after the war, to be inferred from the allusion to Benedict Arnold. Connolly, according to Washington, was George Croghan's nephew, but how is not clear. Hanna has attempted to reason it out and puts his investigations in these paragraphs:

¹¹"Olden Time;" Vol. II, pp. 93-94.

¹²An erroneous statement. Connolly went to Gen. Gage at Boston.

It has sometimes been stated that George Croghan and William Trent were brothers-in-law. How they became so is not clear. William Trent's only sister, Mary, married Nathaniel French, of Philadelphia. Trent himself married Sarah Wilkins, possibly a daughter of one of the Indian Traders of that name. Croghan's nephew, it will be remembered was Doctor John Connolly, the Loyalist. Connolly was the son of John Connolly Sr., a native of Ireland, and of Susanna Howard, sister of Gordon Howard, one of the early Indian Traders of Lancaster County. She first married James Patterson, the Trader, and after his death, Dr. Thomas Ewing, of Lancaster. John Connolly, Sr., was her third husband. Dr. Connolly, their son, married Susanna Semple, daughter of Samuel Semple, the innkeeper of Fort Pitt, who furnished Washington such good entertainment in 1770. If Croghan's wife was a Wilkins, and sister to William Trent's wife, it is possible that she may have been a sister to Samuel Semple's wife, the mother of Susanna Connolly; and this would have made Connolly Croghan's nephew, by marriage. The name of Croghan's own daughter, as shown by his will, was Susanna; which was also the Christian name of Connolly's mother, as well as that of his wife. But it is difficult to see how Croghan could have been a brother-in-law to Trent, who married Sarah Wilkins, and also to John Connolly Sr., who married Susanna Howard, the widow of Doctor Ewing, unless indeed, Sarah Wilkins and Susanna Howard may have been half-sisters, and one of them Croghan's wife's sister.

We have seen from what has been printed in the earlier part of this chapter, and from the abstract of Croghan's will, that he was a half-brother of Major Ward, the man who surrendered the Virginia Fort to the French in 1754; and that he was also a cousin to Major Thomas Smallman, another prominent trader at Fort Pitt; and also a kinsman of William Powell. It is unlikely, though not impossible that Croghan and John Connolly were also half-brothers.¹⁸

Hanna in his chapter on Croghan is complete with the account of Connolly's action in Pittsburgh and has recorded much of the same matter as Craig has in the "Olden Time." The story of Logan comes in the record also. Although Connolly was a nephew of Croghan, it seems strange that Æneas Mackay wrote Governor Penn from Pittsburgh: "Mr. Croghan, who has been grossly abused by our Bashaw (Connolly) lately; is gone to Williamsburgh to represent every part of his conduct to the Governor and Council in its true light. Altho' others doubt, I am certain Mr. Croghan is earnest and sincere respecting that intention, for he joins the rest of the inhabitants in charging all our present calamity to the Doctor's act." Hanna says further:

December 6, 1774, Lord Dunmore had issued a new commission appointing magistrates for the county of West Augusta, including the district around Pittsburgh and on the 21st of the following February a number of the new justices west of the mountains met at Fort Dunmore (the name which Connolly had given to Fort Pitt) and held their first Court. They were George Croghan, President, John Campbell (Croghan's surveyor), John Connolly (Croghan's nephew), Thomas Smallman (Croghan's cousin), Dorsey Pentecost, John Gibson, George Vallandigham and William Goe. Other justices who were present at subsequent meetings of the Court, included Edward Ward (Croghan's half-brother), William Crawford (Washington's land agent), John Canon, John Stephenson, John McCullough, Silas Hedge and David Shepherd. The records of the Courts of West Augusta and of Yohogania (one of the counties into which West Augusta was subsequently divided by Virginia) have been printed in large part by Mr. Boyd Crumrine in his *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*. These records, for Augusta County, extend from February 21, 1775, to November 20, 1776; and for Yohogania County, from December 23, 1776, to August 28, 1780. They are practically the only records of the civil government of the country around the Forks of Ohio during most of this time; as the jurisdiction of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania,

¹⁸"The Wilderness Trail;" Hanna, Vol. II, pp. 84-85.

which nominally covered all of Southwestern Pennsylvania, did not actually, at that period, extend much farther west and south than the present limits of the county; although three or four of the Westmoreland justices continued to reside in Pittsburgh.¹⁴

Incidental to the boundary troubles was the murder of the Logan family, the great chief and friend of the whites, especially the Pennsylvanians. All historians dilate upon this phase of border history, and Thomas Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," sought to immortalize it, and succeeded. Subsequently a controversy arose over its genuineness. In 1797 one Luther Martin, an able lawyer and son-in-law of Captain Michael Cresap, alleged to have murdered Logan's family on the Ohio river, near Yellow creek, in the spring of 1774, wrote to one James Fennell, a public declaimer in Philadelphia, protesting against the use of this speech as a calumny upon the Cresap family and attacking Jefferson for his part in incorporating the speech in literature. Cresap was said not to have murdered the family of Logan, and not to have been near the locality where it occurred. Martin's letter is very long. It is reproduced by Craig in the second volume of "The Olden Time," also the voluminous correspondence that ensued—long letters from Jefferson to General John Gibson, to whom Logan entrusted the "alleged speech" to be given Dunmore.¹⁵ Jefferson demanded of Gibson all the particulars of the affair and Gibson replied with a long affidavit:

Allegheny County, State of Pennsylvania, ss:

Before me, a justice of the peace, in and for the said county appeared John Gibson, Esq., an Associate Judge of same county, who being duly sworn deposeth and saith that in the year 1774, he accompanied Lord Dunmore on the expedition against the Shawanese and other Indians on the Sciota; that on their arrival within fifteen miles of the towns they were met by a flag and a white man by the name of Elliott, who informed Lord Dunmore that the chiefs of the Shawanese had sent to request his lordship to halt his army and send in some person who understood their language; that this deponent, at the request of Lord Dunmore, and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the town Logan the Indian came to where this deponent was sitting with Cornstalk, and the other chiefs of the Shawanese and asked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copse of wood where they sat down when Logan, after shedding abundance of tears delivered him the speech nearly as related by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on the State of Virginia, that he, the deponent told him it was not Colonel Cresap who had murdered his relatives and although his son, Capt. Michael was with the party who killed a Shawanese chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his relatives were killed at Baker's near the mouth of Yellow Creek, on the Ohio; that this deponent had on his return to camp, *delivered, the speech to Lord Dunmore*, and that the murders perpetrated as above were considered ultimately the cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's war,

JOHN GIBSON.

Sworn and subscribed April, 1800, at Pittsburgh before me,

JER BARKER.¹⁶

The assertions as to the delivery of Gibson's reproduction are italicized nevertheless Craig thinks the language vague. There is no language that

¹⁴"The Wilderness Trail," Vol. II, p. 77.

¹⁵See "Olden Time," Vol. II, pp. 49, *et seq.* "Notes on Virginia;" Jefferson (Memorial Edition, 1903), pp. 304-339.

¹⁶This name is "Baker" in Craig's "Olden Time," Vol. II, p. 58. Jefferson has it rightly "Barker," for Jeremiah Barker was prominent in the town of Pittsburgh in those years.

can be construed to state the real case whether the speech was written or spoken, he argued.

No reply to Logan is indicated when Gibson sought to vindicate Cresap; the charges against Colonel Cresap stood and yet stand in the speech. Theodore Roosevelt, always pronounced in opinion, reviews the whole ground in his "Winning of the West," Vol. I (see Appendix F, page 347). He says that Logan's speech can be unhesitatingly pronounced authentic. That is enough. Craig came to the same conclusion. He is vindicated; likewise Jefferson, *et al.* Jefferson's version of the speech is the commonly accepted one, though Craig gives the first form published, stating that he finds two copies in the first volume, fourth series of the "American Archives," and that the first copy appeared at Williamsburg, Virginia, in February, 1775. Jefferson has it:

I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat, if he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said "Logan is the friend of white man," I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked murdered all the relatives of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This calling on me for revenge, I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.

In February, 1847, in the number of the "Olden Time" for that month (Vol. II, p. 49), Craig says in the opening of his long article on Logan: "The speech no matter by whom produced has been quoted and admired wherever the English Language was understood." This opinion was sixty-eight years ago and the time from delivery was seventy-three years, the words those which a heart-broken man would naturally say. Now who was Logan? A chief, one easily answers. Yes, a chief but with an English name. Logan is usually referred to as a Mingo. He was a Cayuga; the son of the great Shikelimus, or Skikelamy, who resided at what is now Sunbury on the Susquehanna, then called Shamokin, and to be distinguished from the present town of that name. Logan was called after James Logan, long prominent in the affairs of Pennsylvania under the Penns. Logan, the Indian, became a sot. After Dunmore's war he became more gloomy and melancholy, drank more and more, and exhibited symptoms of mental derangement. He went to Detroit, where he remained some time and evinced by his conduct that he was weary of life. He openly proclaimed life had become a burden. He said he knew not what pleasure was and thought it had been better had he never existed. In a state of despondency, he left Detroit, after a brutal assault on his new wife, while drunk, and on his way to the Miami was murdered.¹⁷ All the greatness of character of the man was wiped away in rum, which to be candid, is no respecter of races. Logan lives in the

¹⁷"Historical Collections of Ohio;" Henry Howe (1848), p. 409. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 406-407, for two versions of the speech in parallel columns.

geography of the United States as well as in history and literature. Thanks are surely due to Jefferson, who preserved Logan's pathetic effusion.

"For many years," says Caleb Atwater, historian of Ohio, "on the farm of one Wolfe, near Circleville, the oak stood under which the splendid effort of heart-stirring eloquence was faithfully delivered by the person who carried wampum."

This is a new version. Where does Gibson come in? John Gibson was reputed to have married, in the Indian way, a sister of Logan. Whether she was slain with the others of Logan's kin or had died previously, historians do not say. Gibson and his brother George were natives of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. John Gibson was with Forbes at the taking of Fort Duquesne. Both brothers were in active service in the Virginia Line during the Revolution. George Gibson was the father of Pennsylvania's great jurist, John Bannister Gibson. In 1801, John Gibson was appointed by President Jefferson, Secretary of Indiana Territory, in which office he served until Indiana became a State in 1816, when he returned to Pittsburgh. He died at the residence of his son-in-law, George Wallace, in Braddock, April 10, 1822. This dwelling is still standing. In it LaFayette was entertained in 1825. It is the large house adjoining the station of the Pennsylvania railroad to the east of that structure.



CHAPTER XXVII.

George Croghan, King of the Traders.

Of the pioneers in the region about Pittsburgh previous to the building of Fort Duquesne, none has received less local mention and none is less known historically here than Colonel George Croghan, trader, Indian agent of the crown at Fort Pitt. Croghan deserved his title, for he was of all the English traders the most energetic and influential in public affairs affecting the Indians. To understand properly his exact status, it is necessary to go back and look into the history of the Indian trade as the English traders developed it. The Five Nations, or Iroquois Confederacy, had been friendly to the Dutch from their first coming in 1614, and had begun trading with them that year at the first trading post established by the Dutch near the site of Albany. These Indians favored the Dutch in the commercial rivalry that ensued between Holland and France, and by the first treaty ever made with Indians in America, the Dutch by their politic treatment of the Indians and keeping all the covenants of this treaty, retained the friendship of the great Confederacy. The Dutch were naturally traders; business people of keen acumen. They not only gained the confidence of the confederated nations, but retained it, and they could depend upon their alliance with the "Magua" as they called these tribes. Had they not been thus favored and the Iroquois not stood between them and the more numerous and better armed French, the French would have pushed the Dutch to their fort, and to Manhattan Island. This would have raised and settled the issue of the French and Indian war years earlier, perhaps a century, and given to France the vast region west of the Alleghenies won by Great Britain in the peace of 1763. It is not remote to our history, this kind and sensible treatment of the Indians by the Dutch. Had it not been thus the whole history of the region of Western Pennsylvania would have been changed. What it might have been, in conjecture opens wide fields. As far off Onondaga and its Long House ruled the destinies of our region, so also the Dutch-Iroquois alliance must be treated as a factor. The French could not break through the Iroquoian wall; the English drove out the Dutch; the Iroquois transferred their friendship to the new proprietors; the French pushed onward to the West and Southwest; the English came over the Alleghenies; the clash came hereabouts; hence Fort Duquesne, Fort Pitt and Pittsburgh.

It was in 1664 that the Dutch surrendered their rights in New York to the English. The thrifty Hollanders then had almost the entire trade with the Iroquois. Then the Dutch trader proved an opportune interpreter for the English. The English divined the intent and purposes of the French first manifested in the attempt of the French to acquire the beautiful valley of the Mohawk. The Dutch, when the Mohawk braves had so badly needed firearms to cope with Champlain and the tribes he had armed, readily supplied the coveted weapons; then changed entirely

the ages-long Indian method of fighting. The successful repulse of several French invasions of the Iroquois country followed. The Iroquois became more and more beligerent. They took longer and more frequent excursions; the council fires at Onondaga blazed as never before. Then when the English came they saw the advantage of a strong alliance. An agency was established among the Mohawks in time to fully protect the English interests. The English knew they must retain the confidence and friendship of the Iroquois. Nothing else could counteract French influence, for the French were incessant in their methods. They had continued for years to send out their missionaries, to build their forts and to establish their trading posts. They had penetrated the heart of the Mohawk country several times between 1665-1672, but they could not subdue that nation. Finally came Sir William Johnson as superintendent of Indian affairs for his Britannic Majesty; taking up his residence among the Mohawks, he became a power and soon was virtually a Mohawk. Thenceforth aggressive measures. Thence enters the superintendent's deputy at Fort Pitt, Colonel George Croghan, trader, interpreter, diplomat, loyalist, land-grabber; the most unique character in the history of the western country—living near Fort Pitt, a pioneer, fearless and tireless, concerning whom many pages of history have been written, should be written in any history of Pittsburgh; Croghan, the daring; Croghan triumphant; Croghan stripped of power and wealth, dying in obscurity.

Darlington, in his book known as "Gist's Journals,"¹ devotes many pages to Croghan's activities and tells all that he was able to learn of his life, but was not able to learn much of his early life. Darlington found that Croghan was a native of Ireland and received an ordinary education in Dublin and came to America in 1743 or 1744. He first resided five miles west of Harris' Ferry, later Harrisburg. Croghan's location was in what was subsequently East Pennsboro township, Cumberland county.

Charles A. Hanna says Croghan came to America in 1741 and was licensed a trader in Pennsylvania in 1744. Governor Morris, in 1755, wrote that he did not know what Croghan's education was, "which was in Dublin, nor his religious professions." Croghan's name first appears in the official correspondence of Pennsylvania in a letter to Secretary Peters, May 26, 1747. Croghan had his own method of spelling, especially Indian words. His letters are most curious and most interesting, for he was keen-sighted and prompt to act.

Croghan, who early earned the title "King of the Traders," was licensed, according to Darlington, an Indian trader in 1746. He had then maintained a home on the Susquehanna for three years. Conrad Weiser, on his mission from the provincial governor of Pennsylvania to the Indians along the upper Ohio, stopped at Croghan's place the second night out from Weiser's home in Berks county, distant therefrom forty-five miles. The story of Weiser, rightfully told, is a volume in itself;

¹"Christopher Gist's Journals, with Historical, Geographical, and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of His Contemporaries;" by William M. Darlington, Pittsburgh, J. R. Weldin Co., 1893.

likewise the story of George Croghan. They were in all respects but bravery and fidelity, antitypes and of different races; Weiser a German from the Palatinate, Croghan an Irishman. They were equally brave and equally faithful. Their relations with the Indians of the comparatively new colony of Pennsylvania, were cotemporaneous for many years and one or both were present in an official capacity at many or all of the treaties made with the Indians of their years. It has been told in Chapter X how Weiser's mission was faithfully performed and favorable results accomplished. Weiser was accompanied by some of Croghan's men with goods for the Indians. Weiser recorded in his journal, under date of August 30, 1748, that the preceding evening they had lodged at Coscosky at George Croghan's trading house. Coscoskey, variously spelled, was an Indian town on the Mahoning, about the present site of Mahoningtown,² in Lawrence county, Pennsylvania. The usual Indian name for this town as used by Judge Agnew is Kushkusking.

As Croghan was first known as a licensed trader in 1746, it is reasonable to presume that he came immediately to the Ohio. The route was not through the Pittsburgh of to-day, but over the mountains from the Juniata valley at Kittanning Point, thence through the open ground, known as "the Clearfields" to the Kiskiminetas, to Chartier's Old Town, about the site of Tarentum, and thence across the country to the Ohio at Logstown, this town site just below old Economy. This was the Kittanning Path or main Indian trail to and from the Ohio (see Chapter IX, and Weiser's Journal, Chapter X). Even Gist, in his first journey, did not see the "Point" or the Forks of the Ohio as Pittsburghers know it.

From the time of Croghan's entry into the Ohio country until his death in 1782 he was a power among the western Indians and his whole life a thriller. His great standing among the Indians through his official connection gave him the opportunity to acquire vast tracts of land, the title to which he never doubted had been fully vested in himself by all the necessary procedure, but he was destined to die penniless, a disappointed and discredited old man. Croghan's coming to the Ohio antedated Washington's and Gist's by seven years. Celoron and his expedition from the governor-general of Canada did not come until 1749. Christian Frederick Post did not come until three years after Braddock's defeat. Croghan, therefore, was strictly a pioneer, and he may be called also a maker of history.

Parkman has much to say of Croghan. Milton Scott Lytle, historian of Huntingdon county, likewise, for Croghan left his home on the Susquehanna, in Cumberland county, and made himself a new abode at Aughwick, now Shirleysburg, in Huntingdon county. Incidentally, he got a few square miles of land in that region. A recent historian, Charles A. Hanna (1910), has also much to say of Croghan. Croghan was sent by Governor James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, to Logstown in 1750, and wrote his excellency a letter from there under date of December 16, 1750. He also kept an accurate journal of this journey, and while at

²See Chapter X, *ante*, and "Life of Weiser;" Walton; also Post's Journals, Chapter XXI herein.

Logstown made a treaty with the Six Nations, or Iroquois, and their allies there, of date May 18, 1751. This was three years before the erection of Fort Duquesne, and a year before Gist's treaty in behalf of the recently formed Ohio Company in the attempt to take some of the Indian trade from the hands of the Pennsylvanians, and it was the beginning of the long-drawn-out dispute between the two provinces over the territory about "the Forks."⁸ In the Braddock expedition Croghan, who was already an English-Indian interpreter, joined Braddock with about fifty friendly Indians under the command of the celebrated Oneida sachem, Scarroady, the successor of Tanacharison, the Half-King. Croghan succeeded in bringing together about 100 other Indians, who might have been of great use to Braddock, but that general spurned them even as scouts and guides. Old accounts say Braddock was so bitter that the Indians felt the slight greatly and that their offer of services should be so utterly despised was a source of humiliation to them. Braddock, as has been related, had his own peculiar reasons for dispensing with these Indians and there were not one hundred warriors, for the Indian followers of Braddock numbered many women and children.

Continuing in the trading business with the Indians after the establishment of the British supremacy at Fort Pitt, Croghan became more and more a man of standing with all classes and was entrusted by the governor with the defence of the borders of the province of Pennsylvania, after Braddock's defeat. Well equipped for treating with the Indians by reason of his intimate knowledge of their character, speaking their languages, showing much excellence in military matters also, Croghan became a power for good. Coming under the notice about this time of Sir William Johnson, a fellow countryman, his royal majesty's superintendent of Indian affairs in North America, Johnson made Croghan his deputy at Fort Pitt and Croghan here made history. Croghan's correct title was rather formidable and according to the minutes of the general conferences held at Fort Pitt in 1759 was "George Croghan, Esquire, Deputy Agent to the Honorable William Johnson, Bart., His Majesty's Agent, and Superintendent of Indian affairs in the Northern District of North America with the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, and the Wyandotts, who represent eight nations, Altonas, Chepawas, Putewatimes, Twightwees, Cuscukees, Kecapos, Shockeys and Musquakes."

The names of the Indian tribes given under Croghan's official designation comprised all the tribes ranging the country for many hundreds of miles, from Fort Pitt north to the lakes and west to Illinois. In Western Pennsylvania the Six Nations or Iroquois, generally called by the English "Mingoes," were the dominant power and the Senecas, their most western tribe, the most frequent visitors in the region. The Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese were then tributary and subservient as conquered nations. However, all lived peacefully together and this peace was broken by the white men, French and English, who came with rum

⁸See Chapter XXVI, *ante*.

and the lust of land, and the glory of conquest, in the name of each's most Christian majesty, and we of these days are apt to forget that the history of our region is written in human blood. Tribal relations sat loosely.⁴ We have authority for the mixup in tribes about the Forks of the Ohio in various histories. Even the Nippisings from Canada and warriors from far off Maine came racing hither at times.

Croghan took part in all of Colonel Bouquet's conferences and was present at Bouquet's treaty with the Delawares at Pittsburgh, December 4, 1758. Colonel John Armstrong was also present and Henry Montour, the official interpreter. Croghan finds much mention by Christian Frederick Post, in Post's second journal in 1758, recording Post's perilous journey to the Ohio (see Chapter XXI).

Croghan, in his journal forwarded to Governor Morris, January 12, 1754, records Washington's return from his mission, to Venango. In this journal, Croghan tells also of a trip to Shannopin's Town and Logstown. Shannopin's Town was on the Allegheny about opposite Herrs Island.

These journals of Weiser, Croghan and Post and the letters of Croghan to Governors Hamilton and Morris are most interesting documents and are among the earliest writings pertaining to the region of the upper Ohio. They rank well with Washington's.

But Croghan was destined to shine as a diplomat and cross the sea again. Sir William Johnson sent him to England in 1763 to confer with the ministry about the Indian border line. On that voyage he was wrecked on the coast of France.

Croghan had built himself a home on the Allegheny about what is now Fifty-second street, Pittsburgh. He called it a "hutt." This was about four miles from Fort Pitt, and rather isolated, but Croghan had no fear of the Indians. During the siege of Fort Pitt in 1763 by the Indians during Pontiac's war, Croghan's mansion was burned. However, it was rebuilt, for Washington in his journey through Pittsburgh speaks of dining there with Colonel Croghan on October 19, 1770 (see Chapter XXV).

Croghan and others accompanied Washington on this trip as far as Logstown on their journey down the Ohio.

Washington, while in Pittsburgh at this time, met the subsequently notorious Dr. Connolly, who was Croghan's nephew and chief emissary for Governor Dunmore in the effort to make the region of the Ohio Virginia territory. Croghan, although long a Pennsylvanian, was on the Virginia side and this on account of his landed interests. The most interesting feature in the career of Croghan was his disposition to become the possessor of vast tracts of land, especially about the Forks of the Ohio, and at one time he was vested with over half of the present county of Allegheny. The south shore of the Ohio has a distinct history from the land between the rivers and the North Side has yet another.

South of the Monongahela and the Ohio, Virginia titles prevailed and stood and they were not so prolific of litigation as the region north and

⁴See Chapter III, *ante*. Washington's "Journal," Oct. 19, 1770.

west of the Ohio and Allegheny by reason of the various Indian treaties and the Pennsylvania statutes relating to the so-called "depreciation and donation lands."

The south shore was the English shore—perhaps more correctly the Virginia shore. There were times when the boundary disputes between Virginia and the province or proprietaries of Pennsylvania became most acute and one of these periods was in 1768. In that year Croghan was in conference with his chief, Sir William Johnson, at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York. Here Croghan remained for some months waiting for the gathering of the chiefs of the Six Nations prior to the opening of the Great Council which finally began October 21 and lasted until November 6.⁵

Croghan was there for his own purposes. He was after land. "Croghan was always keen to acquire land," Lytle says. He had nineteen years previously obtained grants to many thousand acres in the vicinity of Fort Pitt and the deeds to these alleged grants he put on record in Augusta county, Virginia, at Staunton, then, as now, the county seat. The date of Croghan's first deed is August 2, 1749. The chiefs of the Iroquois, the parties of the first part to this grant were Tanacharison, Scarrooady and Cosswentanica, and the consideration of goods and merchandise was, as in any deed, duly recited. These goods were such as all Indian traders carried—strouds, blankets, shirts, calicos, vermillion, knives, gunpowder, tobacco, lead, even twenty dozen jewsharps. Strouds was a coarse warm blanket cloth made in Gloucestershire, England, especially for this trade. A stroud was usually exchanged for a "buck and a doe," that is the skins of these. During the conference at Fort Stanwix, Croghan received a confirmation of these grants of 1749 and his confirming deed was dated November 4, 1768. Croghan had partly attained his purpose, but the sequel is most interesting.

The deed of 1749 was three-fold; it made three grants. One was of 100,000 acres on the south side of the Monongahela, which grant extended from a run nearly opposite Turtle creek (Kennywood Park) down the Ohio to Raccoon creek below Beaver; thence up that creek ten miles, thence in a straight line to the place of beginning.

The second great grant was upward of 100,000 acres on both sides of the Youghiogheny, either up or down, so as to include the Indian village called Sewickley (Sewichle) Old Town (about the present site of West Newton). The third deed conveyed 40,000 acres beginning on the east side of the Ohio (the Allegheny) to the northward of the old Indian village of Shannopin's Town at the mouth of a run called Two Mile run (about Thirty-third street, Pittsburgh, the run long ago sewerred), then up said run to where it interlocked with the heads of Two Mile spring; thence down the Two Mile spring by the several courses thereof to the river Monongahela; thence up said river Monongahela to the mouth of Turtle creek; thence by the said creek to the head of Plum creek and down the latter stream to the Allegheny to the place of beginning.

⁵"Olden Time," Vol. I, p. 400; "Wilderness Trail," Vol. II, p. 59.

It is easy to observe by these descriptions to how much of the present Allegheny county and the city of Pittsburgh Croghan held some title. Two Mile spring was the old Yellow run in Minersville, Pitt township, from 1868 to 1908 the Thirteenth Ward of Pittsburgh, now the Fifth Ward. This run came down the deep ravine between Gazzam's and Ruch's Hills and emptied into the Monongahela at Brady street, under the present Twenty-second street bridge.

On this last tract there was included the Croghan homestead with 1,352 acres along the Allegheny in the present Tenth Ward, Pittsburgh, where Croghan had settled in 1762 and built the mansion known as Croghan Hall. William M. Darlington says Croghan's manor was on the south bank of the Allegheny opposite the mouth of Pine creek. This land was across the river from White Mingo's "Castle," the latter marked on a plat of the survey as being on the east side of Pine creek. The 1,352 acres were actually surveyed to Croghan and this warrant figures in all the abstracts of property in this part of Pittsburgh, much of which subsequently passed to Conrad Winebiddle and by Winebiddle to his heirs.⁶ This grant is recognized in the description of Penn's Manor in Pittsburgh, "up the south side of the Allegheny River 762 perches to a Spanish oak at the corner of Croghan's claim," and is the only land of Croghan's in Allegheny or Washington counties to which title searchers find reference of record in the offices of the recorder of deeds, unless we except a grant near Verona in 1769.

In 1910, in investigating Croghan's landed operations in Western Pennsylvania, Mr. Boyd Crumrine, historian of Washington county, was consulted, and also Mr. John E. Potter, of Pittsburgh, treasurer of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, both excellent authorities on land titles. Crumrine replied as follows:

I know of no land held by George Washington in what is now Allegheny county. He did hold about 1200 acres in what was afterwards Westmoreland county, back of Bellevernon. He had Colonel William Crawford lay a soldier's warrant on a square body of lands in what is now Mt. Pleasant township, Washington county, for which he obtained a patent from Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, in 1774. I have never seen this patent, nor a record of it, although I have seen it referred to often. These lands, 2813 acres, I think, lay on the headwaters of Miller's Run which strikes Bridgeville in Allegheny county. They, as well as the Westmoreland county tract, were taken up for him about 1770 by Colonel William Crawford. See the Washington Crawford correspondence, and my "History of Washington County," in the index. These lands were within the lines of George Croghan's Indian grant of 1768. The lines of that grant, surveyed to contain 30,000 acres, began opposite Turtle creek, thence down the Monongahela and Ohio rivers to the mouth of Raccoon creek; thence up Raccoon creek ten miles; thence from that point straight across to a point opposite Turtle creek, the place of beginning. This last line, a long one, cut through Washington county. A part of Washington county (which originally contained all the land west and south of the Monongahela) was cut off in 1788 to make a part of Allegheny county, but the part of the Croghan tract embracing the Washington lands was left in Washington county.

Whilst Washington was soldiering in the Revolution and acting as President, his lands were occupied or squatted on by ten or a dozen settlers. In 1784 he brought an ejectment in our county against them to oust them. The settlers to defeat him set up the Indian grant to Croghan, which failed of effect. Washington before his death sold

⁶"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 419.

all these lands, in some cases to the settlers on them, and eventually got his money from them. Look up in my history the sketch of Mt. Pleasant township, and I think you will find what you want. See also that part of the History covering the Civil and Legal.⁷

Mr. Potter replied that he knew of no references of record to any of the Croghan grants in any of the tracts south of the rivers, and that they were ignored except in cases where the parties taking title under him had their title subsequently confirmed by a regular "Return of Survey and grant of patent from the Pennsylvania Land Offices." Mr. Potter stated also that there are no conveyances of record of any of Washington's lands within the limits of Allegheny county. The Washington county tract, located in what is now Mt. Pleasant township, was patented to Washington by the Colony of Virginia, July 5, 1774. It contained 2,813 acres, which Washington and Martha, his wife, conveyed to Matthew Ritchey by deed of June 1, 1796. (See Deed Book I, Volume I, page 324, in office Recorder of Deeds, Washington county). Another patent was granted on a portion of this tract by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Matthew Hilles, a former owner, by patent dated March 10, 1788. The recitals in these conveyances make no reference to the George Croghan tracts.

From examination of the records of plans of lots within the boundaries of Croghan's claims, no mention is made of his Indian titles in Allegheny county south of the Monongahela and Ohio. In former Chartiers borough, now a ward in the borough of Carnegie, the record of a deed in Jacob Doolittle's plan commences: "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to John Campbell—Warrant. No date, and not of record, grants 332 acres on Chartiers Creek called Campbellsbarg".

Campbell's will made July 5, 1786, was probated October 14, 1800, hence this warrant antedates July, 1786. This is within Croghan's original grant.

Again in former Elliott borough, now 20th Ward, Pittsburgh, formerly Chartiers township in Stephen Woods' and James J. Brown's plan, evidently without the bounds of the Penn Manor, the abstract begins: "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Daniel Elliott, called Elliott's Delight—Patent. Date April 20, 1786. 640½ acres." This too is in Croghan's grant.

In one of Croghan's other grants, in what is now wholly within the boundaries of Pittsburgh and near his home on what is now 52nd Street, burned at the siege of Fort Pitt in 1763, later rebuilt, the abstract of lots begins thus,—The Proprietors of Pennsylvania to George Croghan.

Of record in patent same grantor to Conrad Winebiddle, date December 31st, 1787, that an application, No. 20, date April 11, 1769, recorded, etc., in "new purchase", (evidently by the Fort Stanwix treaty of 1768) there was surveyed to George Croghan five adjoining tracts on January 26th and 27th, 1769, including, *inter alia* the premises described

⁷"History of Washington County, Pa.;" Boyd Crumrine, pp. 856, *et seq.* "Washington-Crawford Correspondence."

in said Winebiddle patent for tract, named by him "Good Liquor": "George Croghan to Conrad Winebiddle—Deed. Date, December 1, 1771. Deed book A, page 395, Westmoreland county. Consideration £225."

Conveys a tract lying on East Side of the Ohio river, as the Allegheny was known, containing 100 acres to line of property commonly known as "Plumbers Tract," etc. Winebiddle "Good Liquor" tract was bounded on South by Samuel Ewalt's claim.

Many more subdivisions of Croghan's original land are shown in abstracts of the Lawrenceville district of Pittsburgh. These citations answer the query—

Does it not appear that although all the land held by Croghan through Indian titles was conveyed in the original grant of the Six Nations to the Penns at Fort Stanwix in 1768, subsequently by the treaty with the Delawares and Wyandots at Fort McIntosh in 1785, he nevertheless became vested in all these lands as shown in the various abstracts of our Pittsburgh titles, but only by patent from the proprietors of Pennsylvania and his claims to title to any land granted by the tribes were invalid and never recognized in Pennsylvania, unless you can find them in the abstracts of land south of the Monongahela and Ohio, by reason of the compromise and recognition of Virginia titles, that is, patents from that Commonwealth?

Writing of these troublous times, Judge Veech says, referring to Croghan's land-grab:

It was then, and for many years afterwards, an accepted belief that such sales conferred a valid title. He (Croghan) proceeded to lay off his grant, or part of it, between Raccoon and Pigeon creeks, extending into the interior ten or fifteen miles. He had a back line run, which is, perhaps yet known as Croghan's line, and was trying to sell in lots of not less than ten thousand acres at five pounds per hundred. This brought him and his retainers and dependents into conflict with the chartered rights of Pennsylvania in that direction. Altogether, therefore, the Penn Proprietaries had a combination of perplexities and influences against them which nothing but stubborn right could resist; and the times were not yet auspicious for its predominance. It is no wonder, then, that they were willing, for the present at least, to make the Monongahela their boundary.⁸

Croghan, in a letter to Bouquet, described the limits of the land at the Forks of the Ohio which the Indians had "given" him, saying: "Beginns att ye Narrows above my house and down ye River to ye Two Mile Run and up ye Run to the Heads thereof."

In the Indian deed of 1768 it was provided that if any of the lands granted should be within the charter grant to William Penn, then Croghan should have the right to locate the same number of acres on other ungranted lands, which were at this time ceded by the Indian chiefs to Great Britain. In it is easy in the light of the above to see why Croghan's landed interests should render him loyal to Virginia sovereignty

⁸"The Secular History in its Connections with the Early History of the Presbyterian Church of Southwestern Pennsylvania;" an address by Hon. James Veech in "The Centenary Memorial of the Planting and Growth of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania and Parts Adjacent," 309, q. v. Also reference *Ibid.*; "Washington's Journal of 1770," and "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. IV, pp. 421-425.

over the Ohio region. He had much to gain by the settlement of the boundary dispute in favor of Virginia, nevertheless he took advantage of the proviso as to other ungranted lands, in case the Fort Pitt region was Pennsylvania territory, and took up 100,000 acres in the province of New York, lying between Lake Otsego and the Unadilla river, for which he obtained a survey in 1769, but continuing to sell his rights on the south shore of the Ohio between the Yough river and Raccoon creek to whoever would purchase, and he offered the same to Washington in 1770. Croghan obtained other grants in New York amounting to nearly 200,000 acres. He was a land-grabber preëminent among the many of those days.

For five years Croghan was engaged in land operations in both provinces with Trent, Baynton and others, as narrated in this chapter. It is worthy of mention that Croghan built a house at the foot of Otsego Lake in 1769, a "hutt" he called this also, and afterward other houses on the site of Cooperstown. In sight was the large, round, smooth boulder known as Council Rock, described by Cooper in "The Deerslayer." Croghan spent much time on his Otsego Lake land, but, always improvident and needy, mortgaged them to William Franklin, son of the great Benjamin, who foreclosed in 1773 and took possession, passing title to William Cooper and Andrew Craig. Cooper was the father of James Fenimore Cooper and there are men who believe that Croghan's romantic career and experience furnished the material and the character for "Leather Stocking" and many of Cooper's frontier stories.

It was on account of Croghan's land operations around Pittsburgh that he first came into disfavor with the Pennsylvania authorities. It was much to Croghan's advantage to have the western boundary line of Penn's grant limited to a point east of Fort Pitt, otherwise his Indian grants were void.

Colonel William Crawford, the agent who located much land for George Washington, consulted James Tilghman, secretary of the Pennsylvania land office, and Tilghman's opinion was strongly adverse to Croghan's claims, stating that Croghan had no right to any land as yet—"nor can he tell whether he ever will have it from the crown," in other words, a confirmation of the Indian grants by George III. to make them valid.

Croghan disposed of some of his immense holdings in the south shore region. The Emmett manuscript collection in the New York Library contains a receipt from Croghan to Alexander Ross for land on Raccoon creek and on the Ohio river. This Ross was a Scotchman and a Tory. His estates were confiscated by the Colonial government during the Revolution and that settled his title to the Logstown land.⁹ With all his scheming and craftiness, Croghan died bankrupt. None of his south shore titles were good.

Croghan's name is not retained in the designation of any locality. In our street nomenclature Weiser's has been handed down in the street re-

⁹See "The Wilderness Trail;" C. A. Hanna, Vol. II, Chaps. I and II; especially II, pp. 64, 82, 84.

naming is part of the North Diamond. Gist has for years been remembered in a small street. Christian Frederick Post, like Croghan, has none. Croghan was active in securing the attachment of the Indians to the British interests up to 1776, but he took no active part in military events. He died in Passayunk, Pennsylvania, now part of Philadelphia, in 1782. Previously he had been summoned to appear in Philadelphia to answer a charge of treason and show cause why his estates should not be confiscated and himself attainted. This seems not to have been done, perhaps on account of his death soon after the summons.

There is after all something pathetic in the story of George Croghan, a frontiersman of a lifetime. Surviving the vicissitudes of flood and forest, the perils of many a lonesome journey, a landed gentleman, a shrewd and far-seeing business man, he died almost a pauper.

Opinions of Croghan's character vary. Lytle quotes Governor Morris saying Croghan was not one of "those low sort of people as being too ignorant to be employed as spies, but not all too virtuous, referring to the Indian traders as a class." Lytle describes Croghan as a man of somewhat erratic temperament and varied fortunes; that he came to Pennsylvania in 1742 and was licensed in 1749, though he had previously been engaged in that avocation. Lytle attests that Croghan manifested a willingness in addition to his business pursuits to perform services for and make himself useful to the government.

Hanna speaks rather well of Croghan and it will not do to classify him with the ordinary Indian trader of his times. Hanna says: "His experience as an Indian trader and agent, as negotiator and diplomat, would furnish material for many interesting volumes, and the value of his work in getting the Western Indians into the English alliance was greater than all others combined. Though at times unjustly an object of suspicion to the authorities of Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies his services in the French war were of much value to that province and had his efforts and advice previous to the war been properly recognized probably there would have been no French war."¹⁰

There may be a disposition to pronounce Croghan's name as spelled, but this is erroneous. Some historians specify that it is pronounced as though spelled Krohun, but the most accepted pronunciation is Krawn. He was in nowise related to Colonel George Croghan, U. S. A., born near Louisville, Kentucky, in 1791, a distinguished officer and the uncle of the late Mrs. Schenley.

Parkman says of Croghan, writing of the ruin of the Indian cause,¹¹ that Croghan's mission was a critical one, but so far as regarded the Indians, Croghan "was well fitted to discharge it, having been for years a trader among the Western tribes, over whom he had gained much influence by a certain vigor of character joined to a wary and sagacious policy, concealed beneath a bluff exterior."

¹⁰See "History of Huntingdon County, Pa.;" M. S. Lytle, pp. 18, 21-22, et al. "The Wilderness Trail;" Hanna, Vol. II, as to relationships.

¹¹Chapter XXX "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" Vol. III, Champlain Edition, p. 150.

Croghan and William Trent were said to have been brothers-in-law, but how is not clear. Trent's wife was Sarah Wilkins, daughter of one of the Wilkinses, who were Indian traders. Trent was for several years a partner of Croghan's. We have some account of Trent furnished by Darlington in "Gist's Journals" (p. 249), as follows:

Captain William Trent was born in 1715 in Chester county, Pa. In 1746, Governor Thomas of Pennsylvania appointed him captain of one of four companies raised in Pennsylvania, for an expedition against Canada. December, 1747, the time of his company having expired, he was honorably discharged. In 1749 he was appointed by Governor Hamilton a justice of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace for Cumberland county. In 1750 he formed a partnership with George Croghan to engage in the Indian trade; 1752, he was commissioner to Logstown; 1753, he was directed by Governor Dinwiddie to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. February 17, 1754, he began the erection of the fort. April 18, the fort was surrendered to the French under the command of M. de Contrecoeur; 1755, Captain Trent entered the service of Pennsylvania and was a member of the Proprietary and Governor's Council; 1757, he again entered the employ of Virginia; 1758 he accompanied Forbes' expedition against Fort DuQuesne, and by his knowledge of the country rendered important service. 1763, his large trading-house near Fort Pitt was destroyed by the Indians; he took refuge in Fort Pitt and during the siege was employed in military duties by the commandant, Captain Ecuyer. At the Treaty at Fort Stanwix the Indians were induced to make a deed of land to Trent. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, Congress gave him a major's commission.

Trent made an expedition from Logstown to Pickawillany, a Miami village on the west side of the Big Miami river at the mouth of Loromies creek. This tribe in the transactions with the Indians at and about Fort Pitt is usually referred to as Twightwees. Trent kept a journal of this expedition, which was published some thirty years ago by the Western Reserve Historical Society of Ohio.

The grant made to Trent at Fort Stanwix was at the mouth of the Little Kanawha river and ran northeast to the Laurel Hill, or Ridge, as we call it, in Western Virginia, followed the ridge to the Monongahela and thence "down the stream of the said river by the several courses thereof to the boundary line of the province of Pennsylvania, thence westerly along the course of said province boundary line as far as the same shall extend, and from thence by the same course to the River Ohio, according to the several courses thereof to the place of beginning."

It is evident that this deed was drawn by a practical conveyancer and it is interesting to note how much of the present State of West Virginia is conveyed. It is what is legally termed a Deed Poll, and is dated November 3, 1768. Trent is named second in the list of grantees. The names of the other grantees are Robert Callender, John Gibson, Joseph Simon, George Croghan, Thomas Smallman, Joseph Spear, John Ormsby and George Morgan, all traders and pioneers and all sufferers in Pontiac's war with other traders to the total of £85,916, 10 shillings and 8 pence, "lawful money of New York." It is very evident the traders were close figurers, and their business acumen and methods were not to be despised.

This council in 1768 was a full one, and the sachems and chiefs of the Six Nations (the Iroquois) were convened, we are told, "by his majesty's

orders, and held the council under the presidency of his superintendent of Indian affairs in North America, Sir William Johnson."

The grant of land was in consideration of the great losses and damages as totaled above, which were sustained by sundry traders in the spring of 1763, when the Shawanese, Delawares and Huron tribes of Indians, "Tributaries of the Six Nations" (mark the language), did seize upon and unjustly appropriate to themselves the Goods Merchandize, and effects of the Traders. Therefore, in strictly legal phraseology, "The said Sachems and Chiefs did give, grant, Bargain and sell unto us, our Heirs and assigns forever, all that Tract or Parcel of Land," etc.

It is also evident the conveyancer was a trifle careless in the use of capital letters, but that was then the custom.

The grantees held numerous meetings in Pittsburgh prior to the Revolution, bothered themselves about the squatters on their land, made arrangements for the sale of the lands "so that the purchase would be easy," organized a company and imagined themselves well remunerated. Trent even went to England in 1769 and was informed by Dr. Franklin, Lord Cambdin (Camden?) and others that it was unnecessary to make application to the crown, or king in council for a confirmation of the Indian grant, but that all he had to do was to return and take possession of it.

Lord Hillsborough was opposed to confirmation and the crown made a grant to "a company of gentlemen" which included the Indian grant to the traders.

Trent tells that these purchasers "stiled" themselves the "Grand Ohio Company." This was in 1775. The war came on and in 1779 Virginia declared by express legislative enactment that all sales and deeds by Indians for land within the limits of the colony were void and of no effect.

These lands were within Gist's surveys and they were again surveyed and all not in possession of settlers, following the precedent of Congress, were granted to officers and soldiers of the Continental army.

Virginia adopted the idea and her unappropriated lands, vast in area, were granted as bounties to officers and soldiers in both the State and Continental establishments. A major-general got 15,000 acres and a brigadier, 10,000. Washington, we know, was well taken care of with large grants, some of them in Fayette and Washington counties, Pennsylvania. To the same bounties in lands run our titles in Northwestern Pennsylvania known as the Donation lands.¹²

But Trent failed in his land-grabbing in spite of all he and his partners could do, just as Croghan failed when his grant of about all of Pittsburgh and the southern portion of Allegheny county was declared void.

Some extracts from Croghan's journals show Croghan's leaning towards land:

The French had a very great influence over these Indians, and never fail in telling them many lies to prejudice of his Majesty's interest, by making the English nation odious and hateful to them. I had the greatest difficulties in removing these prejudices.

¹²"Gist's Journals;" Darlington, pp. 245-249. Trent-Croghan relationship, see p. 557, *ante*.

As these Indians are a weak, foolish, and credulous people, they are easily imposed on by a designing people who have led hitherto as they pleased. The French told them as the southern Indians had for two years past made war on them, it must have been at the instigation of the English, who are a bad people. However, I have been fortunate enough to remove their prejudice, and in a great measure, their suspicions against the English. The country hereabouts is exceedingly pleasant, being open and clear for many miles; the soil very rich and well watered; all plants have a quick vegetation, and the climate very temperate through the winter. This post has always been a very considerable trading place. The great plenty of furs taken in this country, induced the French to establish this post, which was the first on the Ouabache, and by a very advantageous trade they have been richly recompensed for their labor.¹³

He could describe things in most excellent language, though it had to be rewritten on account of his peculiar spelling. He wrote from the Miami villages the same year:

Within a mile of the Twightwee village, I was met by the chiefs of that nation, who received us very kindly. The most part of these Indians knew me, and conducted me to their village, where they immediately hoisted an English flag that I had formerly given them at Fort Pitt. The next day they held a council, after which they gave up all the English prisoners they had, then made several speeches, in all which they expressed the great pleasure it gave them, to see the unhappy differences which embroiled the several nations in a war with their brethren, the English, were now so near a happy conclusion and that peace was established in their country.

The Twightwee village situated on both sides of a river called St. Joseph's. This river, where it falls into the Miami river, about a quarter of a mile from this place, is one hundred yards wide, on the east side of which stands a stockade fort, somewhat ruinous. The Indian village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses, a runaway colony from Detroit, during the late Indian war, they were concerned in it, and being afraid of punishment, came to this post, where ever since they have spirited up the Indians against the English. All the French residing here are lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and spirited up the Indians against the English, and should by no means be suffered to remain here. The country is pleasant, the soil rich, and well watered.¹⁴

¹³"Journal of 1750;" pp. 26-27.

¹⁴"Journal;" pp. 29-31.



